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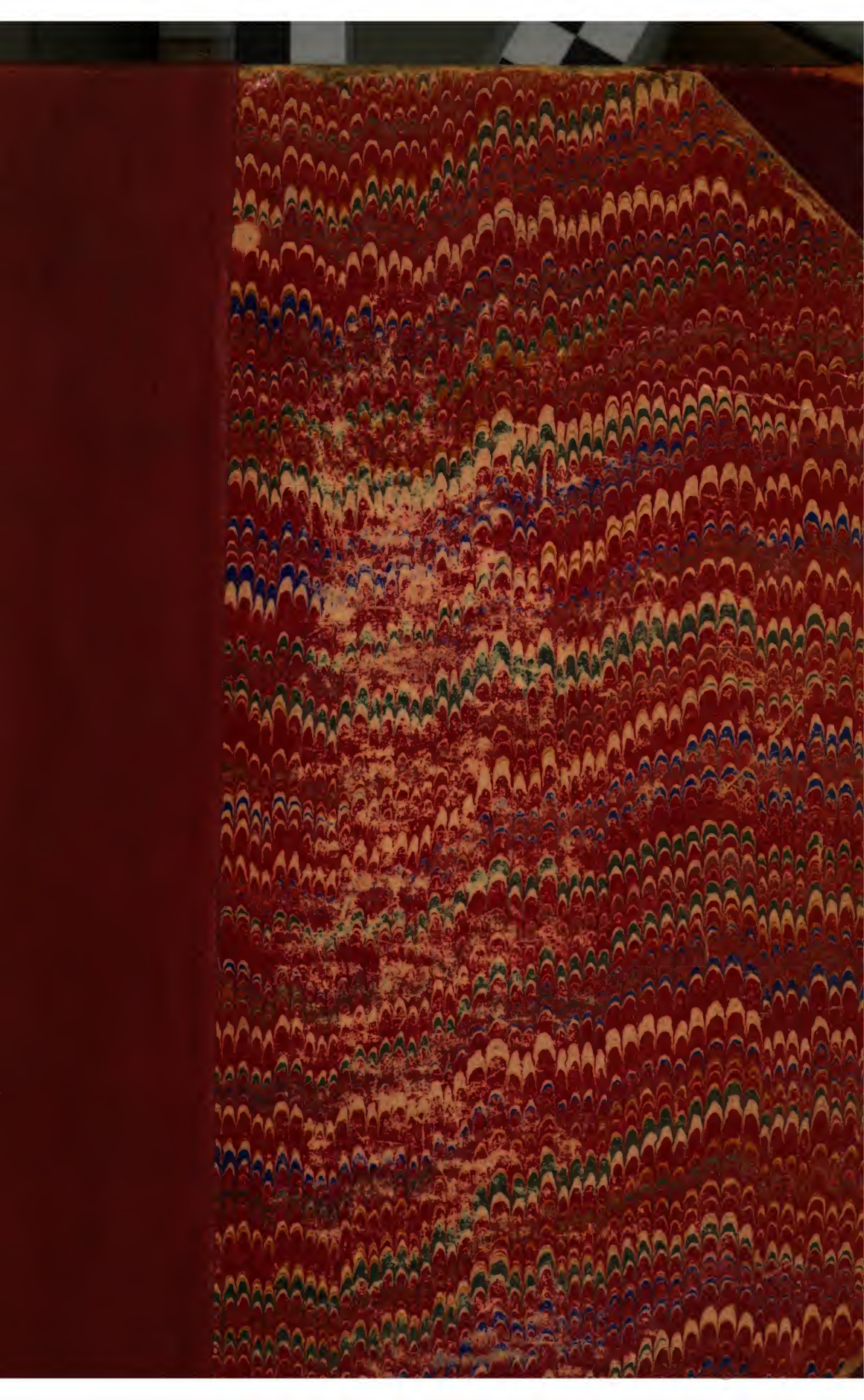
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THE  
EDINBURGH REVIEW,

OR

CRITICAL JOURNAL,

FOR

JANUARY—APRIL, 1862.

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THE  
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No. CCXXXIII.

J A N U A R Y, 1 8 6 2.

ART. I.—1. *William Paterson, the Merchant-Statesman, and Founder of the Bank of England: his Life and Trials.* By S. BANNISTER, M.A. Edinburgh: 1858.

2. *The Writings of William Paterson, Founder of the Bank of England; with Biographical Notices of the Author, his Contemporaries and his Rdce.* Edited by S. BANNISTER, M.A. 2 vols. London: 1858.

3. *The Darien Papers; being a Selection of Original Letters and Official Documents, relating to the Establishment of a Colony at Darien, by the Company of Scotland trading to Africa and the Indies, 1695—1700.* Printed by the Bannatyne Club. Edinburgh: 1849.

4. *Darien; or, the Merchant Prince. A Historical Romance.* By ELIOT WARBURTON, author of 'The Crescent and the Cross.'

5. *Isthmus of Darien Ship Canal, with a full History of the Scotch Colony of Darien, &c.* By DR. CULLEN. 1853.

IN a corner of one of the large chambers recently added to the dingy closets and damp cellars which formerly constituted the 'under rooms of the Advocate's library' in Edinburgh, the old oak press mentioned by Mr. Burton in his preface to 'The Darien Papers' may still be seen. With the exception of the bookshelves, it is almost the only article of furniture in the room; yet probably few visitors honour it with a glance. Though exhibiting unmistakable traces of antiquity, its aspect is extremely utilitarian. There is no delicate carving about it, no twisted pillars or grotesque cariatides, no floriated bindings or elaborate hinges, to remind you of an age when time

was not money, and when men could afford to make a luxury of labour. Its sturdy panels of honest oak, and its strong simple lock, plainly tell that it was put together after men were in a hurry, and had begun to consider it a greater object that their work should be ended than that it should be finished. Nor do its contents, at first sight, appeal more directly to the imagination. They are neither more nor less than a collection of cash-books, stock-ledgers, trade-ledgers, and transfer-books, covered with white pigskin and strengthened with bands of red leather, many of them having rough linen wrappers dirty and worn, such, or nearly such, as may be found in the counting-house of any merchant or insurance broker at the present day. But this homely old press has a wonderful attraction for men of letters; for out of it, Burton, in addition to the club book we have quoted, got no insignificant portion of one of the volumes of his *History of Scotland*; poor Eliot Warburton got a romance; Mr. Bannister has scraped together, with pious zeal, the greater part of the materials of what in his hands is a remarkable, and in other hands will probably become an interesting, biography; Sir Walter Scott gathered a chapter of the 'Tales of a Grandfather'; and last, though surely not least, Lord Macaulay picked up the materials of one of the most picturesque episodes of the posthumous volume of his 'History of England.' It is quite true, notwithstanding, that the press belonged to a trading company, and that its contents are what they seem; but the company was 'The Company of Scotland trading to Africa and the Indies,' and its contents are, 'the Darien Papers.'

We are accustomed to great mercantile



enterprises, and, as a necessary consequence, to great mercantile disasters in our own day ; but with all our experience of British, and Liverpool, and Western Banks, there is something appalling in being thus brought face to face with the monuments of a scheme so gigantic in its conception and attended with such social and political consequences, —with a scheme which took the East India Company for its model, which sought to rear up a colonial empire owning not England but Scotland as its mother country, and which resulted, first in very nearly sweeping Scotland of money altogether and producing a war between the two countries, whilst ultimately it precipitated their union, and added incalculably to their common advantage.

A walk of less than five minutes from the spot where this singular relic stands will enable the mercantile antiquarian, if such there be, to gaze upon another external memorial of this strange page of the history of trade. It is the old Darien House,—the India House of Scotland that was to have been. It is still a substantial and even a handsome structure with ‘an air of something’ about it. The roof is high-pitched, and the whole building partakes of the later French style of civic architecture, more than one commonly sees in buildings erected in England during the reign of William III. It seems almost as if the ghost of the murdered enterprise had taken possession of its walls when the clerks and managers quitted them, and when the books which they had kept with so much care, with all their neatly ruled lines, well summed columns, and endless flourishes of the pen, became literary curiosities and were carried down to the adjacent library. From that time to this the Darien House has been the abode of shivering want or raving madness : an orphan-hospital, a pauper-lunatic-asylum, it is now the poor-house of St Cuthbert’s parish. When it was the Bedlam of Edinburgh, in 1774, and when Bedlams were what Hogarth’s pencil has perpetuated, Ferguson, the poet, died within one of its stone-floored cells. ‘Amid the terrors of the night,’ says his biographer, ‘without a hand to help or an eye to pity, the poet expired. His dying couch was a mat of straw ; the last sounds that pealed upon his ear were the howlings of insanity. No tongue whispered peace ; and even a consoling tear of sympathy mingled not with those of contrition and hope, which in charity I trust, illumined his closing eye.’ Such were the terrible circumstances in which, at the early age of less than twenty-four, death overtook one who in his hours of gladness

sang so sweetly. His poor pauper’s grave remained quite undistinguished till Robert Burns approached it, some thirteen years afterwards, with uncovered head, threw himself on the cold clay, embraced it, and procured permission from the magistrates to erect a monument to his ‘elder brother in misfortune,’ and ‘far his elder brother in the Muses.’ How many similar occurrences may not that sad old Darien House have witnessed, similar in all respects, except in the genius and posthumous reputation of the sufferers !

It would be worse than useless that we should tell over again a tale which has been told so often and so well as that of the Darien Expedition. It was, as everybody knows, a project to colonise the Isthmus of Darien, and to establish a carrying trade over it from the eastern to the western world. Undertaken by Scotland with resources altogether inadequate, it failed miserably, and involved the whole country in ruin. The circumstances which accompanied this great national miscarriage are also very familiar to us all ; the passion with which the scheme was prosecuted in Scotland after the pride of the nation was roused by the jealous opposition of the English : the sailing of the expedition from Leith, and the tears and ‘vain prayers’ which followed it : the joy and sunshine of the voyage, the misery and disappointment of the landing : the terrible effects of a rainy season in the tropics, for which no adequate preparation had been made : the unsuitable cargoes and unwholesome stores : the hostility of the Spaniards and of the English in the West Indies : the unchristian wrangling of the Presbyterian parsons : how the sad short period of their sojourn in the country was spent by the miserable colonists in intestine broils and external warfare, in dying by pestilence, starvation, grief, and the sword : and how those who had dug the last graves for their comrades, crawled feebly to the half-rotten ships, and found their way back by a circuitous route to their dishonoured and impoverished country ; all these things we shall assume to be known, for they have been once and again described, in words far more vivid than any which we can command. To add to the colouring of a page which has been touched by the pencil of Scott and Macaulay ; or to glean a field which the industry of Burton has reaped, would be as desperate an attempt as the Darien Expedition. It is with the personal character of the Projector of the venture that we are here concerned.

But before proceeding to avail ourselves of the materials, scanty even now, which

the volumes before us contain, for forming a truer estimate of this very remarkable person, it seems needful that we should make a very few remarks on the character of the scheme with which his name is so intimately associated. This, the most conspicuous incident of a life which has many other claims on our interest, is so prominent in all minds, that before we can fairly and dispassionately inquire what Paterson was, it is indispensable that we should form an opinion as to the merits or demerits of what he did. We are thus compelled to sacrifice chronology, and to commence by glancing at the middle of his story, in order that we may be in a condition to appreciate its beginning and its end.

Lord Macaulay's estimate of the Darien scheme will probably be accepted by most persons as the final one. In a good many respects it differs from that of Sir Walter Scott and Mr. Burton. There is not the least reason to suppose that any of these distinguished writers intended to be otherwise than impartial; and as regards Lord Macaulay, notwithstanding his eagerness 'to point a moral and adorn a tale,' his chief effort here, as everywhere else, is to seek and find the truth. Still it strikes us at once that the discrepancies which we have noted arise in general from the points of view occupied by the judges, rather than from the meaning or even from the value which they have attached to the various considerations which they have all introduced into the discussion. The picture is the same, the lightning and the atmosphere are different. That it should be impossible to tell the story quite dispassionately, even after the lapse of a century and a half, is perhaps inseparable from the nature of an historical episode, the very name of which, as Lord Macaulay has remarked, 'is associated with calamities so cruel that the recollection of them may not unnaturally disturb the equipoise even of a fair and sedate mind.'

Probably even now there are few inhabitants of the United Kingdom in whom the character either of an Englishman or a Scotchman does not preponderate. As regards the present time, there are many who might have difficulty in determining to which bank of the Tweed their affections cling with greater warmth. Children of mixed marriages, educated partly in one country and partly in the other, frequent residents and it may be proprietors in both, they belong to both, to either, and to neither. But try them by the test of bygone associations, and something like a leaning will almost always become apparent. The battle of Bannock-

burn is one touchstone which without fail brings the true temper to light, and another is the Darien Expedition. Now, however it may be with Mr. Burton, who in these respects is somewhat of a colourless writer, Sir Walter Scott could never conceal his joy at the result of the battle of Bannockburn. He gloried in the assertion of Scottish independence; and in contemplating the Darien Expedition, the injustice and jealousy with which the Scotch were treated, were more prominent in his eyes than the pride and folly and obstinacy which they ultimately exhibited. Lord Macaulay's heart, on the other hand, was with King Edward's bowmen. The influences of Scottish blood in his case were more than counteracted by English birth and breeding, and accordingly, putting patriotic notions altogether out of account, he regarded it as a subject of regret that a country, great part of which in the days of William III. was still 'as poor and rude as Iceland now is,' should have been deprived of the civilising influences which would have resulted from English colonisation in the beginning of the fourteenth century. To him accordingly the chief light in which the Darien scheme presented itself was as a proof that 'the whole kingdom had gone mad.' The only way in which it seemed to him possible to account for the conduct of the schemers, consistently with sanity, was by assuming that they 'meant to make a dupe and tool of the southron, by dragging him into a war with Spain,' in order 'that a set of cunning foreigners might enjoy a monopoly by which he would be the chief sufferer.' 'There was,' he says, 'undoubtedly a large mixture of evil in the feelings which the English entertained; and the manner in which these feelings were expressed was harsh and insolent.' But it 'is impossible to deny that the anger which Paterson's schemes excited throughout the south of the island was, in the main, just and reasonable;' and he extends his justification even to the proceedings of 'the parliament which sate at Westminster.' Though he does not omit the fact, Lord Macaulay throws quite into the back ground the consideration that one half of the speculation was not only open to English capitalists, but that the whole of this sum (300,000*l.*) was actually filled up in London in a few days, when the privileged companies in England and in Holland became alarmed, and succeeded in inducing the king to take part with them against the Scottish adventurers. 'The original plan,' says Mr. Bannister\* quite truly, 'was to share the hazards of the design, in

\* *Life of William Paterson*, p. 129.

reasonable proportion, between the Scots and the English; and foreigners were to be invited to join them both. Instead of being a Scottish scheme, it was cosmopolitan in its contributions of capital, in its commercial agencies, and in its ulterior objects.' Of the original leaders whose names appear in the Act of 1695, eleven were merchants in London, and only nine residents in Scotland. Paterson himself belonged to the former class, and along with him we find the names of Thomas Coutes\* and of Joseph Cohaine (or Cohen), who was probably a Jew and a foreigner. No restriction whatever was placed on the nationality of the future partners; 'they were to be all others who should join themselves in twelve months, even if foreigners.' Paterson himself, in his early letters, assured his Scottish coadjutors that in his opinion it was impossible 'to lay the foundation anywhere but in London.'

It is very important in guiding us to a correct estimate of Paterson's abilities as a projector, and of the common sense of those who joined in his project, that we should thus call to mind that up to the period at which they became blinded by national pride and jealousy there was not the slightest notion, either on his part or theirs, of undertaking the expedition with a force so inadequate as that which ultimately sailed from Leith. It is a grave charge against the temper of the Scottish nation, unquestionably, that they should have allowed themselves to become exasperated to the extent of permitting 'their proverbial pride to get the better of their proverbial shrewdness.' But, comparatively at least, it is no very serious imputation on the latter, that they should have been led by a frenzy of patriotic rage to commit an act of folly not greater certainly than both France and England rushed into twenty years later, when actuated by no other motives than the pressure of national debt and the hope of individual gain. Nor was this outburst of national feeling by any means unprovoked. In justifying the wisdom of the English Parliament, Lord Macaulay passes very lightly over the fact that the Parliament of Scotland was then an independent legislature, and that, when the Parliament of England proceeded to institute an inquiry into the conduct of those who advised the passing of its statutes, they committed an act which was not only uncivil, but unconstitutional. What would he have said if the Commons of Scotland had seized on the books and documents of an English company in Edinburgh, and conducted a

threatening examination of the capitalists who subscribed to its funds; if they had resolved that the directors of the Company, acting under the colour of an English Act of Parliament, were guilty of a high crime and misdemeanour, and had voted that an English peer, and other English gentlemen, whose names appeared in the English Act as directors of the Company, should be 'impeached of high crimes and misdemeanours'? Yet the converse of all this we know, on the authority of the Commons' journals of the 21st January, 1696, was actually done by the Commons of England. Above all it is remarkable, that Lord Macaulay never alludes to the fact, so significant of the real merits of the dispute, that at the Union England ultimately paid back to the Scottish shareholders, with interest, the whole capital which they lost, expressly as compensation for the injustice which they had suffered.\* Had it been our good fortune to possess another volume of Lord Macaulay's history, we should doubtless have had this fact recorded in connexion with the Union, but in this place too it was not unimportant, as proving the view which the English Commissioners took, some ten years afterwards, of the conduct of their nation in the Darien affair.

On the other hand, however, we are bound to remember, what Sir Walter Scott and all the Scottish writers have been prone to forget, viz. that the co-operation of England in an enterprise which was carried on under a Scotch Act of Parliament, and primarily for Scottish purposes, was a proof of good neighbourhood, which the Scotch had no right to demand, and which, taking into account the possibility of its involving England in a war with Spain, they probably had no reason to expect. After it was refused, at any rate, by whatever motive that refusal might have been prompted, Scotland had herself, and not England, to blame if she ventured on an effort beyond her strength, and provoked an enemy whom she was unable to fight single-handed.

But is Lord Macaulay warranted by the facts of the case in representing Darien, though confessedly abandoned to the Red Indians at the time, as an acknowledged portion of the Spanish dominions in America, in the same sense in which 'Appin and Lochaber,' though abandoned to the Celt, were acknowledged portions of the Teutonic kingdom of Scotland? The limits of the kingdom of Scotland were as well defined as those of William's own park at Hampton Court. Whatever lay within these limits

\* The Scotch house of Coutts and Company was not established in London till 1750.

\* Burton, vol. i. p. 424.

was claimed by King William's sceptre, and must necessarily have been protected by King William's arms. But there were no limits to the Spanish dominions in America, either in fact or in law; for Spain claimed the whole of it, not only on the ground of first discovery but in virtue of a grant from the Pope, — the latter title, as Milton has observed, being somewhat invalidated by the consideration that it extended to England, Scotland and Ireland, and all the other Protestant countries of Europe.

● These claims, of course, never had been, and in the interests of humanity and common sense never could be recognised, either by England or by any other European Power, least of all any Protestant state. The views entertained by Paterson of the boundless and consequently untenable claims to colonial empire on the part both of the Spanish and Portuguese, are pointedly expressed in a memoir, which he addressed to King William in 1701, in which, founding his argument upon the probable consequences of the union of the crowns of France and Spain in the House of Bourbon, he urges the occupation of Darien by the English as the only means of preventing a development of the colonial resources of Spain which would be dangerous to the other Powers. Speaking of the more easterly discoveries of the Portuguese in the Atlantic Ocean, he says: 'From thence proceeded that new and unheard-of method of dividing the world between Portugal and Spain, whereby, instead of claiming and denominating their properties and dominions from their possessions, or that of their ancestors, and settling and defining their limits by seas, rivers, lakes, mountains, morasses, or other natural or artificial boundaries on the superficies of the ground, according to the uninterrupted practice of all former ages, they now, by a quite other and contrary way, pretended to draw certain imaginary mathematical lines between heaven and earth, and with an arrogance more than human, presumed to claim for theirs all that lies between those lines, as if they thereby meant to encroach on God in heaven, as well as upon men on earth. By this division it is that the Portuguese have since claimed that, commonly called the eastern, and the Spaniards the western, side of the world.' That such had long been the sentiments of Paterson, and of the best class of London merchants, may be inferred from an earlier document, which proceeded ostensibly from the pen of his friend and associate in the projection of the Hampstead Water Company, Sir Dalby Thomas, but which his biographer is of opinion,\* not without ap-

parent reason, may have partially owed its authorship to Paterson himself. It is entitled 'An Historical Account of the Rise and Growth of the West India Colonies, and of the great Advantage they are to England in respect of Trade,' and is dedicated to Sir Robert Davers, 'once a planter in Barbadoes, and for more than twenty-five years, when a member of the House of Commons for Suffolk, the unwearied advocate of Paterson's claims of indemnity for his losses in Darien.'\* 'It was,' says the writer of this tract, 'an unaccountable negligence, or rather stupidity, of this nation, during the reigns of Henry VII., Henry VIII. and Edward VI., and Queen Mary, who could contentedly sit still and see the Spaniards rifle, plunder, and bring home undisturbed all the wealth of that golden world; and to suffer them, with forts and castles, to shut up the doors and entrances into all the rich provinces of America—having not the least title or pretence of right beyond any other nation, except that of being, by accident, the first discoverers of some parts of it.'

It has often been said that, in early life, Paterson was a buccaneer. The allegation has been indignantly denied by his biographer, and has obtained little credit even with those writers who have reviewed his history least favourably. But buccaneer or not, it is plain enough that he entertained, as a zealous Protestant and enterprising merchant, and one of the earliest advocates of free trade, feelings and opinions with reference to the Spanish dominion in America, and the exclusive commercial system which she pursued, very similar to those which the first generation of the 'Brotherhood of the Coast' inherited from the great naval captains of Queen Elizabeth's time, and which John Milton had not scrupled to set forth in his famous 'Manifesto,' as sufficient at any time to justify a war with Spain. These feelings and opinions had been acted on, not only by the 'Lord Protector,' but by every one of the legitimate sovereigns, both of England and France, for the last two hundred years. Colonies had been planted in the very centre of the so-called empire of Spain, if not with their previous sanction, at all events with their connivance and their *ex post facto* approval. If Lord Macaulay wonders that the directors of the Darien Company 'did not look into any of the common books of history or geography, in which an account of Darien was to be found, and ask themselves the simple question, whether Spain was likely to endure a Scotch colony in the heart of her transatlantic dominions,' we may, in our turn, be permitted to express

\* Bannister's Life, p. 50.

\* Ibid.



our surprise that it did not occur to him that the title which the Scotch proposed to establish to their Darien colony, was precisely that by which almost all the American colonies, both of France and England, were held, and was that on which the two countries had acted deliberately in 1625, when they divided the Island of St. Christopher's between them by a treaty of joint occupation and partition. It is supposed, moreover, that Paterson may himself have been concerned in the second colonisation of New Providence, and at any rate he knew well that when the Bahamas were first occupied by the English in 1629, they were not relinquished by Spain. The danger of provoking the vengeance of Spain, to which Paterson was no doubt quite conscious that he was exposing England, was a danger which England had already encountered in the case of every foot of plantation which she possessed in the West Indies.

But we are not left to conjecture on this important point in the discussion; for that neither England nor her sagacious king were in any degree moved by the risk of incurring Spanish hostility, now comes out positively from some very important facts and documents, quite new to the public we believe, which Mr. Bannister has contrived to stow away in odd corners of his disorderly volumes, and with which Lord Macaulay was probably not acquainted. When the Spanish undertaking came to be talked of in London, and supported by the purchase of its stock in the city, and when the English Consul at Hamburgh reported that it was there believed that Darien was to be the scene of the projected colony, the Board of Trade, on the 2d July, 1697, examined Dampier and Wafer on the extent of the Spanish possessions in that part of the Isthmus, and the capabilities of the region for purposes of colonisation. On the 10th August a report in writing was delivered to the Lords Justices by these two famous mariners; and acting on the information and the suggestions therein contained, the Board of Trade, whose deliberations were then guided by no less notable a person than John Locke, on the 16th September, presented the following memorable representation:—

‘Representation relating to taking possession of Golden Island and the port opposite it in the Isthmus of Darien.

“To their Excellencies the Lord Justices.

“May it please your Excellencies,

“Having in obedience to your commands, by our report of the 10th ult., offered such things as then seemed to us expedient to prevent any settlements on the Isthmus of Darien prejudicial to

the trade of this kingdom, we now, on farther information of the circumstances of that country, represent that the said country, never having been possessed by the Spaniards, and there being only two ports between Porto Bello and Carthagena, one opposite the south-east of Golden Island\*, secure for ships of three hundred tons, and the road between that island and the main very good; the other twenty leagues west of Golden Island, called Port Scrivan, for ships of one hundred tons, and dangerous,—we are of opinion that a competent number of men should be sent thither from hence or from Jamaica to take possession, for the Crown of England, of Golden Island and the port opposite to it on the main, to the exclusion of all other Europeans.

“This work seems to require all possible despatch, lest the Scotch Company be there before us, which is of the utmost importance to the trade of England.

“P. MEADOWS. J. LOCKE.

“J. POLLEXFEN. AR HILL.

“Whitehall, 16th September, 1697.”

In accordance with this representation Mr. Bannister asserts†, that ‘King William sent Captain Long, with a royal commission to explore the country with a view to settle it as English.’ We do not profess to have examined the ‘state papers and other archives,’ in which Mr. Bannister tells us ‘that interesting details on this subject are to be found;’ but of the existence of the representation there can, we imagine, be no doubt, and if the subsequent fact be as he states it, it is entirely conclusive as to the political argument against the Darien scheme. Moreover from information which Paterson procured and communicated to the Board of Directors during the short and unhappy existence of the colony, there seems reason to believe that the French harboured similar designs; and this information is curiously confirmed by a passage of one of the letters from Mr. Orth, the secretary to Sir Paul Riccaut the English Consul at Hamburgh, in which he says, ‘I have heard it whispered by French Roman Catholics that perhaps the French will be beforehand with the Scots in America.’ Lastly, before the herald appeared at the gate of St. Germain’s, ‘and with sound of trumpet, proclaimed in Latin, French, and English, King James III. of England and Eighth of Scotland,’ and thus changed the relations of King William III. of England to his continental neighbour, William had resolved to change his own policy with regard to the West Indies generally. There is extant a letter from Paterson to the Lord Treasurer Godolphin in 1709‡,

\* This was what was afterwards and is still called Caledonia Bay.

† Life, p. 128.

‡ Boyer’s ‘Political State,’ p. 269.; ‘Dialogues

in which he gives an account of an interview and conversation which he had 'in the last months of his life with this great but then uneasy prince,' in which, amongst other schemes for the public service of which the Union was the most prominent, he urged on him an attempt upon the principal ports of the West Indies. In fact troops were sent from Ireland to the West Indies so early as March, 1701, six months before James's death; and it was William who sent Benbow to the West Indies on the expedition which terminated so sadly in the beginning of the reign of his successor, and colonisation as well as war probably formed part of his original design.

But there is another consideration connected with the Darien scheme of greater importance than any we have yet mentioned—more weighty than the opinion even of William of Orange—in guiding us to a just view of the character of its projector: we mean the favourable contrast which it presents to the many social and economical heresies by which not that generation alone, but most other generations have been led astray. The Darien scheme rested on no commercial fallacy, no blunder in political economy, such as lay at the root of the gigantic 'bubbles,' which rose to the surface of society both in France and England during the next twenty years, and is the cause of all those smaller bubbles which are continually bursting in our own commercial world. It was no scheme of baseless credit, of a circulating medium, like Law's in France, which was not only to facilitate the production of material wealth, but actually to take the place of it and supply the want of it. There was to be a real colony, rich in its own productions, and richer still as the scene of a carrying trade more lucrative than the world had ever seen. The Darien scheme did not propose to interfere with the action of those laws of supply and demand which, whether we will or no, govern the universe of trade. If it was to be a monopoly, it was to be a monopoly of the most liberal kind, for its ports, like its share list, were to be open to the whole world, and the privileges conferred on its partners were to be nothing more than was requisite to induce them to risk their capital in an undertaking the advantages of which were by no means to be confined to them or to their country. The idea of establishing a shorter, safer, and cheaper communication with the East, and bringing the silks and gums and spices of India over the Western seas, was the original idea of Columbus: it was a favourite scheme

with Mr. Pitt; and we have the warrant of the genius of these two great men, the constant aspiration of all subsequent times, and, as regards a land communication, the experience of our own, for asserting that there was nothing absurd in it in the abstract.

If it be true that till his meeting with Fletcher of Saltoun in London, Paterson never for a moment dreamt of the enterprise being undertaken by Scotland alone, all that can fairly be charged against him is that he did not rush in at the last and dissuade his countrymen from attempting what he possibly may have suspected was beyond their strength. But is it just to charge him even with so much? Is there any reason either to suppose that he possessed the information which would have been requisite to enable him to convince them of their error, or to blame him for failing to procure it? Paterson never had been in a position to acquire any intimate knowledge of the national resources of Scotland, and for many years he had been absent from the country altogether.\* His information must consequently have been received on report, and if any report was to be believed, surely it was that of the whole body of his countrymen, of all classes, occupations, and conditions, crying out for the expedition as we know they did. Had the testimony been that of a few enthusiasts, like Fletcher, or of an excited rabble however numerous, we might blame Paterson for receiving it; but can we blame him if he hesitated to follow his own misgivings, if such he still retained, when he found that they were opposed to the assurances of the ministers of state, the nobles, the professional and trading classes as individuals and as corporate bodies,—assurances the sincerity of which they guaranteed by imperilling in many cases their whole possessions. 'The heads of three noble houses took 3000*l.* each, the Duke of Hamilton, the Duke of Queensbury, and Lord Belhaven, a man of ability, spirit, and patriotism, who entered into the design with enthusiasm not inferior to that of Fletcher. Argyle held 1500*l.* John Dalrymple, but too well known as the master of Stair, had just succeeded to his father's title and estate, and was now Viscount Stair. He put down his name for 1000*l.* The number of Scotch peers who subscribed was between thirty

\* In confirmation of this view we find him, five years afterwards, in his 'Proposals and Reasons for constituting a Council of Trade,' saying in his own impersonal way, but with manifest reference to himself, that 'those who were principally concerned in promoting the establishment and designs of the Company, might possibly be much unacquainted with the affairs of this kingdom, both as to men and things.' (*Works*, vol. i. p. 71.)

of the Wednesday Club, 1717; and Bannister's edition of Paterson's Works, p. xcv.

and forty. The city of Edinburgh in its corporate capacity, took 3000*l.*, the city of Glasgow 3000*l.*, the city of Perth, 2000*l.* But the greater the prevalence of the national folly, the greater is the justification of Paterson. Would it not have been a piece of the most extravagant conceit, to say the least of it, if he had set up his opinion as to the resources of Scotland, in opposition to the opinions of such men as Lord Macaulay has enumerated, and many others that he has omitted? If Duncan Forbes of Culloden, followed by Cockburn of Ormeston the Justice Clerk, the Dean and Faculty of Advocates, and almost the whole College of Justice, were not in a condition to tell him anything as to the powers and capabilities of Scotland, Paterson may surely be excused for his ignorance. And are we, at this distance of time, entitled to charge these men with so gross an act of folly?

That they were mistaken in the whole matter was of course demonstrated by the event; but was their error of the foolish and almost childish kind which is commonly supposed? Was it, as Defoe says in his 'History of the Union,' 'big with necessary abortions'? There are several considerations which lead us to hesitate in joining so severe a verdict on our forefathers. It is mainly on the small amount of money then circulating in Scotland, that an opinion has been formed as to the poverty of the land, and the folly of its inhabitants. What may have been the increase in the real wealth of Scotland in these hundred and fifty years, we cannot tell, but how far it is from having increased in proportion to the increase of money circulating in this country, comes out plainly enough from one of Lord Macaulay's own statements. 'Four hundred thousand pounds,' he says, 'probably bore as great a ratio to the wealth of Scotland then, as forty millions would bear now.' The circulating medium of Scotland, then, has increased a hundred fold. Will any one maintain that the actual wealth of Scotland has increased in anything like the same proportion, and that the salary of a judge, and the stipend of a minister, will purchase a hundred times the amount of the fruits of the earth now that they did then? That the circulating medium of a country will generally increase as it grows richer in material wealth, is unquestionable; and in trading communities especially, an increase in the former is an element to be taken into account in estimating an increase in the latter. But that in any case they necessarily observe the same ratio is a proposition which we entirely deny, and we cannot therefore accept results which to some extent seem to

have been founded on what we must regard if not as an unsound, at least as a very unsafe basis of calculation. The trade of Scotland, too, has increased enormously since the time of which we speak. But here again the general increase has scarcely been in proportion to that which would be exhibited by comparing the trade of a few of the principal ports then and now. In the 17th century, from the difficulty and expense attending the transport of goods by land, and other causes, the shipping was disseminated over a far greater number of ports. In the Forth, for example; the trade which is now concentrated in Leith, was spread over the towns along the coast; and Fife, from Luverkeithing to Crail, was fringed with thriving little seaport towns which carried on an active trade with France and Holland. Their imports were intended partly for consumption in Scotland, but partly also for reshipment to England, with which an important trade, mostly contraband, was carried on, till the Union. It was from Scotland too, that the Farmers General of France chiefly procured their tobacco, which was brought originally by the merchants of Glasgow from the West Indies.\*

But though we cannot find either Paterson or his Scottish patrons guilty without extenuating circumstances, we believe that in so far as the former is concerned, the accusation of having been too eager to try a rash experiment was really the fault of his character. Had Paterson been far less justified than he was in overestimating the resources of his native land, we fear that so long as he was not convinced that success was impossible he would still have been an advocate for the Expedition. Dear as Scotland probably was to him, we believe that the Darien scheme was dearer still; and that he would have risked Scotland with his eyes open for the merest chance of winning Darien. We are persuaded that the key to his very unusual character will be found neither in viewing him as a discontented Englishman nor a hot-headed Scot. It is quite possible, that he was disgusted with the treatment which he received from his brother-governors of the Bank of England; but that was not the cause of his going to Scotland; for he himself scarcely mentions the circumstance, and we know that he continued to be on excellent terms, and very influential with his English acquaintances on 'Change. Again, though something like national zeal may have been awakened in him for a time by the enthusiastic reception which he experienced on

\* Sir William Forbes' 'History of a Banking House,' p. 27.

coming to Scotland, it was not this feeling that bound him to the Darien enterprise. Before the Expedition sailed he had ceased to be the national idol, and had become the victim of unworthy, and, as it was afterwards ascertained, of utterly groundless suspicions; yet he accompanied it, not as its leader, as is generally imagined, but as a simple volunteer. But no sooner had it finally miscarried than he returned to England, bereft of his fortune but not of his hopes, and renewed his proposals to the king and the English Government and people, just as if nothing had occurred, and this at a period when all true Scotchmen would rather that Darien had been peopled by apes than by Englishmen to the end of time. These facts, taken along with the intimate continental relations which he maintained, with his offers of his scheme to the Hanseatic merchants and the princes of the German Empire, before he proposed it either to the English or the Scotch, induce us to believe that so far from being an enthusiastic patriot, Paterson was a citizen of the world, to the extent of being pretty nearly destitute of all feelings of country. Personally he was of a dispassionate, perhaps of a somewhat cold temperament, and he had less difficulty in curbing either his desires or his resentments than ordinary men. He was neither ambitious nor vain, and, so far as he from being avaricious, that there is reason to think that he was indifferent to gain almost to a fault. We know, at all events, that he voluntarily renounced his pecuniary interest in the enterprise, when its shares were still supposed, as Dr. Johnson said of Thrale's vats and boilers, to represent 'the potentiality of becoming rich beyond the dreams of avarice.'

But though his passions were not of the usual kind, we should be very far from conveying to our readers the conception which we have formed of Paterson's character, if we represented him as incapable of strong emotions. At this very time we believe him to have been possessed by an idea which stirred him with all the violence of the most absorbing passion. It was a passion, indeed, but of a kind which approached far more nearly to the passion of the scientific investigator than to that of the patriot or the gambler on the Stock Exchange. Paterson was essentially a political and social schemer and experimenter. To him the Darien scheme was a problem which he had worked out in the abstract with infinite care and thought, and on which he had brought to bear an amount of mercantile skill and knowledge, which probably was at the command of no other man of his

time. In his earliest letters from London to the Provost of Edinburgh he speaks of it as 'one of the most beneficial and best-grounded pieces of trade at this day in Christendom.' His passionate desire was to see this great scheme brought to the test of actual experiment, but by what Power in Christendom it was undertaken, provided that Power was not Spain, was a matter to which he seems to have been entirely indifferent. His sole anxiety was that it should be done on a grand scale. 'We must engage,' he says, 'some of the best heads and purses for trade in Europe therein, or we can never do it as it ought to be done.' Like most men of great ability, Paterson was a thorough believer in himself and in the creatures of his highly inventive mind. If his projects succeeded, as the Bank of England had done, his interest in them was gone; but so long as one of them was unrealised, nothing short of an experimental proof of its impossibility could induce him to abandon it. And the experiment would have required to be of a very decisive kind; for we know that he was never shaken in his belief in the Darien scheme for an instant by the disaster which occurred. Seen in this light, Paterson's character is delivered from those attributes of vulgarity by which, as represented by most of our historical writers, it is soiled. He takes rank amongst discoverers and inventors, and we begin to liken him to Columbus and Galileo and Palissy the Potter, in place of the swindling bankers and bankrupt merchants with whom we have been in the habit of classing him.

Whether this, to many, doubtless, somewhat novel view, be in reality the true estimate of his character is a question, which our readers will be more in a condition to decide when we have made them acquainted with what is known of his personal history, and placed before them a sketch of the literary fragments which have been traced to his pen. It is not unworthy of remark, however, that it was this view of Paterson's character, heightened by the belief that he was a patriot and a philanthropist of the most devoted kind, which filled the author of the 'Crescent and the Cross' with such enthusiasm for him and his projects: which led Eliot Warburton to write a romance in which he figures as the hero, and finally prompted him to undertake the expedition, in which he perished amidst the flames of the 'Amazon' or the waves of the Atlantic. After Warburton's untimely death, it was the same strong conviction which bound Bannister, another Englishman, to the task of investigating Paterson's history and col-

lecting his writings. If the enthusiasm of Warburton and the zeal of Bannister have succeeded in restoring a prominent figure to the gallery of our Scottish worthies, we thank them for their labours, though it must be admitted that neither of them has exhibited the highest order of ability in their respective works.

William Paterson was born in the spring of 1655; and a tradition so consistent as to leave no reasonable grounds for scepticism, fixes on the farm-house of Skipmyre, in the parish of Tinwald in Dumfriesshire, as the place of his birth. It is, or rather was, (for it has been pulled down recently,) a solitary farm-house on the crest of the hill as you rise from Lochmaben and the Vale of Annan, on the way to Dumfries. It may have been the residence of a small landed proprietor two centuries ago; and though Paterson's father held it merely as a tenant, it probably was somewhat superior to the ordinary farm-houses of the district, as the family is said to have removed, when Paterson was a child, to Kenharvey, near New-abbey, which is still a gentleman's seat. Paterson's family is believed to have been a branch of the Patersons of Bannockburn, who had already produced several persons of distinction. However this may be, there can be no question, from the position of his numerous relatives, that Paterson belonged to that extensive class in Scotland, which hangs between the farmers and the minor gentry, and which had so large a share in building up that 'monarchy of the middle classes' in India, which the present generation of Englishmen has thought proper to pull down. His parents certainly were not wealthy; but in addition to his farm, it is said that his father possessed a small estate in the neighbourhood, called Craigfield.

Mr. Bannister has entered into a long disquisition on Scottish education, in order to raise up a *probability* that Paterson was taught arithmetic before the age of seventeen! Had he known more of the usual career of a Scottish youth of his class, he might have taken somewhat more for granted in behalf of his hero. Nothing is known, it is true, of the school which he attended, but there is every reason to believe that he studied at the University of Glasgow; and as thirteen was then by no means an unusual age for going to college, it is not improbable that he passed through the full curriculum of arts. His college tickets were preserved in the family till recently; and though no trace of his name is to be found on the college books, that fact does not militate against the probability of his attendance, the record being confined to those

students who took degrees. The tradition amongst his descendants has always been that he was designed for the Episcopal Church, but that, his mother being a Presbyterian\*, he embraced that form of Church government with so much zeal, as to have been ultimately compelled to quit Scotland in order to escape from Claverhouse's dragoonade. If he had become a preacher, in accordance with the arrangements of the Presbyterian Church his studies must have been greatly more protracted, and he cannot possibly have quitted Scotland at so early an age as seventeen. Of this, however, there is neither proof nor probability beyond his frequent use of scriptural language, which in that time particularly by no means necessitates such an inference. In one point of view it is very unfortunate that we cannot learn something more of Paterson's career at Glasgow. In many respects his doctrines in trade and political economy were anticipations of those which we are in the habit of ascribing to Adam Smith; and the question consequently occurs whether, or to what extent, they were inherited by both from the earlier traditions of the trading metropolis of the West.

On quitting Scotland Paterson is said to have gone first to Bristol, to the house of a widow lady, a relation of his mother, who afterwards left him a small sum of money with which he entered into trade. Whether this female benefactor be in any way the prototype of his first wife, — who was the widow of a New England minister called Bridge, — or whether both are to be identified with the 'warm widow,' under whose wing he is said by one of his libellers to have seated himself in his youth 'near Oxford,' it is impossible to discover. But it is instructive to find that the account of his having won the heart of a 'comely dame' who 'presided over one of the great coffee-houses in the neighbourhood of the Royal Exchange,' rests upon no higher authority than this very same lampoon. 'His former wife being at rest,' says this trustworthy chronicler of poor Paterson's domestic arrangements, 'and he in want of a help that was meet for him,' 'not being nice, went no farther than the red-faced coffee-woman, a widow in Birchin Lane, whom he afterwards carried to the Isthmus of Darien: and, at her first landing, thrust her about seven feet under ground, to make the possession, *de facto*, of New Caledonia more authentic.'

It is to similar, and for the most part to the same authority, that we trace all the ac-

\* Paterson, the last Archbishop of Glasgow, was his relation on his father's side.

counts of Paterson being a pedlar, a tub-  
 orator, a missionary, and a buccancer.  
*When* he visited the West Indies, and in  
 what capacity, are subjects of interesting  
 conjecture, on which it is by no means im-  
 possible that farther light may still be  
 thrown. But that it was in such a manner  
 as to render him a person of consideration  
 in those parts is placed beyond controversy  
 by a document drawn up by Principal Dun-  
 lop of the University of Glasgow, and an  
 eminent merchant, Mr. Robert Blackwood,  
 who were deputed by the Darien Company  
 to inquire into a charge against him of em-  
 bezzling money with which he had been in-  
 trusted for the purchase of stores for the  
 fleet in Amsterdam. Besides entirely ac-  
 quitting him of the accusation, the reporters  
 strongly recommended that he should still  
 be employed by the Company : —

'We are convinced,' they say, 'that Mr. Pater-  
 son's going along with the Company's intended  
 expedition is, we will not say absolutely necessary,  
 but may be very profitable and convenient for  
 these reasons, — first, it is well known that for a  
 considerable course of years he has applied him-  
 self to the knowledge of whatsoever doth princi-  
 pally relate to settlements; and certainly the ad-  
 vantages of his experience, reading, and converse  
 must needs be very assisting to those whom the  
 Company will think fit to entrust with the man-  
 agement of their affairs out of Europe; secondly,  
 Mr. Paterson having certainly a considerable re-  
 putation in several places of America, and where-  
 ever the Company will settle, the account of his  
 being there will doubtless be a means to invite  
 many persons from the neighbouring plantations,  
 who are possessed with an opinion of him.'

That Paterson's pursuits in America had  
 reference to his great scheme, and that his  
 inquiries were conducted with no ordinary  
 care and diligence, is established by the  
 Minutes of the Court of Directors : —

'The said Committee of Foreign Trade, upon  
 viewing and perusing of several manuscript books,  
 journals, reckonings, exact illuminated maps, and  
 other papers of discovery in Africa and the East  
 and West Indies produced by Mr. Paterson; as  
 also upon hearing and examining several designs  
 and schemes of trade and discovery by him pro-  
 posed,

'Resolved, that in the opinion of this Com-  
 mittee the said Mr. Paterson hath, with much  
 pains and expense, procured several discoveries  
 of places of trade and settlement which, if duly  
 prosecuted, may prove exceedingly beneficial to  
 this Company.'

And there is a subsequent resolution to  
 this effect : —

'Resolved, that it is the opinion of this Com-  
 mittee that the said Mr. Paterson hath not only  
 been at a vast charge of money in making and

procuring these discoveries of trade, but likewise  
 made considerable steps and progresses in several  
 negotiations and agreements concerning trade and  
 commerce with foreigners, which, if duly prose-  
 cuted, may be of certain and great advantage to  
 this Company.' (*Darien Papers*, p. 12.)

In the verification of his assertions by  
 subsequent discoveries, Paterson has been  
 almost as fortunate as Herodotus. It is  
 not our intention to revive the controversy  
 carried on a few years ago\* between the At-  
 lantic and Pacific Junction Company, which  
 was formed for the purpose of constructing  
 a ship-canal from what is still called Port  
 Escoscos to the Gulf of San Miguel, (the  
 very route which Paterson suggested as  
 most suitable either for a canal or a carry-  
 ing trade,) and the supporters of the route  
 by Lake Nicaragua, contemplated by the  
 Clayton-Bulwer Convention between Eng-  
 land and the United States. The result of  
 the surveys made by the second expedition  
 undertaken by Mr. Gisborne, with the co-  
 operation of the governments of England,  
 France, and America, and the consent of  
 New Granada, as given in the Proceedings  
 of the Geographical Society under date  
 June 9, 1856, seems to be that the con-  
 struction of an inter-oceanic canal at that  
 particular part of the Isthmus, is impossible,  
 without locks and tunnels; and in this re-  
 spect Mr. Gisborne's own previous impres-  
 sions, formed on a partial examination of  
 the country in 1852, and those of Dr. Cul-  
 len, the enterprising traveller, at whose  
 suggestion the surveys were undertaken,  
 have been proved to be erroneous. The  
 map and the sections which Mr. Gisborne  
 has now laid before the public speak for  
 themselves; and they establish the fact that  
 a ship canal from Port Escoscos to the  
 Gulf of San Miguel is a geographical im-  
 possibility. What may be the ultimate  
 decision as to Mr. Kelly's Atrato route,  
 which has the sanction of the high authority  
 of Humboldt, and of which Sir Roderick  
 Murchison still spoke hopefully in his ad-  
 dress to the Geographical Society in 1858,  
 or of any of the other routes which have  
 been or may be proposed, we cannot tell.  
 But, with Humboldt, we have 'too much  
 faith in the power of the resources offered  
 by modern civilisation to be discouraged;' and,  
 like him, we feel that 'there is nothing  
 more likely to obstruct the extension of  
 commerce and the freedom of international  
 relations than to create a distaste for any  
 farther investigation, by now discouraging,  
 as some are too positive in doing, all hope

\* The letters are reprinted in Dr. Cullen's '*Darien*,' p. 124, *et seq.*



of an oceanic channel.\* The solution of the most important practical problem that ever was offered to engineering, is scarcely likely to be permanently defeated by the interposition of a ridge of hills, over which Commander Wood walked in a single forenoon, leaving his ship in the Atlantic after breakfast and bathing before mid-day in a river which flowed into the Pacific. What Humboldt ascertained that the poor curate of Novitia, with the help of his Indian parishioners, had accomplished on a small scale in 1788, cannot prove ultimately impossible on any scale that the requirements of commerce may indicate, when we have the interests of the whole world as a guarantee for its accomplishment. But the credit of Paterson is not dependent on the solution of this unsolved if not insoluble question, for the formation of a ship canal was not amongst his more immediate projects†; and, as regards all the other advantages which he ascribed to the locality, his testimony is borne out by the fullest evidence. 'The harbours,' says Mr. Gisborne, 'are magnificent, the climate healthy, the country fertile and covered with valuable timber. In fact, everything exists for anything but a ship navigation suited to the commerce of the two hemispheres.' The scheme of a passage across or through the Isthmus of Panama has at various times excited the interest of men of all countries. One of these projectors was no less a person than the present Emperor of the French; and we have now before us a pamphlet privately printed in England in 1846, shortly after his escape from Ham, in which he discusses the various modes of executing the scheme, and pledges himself 'during his stay in this country, to endeavour to secure the co-operation of all persons of enlarged and intellectual minds to the undertaking.' He states (p. 55.) that the climate of the Isthmus is generally considered very healthy, although intermittent fever by

neglect degenerates into typhus; there are no epidemics 'peculiar to it.'

There is no count on which Paterson has been more unanimously condemned than that of carrying his countrymen to a region in which no European could live. 'The poisonous air, exhaled from rank jungle and stagnant water,' says Lord Macaulay, 'had compelled them (the Spaniards) to remove to the neighbouring haven of Panama; and the Red Indians had been contemptuously permitted to live after their own fashion on the pestilential soil.' And yet there is no point on which recent investigations have more fully confirmed Paterson's assertions, than with reference to the climate of the Isthmus. In this respect Mr. Gisborne's second reports fully confirm his first impression. Nor does he stand alone. Dr. Cullen, a medical man who spent years on the spot, exactly reverses the received account of the matter. The towns which the Spaniards planted, he says, have been situated in swampy localities 'in the most unfavourable positions in a sanitary point of view;' but the salubrious character of the Isthmus generally is proved by the great number of old persons whom it contains; and he assures us that even in the rainy season he himself lived and laboured without injury on the very spot where so terrible a mortality took place amongst our countrymen. 'In 1850, and also in 1851, I crossed and recrossed at several times and by different tracks, the route from the Savana to Port Escosés and Caledonia Bay, notching the trees as I went along with a *macheta* or cutlas, always alone and unaided, and always in the season of the heaviest rain.\* Mr. Gisborne says, 'This portion of the Isthmus is without doubt in one of the most healthy districts. Neither Mr. Forde nor I suffered in the least from the climate until our return to Panama, notwithstanding we were often days together in the same wet clothes, without a blanket to cover us at night and living on bad provisions.† Another authority, who says that the climate is wet, also adds that those connected with the expeditions suffered little from the rains. 'The two precautions necessary to be taken are to provide abundant shelter and wholesome food.' It was just these two precautions that the rulers of New Edinburgh failed to take, and for the neglect of which even the erection of Darien into a Presbytery by their anxious friends in the General Assembly at home did not entirely compensate. That Darien

\* Letter to Mr. Frederick Kelly. Proceedings of the Geographical Society for 1856, p. 69.

† He is always very cautious on the subject. In his memorial to King William in 1701, he discusses the various passes, and the only one which he mentions as at all suitable for a canal is Chagres. 'There is, by land,' he says, 'about eight short French leagues, six whereof are so level that a canal might easily be cut through, and the other two leagues are not so very high and impracticable ground but that a cut might likewise be made were it in these places of the world; but, considering the present circumstances of things in those, it would not be so easy. However, in the meantime, with no great pains and expense, a good and passable way, not only for man and horse, as it already is, but for carts, waggons, or other sort of carriage, might easily be made.' (*Works*, vol. ii. p. 140.)

\* Darien, p. 19.

† Engineer's Report, Gisborne's Darien, p. 237.

should be settled as a colony, was one of Paterson's prominent objects; and on its capabilities in this respect Dr. Cullen has the following remarks:—

'So luxuriantly fertile is the whole country on this route, and so manifold are its agricultural advantages, that totally irrespective of the project of a canal, I would most strongly recommend it to the attention of the colonists, as presenting from the valuable nature of its products, and the precocity of their growth, a more eligible locality for settling; and as affording a greater certainty of a speedy return for capital and labour, and a surer prospect of the attainment of affluence than any other agricultural country.'

It is believed that Paterson received a portion of his early mercantile education in Holland, and on his return from America it is doubtful whether he went back to that country or settled in London. But in 1687 he was often met with in the coffee-houses of Amsterdam. Robert Douglas, the writer of a letter against the scheme in the select Darien papers preserved in MS. in the Advocate's library\*, says, 'that in that year he had occasion to reside in that city about six months together, and was oftentimes in the coffee-house which Mr. Paterson frequented, and heard the accounts of the design, which was to erect a commonwealth and free port in the Emperor of Darien's country, as he was pleased to call that poor miserable prince.' But the Darien scheme was not the only 'piece of trade' which occupied Paterson's attention in Holland. The Bank of Amsterdam had been for more than eighty years an extensive and well-managed establishment, exhibiting all the features of a bank of deposit, and occasionally lending a few millions of florins to the States. There were older establishments of the same kind at Venice, Geneva, Barcelona, and above all at Genoa, with all of which it is probable that Paterson had become more or less acquainted during his wandering life. But it is well known that his more immediate inspiration came from Holland, and that it was from the Bank of Amsterdam that he borrowed the idea of the Bank of England, just as it was to the banking experience of the Dutch that his countrymen the Couttses, Herrieses and Forbeses looked, half a century later, when they established the private banking system of this country.

We shall have something to say of the principles of banking which Paterson advocated when we come to speak of his works. In the meantime we must gather together

the few remaining facts which we possess relating to his private history. How long he remained in Holland at this time is not known, but three years later, in 1690, we find him in London, engaged along with Sir John Trenchard, Sir Dalby Thomas, and other persons of eminence in the organisation of the Hampstead Water Works Company.\*

As Paterson was a Whig and a Presbyterian, much connected with Holland, it is easy to see that London would be a more desirable place of residence for him after the Revolution than before it; and though he does not seem to have been positively in exile, it is likely that he returned with the other members of his party during or shortly after 1688. He was sincerely attached not only to the principles but to the person of 'Good King William,' as he calls him in his Wednesday Club Papers, an attachment which we have seen was not destroyed even by the unfortunate conduct into which the king was led by his anxiety to gratify the jealousies and allay the fears of the chartered companies in the Darien affair. Much obscurity rests on the relation in which Paterson stood to the government, during the seven years which elapsed between the Revolution and his coming to Scotland in 1695; and what little is or might be known on the subject, Mr. Bannister has thrown into such confusion as to defy our humble powers to unravel it. He seems to have been consulted, probably in connexion with Locke, regarding the debased state of the silver coinage, in consequence of which guineas had actually risen to the value of 30s. a-piece, and to have proposed remedies which were opposed by the 'managers of the revenue,' but ultimately in great measure adopted by the stat. 8 Will. III. c. 2. It was in 1691 that his plan of a National Bank was first submitted to the government, and favourably received both by statesmen and merchants.† His scheme for the establishment of a sinking fund for the payment of the national debt, which was adopted in 1717, begins to be mentioned about this period, and it was then also that he founded an orphan bank, by means of which the Corporation of the City of London was to be relieved from a difficulty on account of money due to the city orphans.‡ All these matters require, and we trust will yet receive, farther elucidation. The services of the Bank of England, when finally established in 1694, in

\* Books of the Company in their office in London; Bannister's Life, p. 64.

† Macaulay, vol. iv. p. 498.

‡ Works, Biog. Introduction, p. xxiii.

raising and at once lending to the Government what must then have seemed the enormous sum of 1,200,000*l.*, and thus enabling King William to conclude the peace of Ryswick, are often alluded to by Paterson with honest pride. In the Wednesday Club Dialogues he says, that 'Under God it became the principal means of the success of the campaign in the following year 1695\* ; particularly in reducing the important city and fortress of Namur, the first material step to the peace concluded at Ryswick two years after.'

The subsequent six years of Paterson's life were spent partly in Scotland and partly in Darien. The wisdom and patience with which he contended against the folly and incapacity and hypocrisy of the Council of Seven, to whom the conduct of the Expedition was intrusted; the spirit with which he tried to rally them and to induce them to remain till reinforcements arrived; the perseverance with which he clung to the colony till, sick and insensible, he was at last actually carried 'on board the "Unicorn" in a great hurry;' and the wonderful elasticity with which, after his return, he strove to regain the ground which had been lost, are facts demonstrated by the papers now published, and which seem indeed to have been at last very fully acknowledged by the directors of the Company. The official report which he presented to the directors is a wonderfully temperate, sober, and business-like document, when we consider the terrible scenes through which he had passed. His own sickness is mentioned merely for business purposes, and his personal losses and family bereavements are never once alluded to. But that he was not insensible to what had occurred is plain enough from other writings of his which have been preserved. Here, for example, is a passage from one of his letters, written in 1700, two years after, when he had somewhat recovered from the blow which his hopes and spirits received from the miscarriage of the Expedition. There is about it a very strongly Presbyterian, we had almost said a Dissenting flavour; but if the reader will accept it, as we do, as entirely sincere, he will probably agree with us in thinking that it presents an attractive picture of what we believe to have been a meek, and earnest, and gifted mind.

'I comfort myself, hoping that at last Almighty God will make us glad according to the days wherein He hath afflicted us; and in all my troubles it is no small satisfaction to have lived

to have given the Company and the world unquestionable proof that I had not any selfish or sinister designs in promoting this work, and that unfeigned integrity had been at the bottom of it. How and what I have suffered in the prosecution of it God only knows; and God Almighty lay it no farther to their charge who have been the cause. I have always prayed for this, but must needs confess could never, since my unkind usage, find the freedom of spirit I do now; and I must needs say that my concern of spirit is such that I could not only join with those who have done me prejudice, although it had been willingly, but even with the greatest enemies I am capable of having, to save my country and secure this Company. But it is far from this, for I am persuaded that what has been done to my prejudice has been done ignorantly, as appears by my worthy and kind reception after so many misfortunes.'

Even in this spirit, however, he was not incapable of using pretty strong language, and the following is accordingly the very next passage of this same letter:—

'One thing I had forgot, which relates to the weekly precedence (in the government of the colony): I think it ridiculous nonsense. It was the invention of mean spirits, raw heads, and jealous and presumptuous fools that had no virtue of their own and not a little presumption, which made them so unwilling to believe it in other people. If my advice, therefore, be taken, make a monthly president until the Company shall from hence take order. This will make your proceedings more certain, steady, and honourable. And pray let no man be in the Council who has any inferior station.'

In his plan for reviving the Darien Settlement, of which a full account is given in Sir John Dalrymple's Memoirs, Paterson insisted strongly on the participation of England, and proposed that of the two millions sterling which he calculated as the necessary capital, *four-fifths* should belong to England; a fact, as Mr. Bannister remarks, which shows how little he took a merely Scottish view of the matter. But so little were his sentiments reciprocated by his countrymen, that in 1700 an outbreak of hostilities between the two kingdoms seemed to be imminent, and the northern counties were actually placed in an attitude of defence. Of Paterson's position and personal difficulties at this period we have an interesting example in a letter addressed to King William by the Duke of Queensbury, the Royal Commissioner in Scotland:

'The African Company,' says his Grace, 'have appointed a committee of seven of these members to confer with Mr. Paterson; and to concert and digest in writing such things as they shall agree upon as proper to be demanded in Perth. Mr. Paterson is, in his judgment, against moving anything in this session about Caledonia, and tells me that he has gained some considerable men to

\* The date of the Charter is July 27, 1694.

his opinion. The poor man acts with great diligence and affection to the King and country. He has no bye end, and loves this government both in Church and State. He knows nothing yet of my having obtained anything for him; and I am a little embarrassed how to give to him what I am allowed for him, lest his party in that Company should conceive any unjust jealousy of him, or he himself think that I intend as a bribe that which is really an act of charity.' (*Carstairs's Papers*, 4to edition, 1774, p. 631.)

To distract the attention of his countrymen from the irritating topic of Darien, Paterson now proposed the establishment of his Council of Trade. It is probable, however, that the great moderation of his views prevented him from regaining, in such a state of national feeling, any great degree of personal popularity. We find accordingly that he returned to London in 1701, having lost since he quitted it, according to Mr. Bannister's computation, about 10,000*l*. From this period till the negotiation of the Treaty of Union, for which he had all along been a zealous advocate, there is no proof of his having been directly connected with Scottish affairs, though it is said that in 1705, he was the means of preventing the Scottish parliament from resorting to the issue of inconvertible paper money. He resided in London, pursuing the literary avocations of which we shall have presently to speak, and occasionally giving his advice to the Government in financial matters. On the occasion of the Union he was employed by the Lord Treasurer Godolphin, to adjust the commercial and financial relations between the two countries, a work for which Mr. Bannister tells us that he received, along with his associates, Dr. Gregory and Mr. Bower, the sum of 200*l*. Probably in consideration of the services which he then rendered, as well as on the ground of the old debts which the country owed him, the Parliament of Scotland agreed with its expiring voice to recommend him to the Queen. The minutes bear, 'It being moved to recommend Mr. Paterson to her Majesty for his good services, after some reasoning thereon it was put to the vote—Recommend him to her Majesty or not? and it was carried, recommend.' When the first general election for the United Parliament took place, he was chosen for the burgh of Dumfries, but the return was a disputed one, and his rival ultimately retained the seat. Herewith ends, so far as we know, Paterson's connexion with Scotland. By one of those strange mischances which seem so often to have befallen him, his claim for his share of the large sum which was paid by England, as an 'equivalent' for the burdens to which Scotland was subjected by becoming an in-

tegral part of the United Kingdom, and for the Darien losses, was overlooked in the original division; and though he was found entitled to compensation by a decree of the Court of Exchequer, and though a Committee of the House of Commons, in 1713, reported in favour of his claim, and awarded him 18,241*l*. 10*s*. 10½*d*.<sup>\*</sup>; and likewise recommended that such 'recompense be given to him as might be suitable to his services, expenses, losses, and public cares;' it was not till the accession of George I. that anything at all was actually paid to him. During the period which intervened he was reduced to great pecuniary inconvenience, if not to positive destitution. It is said that he taught mathematics and navigation; but the report may have originated in the fact, that his library contained many works on the subject. He is known, moreover, to have possessed some skill in engineering, and in the close of his Memoir on British Enterprise in America, he speaks of a paper which he had written on nautical improvements. In 1712 and 1713, two or three entries of 100*l*. and 50*l*. stand against his name in the Queen's bounty list; and he presented a memorial, in which he says that, 'he depends on the public service; and with his whole family is so reduced, that without a speedy provision he must perish.' He modestly touches on his services to the country in relieving the public credit by planning the Bank of England, and urges a claim for a provision till the question of his title to a share of the equivalent should be finally adjusted, 'that he might devote his whole life to the state.' In 1715 an Act of Parliament (1 Geo. I. c. 9.) was finally passed in his favour. It is a private Act, and as the practice of printing private Acts was not adopted till the succeeding reign, all that appears on the statute book is the rubric, 'An Act of relieving William Paterson, Esq., out of the equivalent money, for what is due to him.' The fact of the payment, however, is thus placed beyond all reasonable question; and though here, as usual, Mr. Bannister neglects to quote the authority on which he states the amount, it may be pretty safely inferred that it was the sum which the Committee of 1713 had reported to be due. It was during the period of his comparative poverty, no doubt, that Paterson experienced the kindness of 'his good friend, Mr. Paul Daranda,' the Merchant Prince of Mr. Warburton's romance, whom Paterson leaves as his executor in his will,

<sup>\*</sup> Commons' Journals, vol. xvii. p. 460., 12 Anne; Life and Writings, vol. ii. p. 238.; Life, p. 381.

and to whom he bequeathed 1000*l*. It is satisfactory to know that with the aid of such friends, and with the means to which he had succeeded through his wives, who both died before him, he was able to live in a large house, in a good neighbourhood, with a numerous family around him, and that even his library survived the wreck of his fortunes, and was ultimately offered by him to the nation as the nucleus of a library of trade and agriculture. It is said by Mr. Bannister that he must have quitted his house (5, Queen Square, Westminster,) in July 1718, as it is entered as 'empty' in the books of St. Margaret's, for the two last quarters of that year. The effect of this discovery is to render the place both of his death and burial uncertain, which otherwise we should pretty confidently have asserted to be London. From the time that he quitted Scotland after the miscarriage of the Darien affair, till within six months of his death, at all events, there seems no doubt that his habitual residence was in London, where he lived as little noticed, and not improbably died as little lamented, by the vast majority of those for whom he had lived and schemed and suffered, as if he had been one of the thousands of respectable old gentlemen who annually arrive at the termination of a long life spent in the midst of their fellow creatures, without ever having been known to harbour an interest but their own.

The first of Paterson's works presented to us in Mr. Bannister's collection — 'Proposals and Reasons for constituting a Council of Trade' — is in many ways a remarkable production. It was published in 1700, after all immediate hope of establishing the colony of Darien had been abandoned; and five years afterwards its provisions were embodied, to a limited extent, and in a modified form, in the 'Act for appointing a Council of Trade,' which was one of the last efforts at independent action of the Scottish Parliament and nation, and which Paterson in all probability prepared. Though his eye was still fixed on colonisation as an ultimate object, Paterson's more immediate endeavour now was to develop the internal resources of Scotland. Wealth and prosperity at home, he felt would serve not only as a temporary substitute to his countrymen for the success in foreign enterprise which they had been denied, but would afford the surest guarantee against future disappointment. In that age Europe in general was bursting the bonds of mediæval life. Feudal relations, which half a century before had been important social facts, were fast becoming mere legal

fictions; monopolies were no longer suited to the spirit of enterprise which had taken hold of the whole community; and corporate, municipal, and provincial interests were giving way before the interests of the nation. Industry was everywhere struggling forward towards the wider fields and freer air in which it has since developed its energies and its resources so marvellously. Scotland's ambition was now to put its shoulder to the work which the northern nations had specially marked out for themselves, and to take rank amongst them, in place of continuing to be, as it had been hitherto, a small and turbulent community, of which the best that could be said in a European sense was, that it was an outlying ally of France.

Many causes had contributed to this general movement; and Paterson mentions one to which, as a merchant and a financier, who had spent his youth in the Spanish main, he probably attached a somewhat exaggerated importance:—

'The vast currents of treasure,' he says, 'which have flowed from these unparalleled sources of the New World within this last two hundred years, have so altered the measures of war, shaken the maxims of peace, and otherwise confounded as well as amazed the old, that all thinking men are now become highly sensible how advantageous it is for people to promote and support their trade, navigation, and industry, and how dangerous it is to neglect it.'

Scotland, as we have said, had hitherto been backward in this race of nations. The poverty of her soil, and her ungenial climate, but still more her religious wars, had cramped her energies and wasted her resources. In most other countries the questions arising out of the Reformation had been settled for a century before Paterson was born; but Paterson himself had been driven out of Scotland in his youth, by the fury with which they were still debated; and it was not till the Revolution that the Reformation was consummated in his native land. But though the opportunities of Scotland had been limited, Paterson had insight enough into the character of her people to pronounce it to be, as it has proved itself since, peculiarly fitted for success in commercial enterprises. 'A considerable measure of the genius of trade and improvements,' he says, 'seems to incline to Scotland;' and his object now was to give this 'genius' the benefits of direction and organisation. His commercial scheme, in its general scope, was not original; for apart from earlier continental efforts for the organisation of trade, with which he was probably well acquainted, it had more

than once received a partial realisation in England. As Hallam\* speaks vaguely of a Council of Trade, as a mere proposal in William's reign, 'the precise nature of which Burnet has not explained,' and as Macaulay is altogether silent on the subject, it may not be superfluous that we should call to mind that what is now one of the most important departments of government in this country, owed its origin to Cromwell. Whitelock tells us, in his 'Memorials,'† that 'the Protector and Council appointed a council of trade, to consider how to improve, order, and regulate the trade and navigation of the Commonwealth.' Whitelock himself was a member of this body, and he gives entire, the letter by which he was summoned to attend its first meeting in the Painted Chamber at Westminster, on the 27th November, 1655. Carlyle has referred to the fact in his own peculiar manner, in his edition of Cromwell's Letters and Speeches. 'It was,' he says, 'an assemblage of dignitaries, chief merchants, political economists,' and he repeats, with a slight Carlylian variation, Whitelock's plain statement, that the affair 'was a business of much importance to the Commonwealth, and the Protector was eagerly set upon it.' This Council of Trade unquestionably was the prototype of the present Committee of the Privy Council for Trade and Plantations, commonly known as 'The Board of Trade.' At the Restoration, Charles II. erected two separate councils, the one for Trade, and the other for the Plantations. These two bodies were united in 1672, into a joint Council for Trade and Plantations, which existed however only for about three years. During the twenty years which elapsed between 1675 and 1695, there seems to have been no separate department intrusted with these functions, which consequently reverted to the Privy Council. In the latter year, however, the Commission was revived by William, expressly for the purpose of watching over the interests of England, and for preventing competition of the kind with which the English were then threatened by the Scotch; not without serious misgivings, it is said, as to the extent to which its powers might encroach on the royal prerogative. Locke and Sir Philip Meadows were two of the original members of the Board, and at a later period Gibbon accepted a seat in the Commission. After many changes, this old Board was again abolished‡ in 1762, and in

1786 the present permanent Committee of the Privy Council was established.

But though in this matter he cannot lay claim to the character of an inventor, Paterson's scheme exhibited abundant originality in its details. We scarcely know whether to marvel most at the points in which he has anticipated, or at those in which he has fallen short of, the discoveries in principle which a wider experience has forced upon later times. Paterson's notion of a Council of Trade was that the whole community should place its trading resources in the hands of its most enlightened and influential members, with a view to the common benefit; that it should become, in short, one vast trading company, guided by the whole wisdom and experience which it contained. This Council of Trade was to consist of a president, to be annually appointed by his Majesty, and of twelve counsellors; three of whom were to be chosen by the estate of nobility, three by the estate of barons, three by the estate of boroughs, and three by the Council General of the Indian and African Company. The following sketch of the qualifications of those who were to be entrusted with the interests of their fellow countrymen, is very characteristic of Paterson's own earnestness and loftiness of purpose:—

'That it may be strictly recommended and enjoined by his Majesty and the estates of Parliament, that the persons who shall be nominated or chosen for president and councillors of trade from time to time may be men of truth, courage, and of known and approved integrity, and of good morals, not covetous, mean-spirited, or of narrow dispositions, but endued with a reasonable measure of understanding and largeness of heart, without which no man ever yet was or indeed possibly can be, so much as tolerably fit for a public employment or trust. And that they may likewise be such as, fundamentally at least, understand arithmetic and accounts, and who have an inclination and genius for the knowledge and study of matters relating to trade and improvements, and who are unwearied in their industry and application.'

It was not in vain that such magnificent endowments, moral and intellectual, were demanded of the body, for almost the whole revenues and charitable endowments of the kingdom were to be placed at their disposal. They were to levy taxes, to collect the rents of the crown lands, and in the meantime were to be empowered to borrow a million sterling by anticipation upon the credit of the funds which they were authorised to raise. Out of this sum the losses of the proprietors of the Darien Company were to

of Materials for the History of the Public Departments,' p. 79.

\* Constitutional History, vol. iii. p. 143.

† Vol. iv. p. 216., edition of 1853, and p. 630. of the folio edition.

‡ 22 Geo. III. c. 82. See Mr. Thomas's 'Notes



be paid in the first instance, an arrangement which, considering that that body comprised almost every man who possessed either money or power in Scotland, was probably indispensable to the success of any other scheme. The Council of Trade was farther to be empowered to purchase the stock of the proprietors of the Company, so as to render it a national enterprise. The existing institution being thus disposed of in a manner which it is not difficult to see must have been highly gratifying to its shareholders, Paterson proceeded to define the powers and functions of his council in other directions. In the first place it was to be a Court Merchant, possessing the judicial, and all other powers of the Court of Admiralty. The members of the Council, personally, or by their deputies, were to hear and determine all maritime and mercantile cases, 'by the law-merchant and that of the sea, as known and practised in the most considerable trading countries and cities of Christendom.' But it is in the following article that the peculiarities of the scheme come more prominently to light:—

'That the Council of Trade be empowered to purchase and build workhouses, and likewise to purchase and procure all other means and materials for employing, relieving, and maintaining the poor, and for encouraging, promoting, and increasing the manufactories and fisheries of this kingdom; to build and erect granaries for the well keeping of stores and quantities of corn in all such places of this kingdom as they shall judge necessary; and from time to time to buy up and keep at a regular rate the several growths and manufactures of this kingdom, so as the poor in particular may not be imposed upon nor oppressed by extreme cheapness or want of money for their work on the one hand, nor the nation in general by extreme dearth on the other.'

Institutions of the character of our modern penitentiaries, it would seem, were also in Paterson's eye, and it was to be in the power of the criminal judges to commute the punishment of death, which was then inflicted for theft, to the scriptural repayment fourfold, or imprisonment for three or more years, with hard labor. He was sanguine enough to suppose that the fruits of this labour would more than cover the cost of subsistence, and provides that the surplus shall be equally divided between the party injured and the Council of Trade. Fraudulent bankruptcy was put on the same footing with theft, but in all cases in which the bankruptcy had arisen from misfortune, it was to be in the power of the Council to dispense with imprisonment altogether. Those who are acquainted with the origin of the poor laws of Scotland, know to what an extent the country was overrun in former

times by vagabonds and 'sturdy beggars,' and many will remember that to Paterson's ingenious friend, Fletcher of Saltoun, the evil had seemed to be of so formidable a nature, as to admit of no remedy short of a return to the institution of domestic slavery. The following proposal is of a milder character, but the concluding clause savours somewhat of Fletcher's spirit, and as Paterson indicates his acquaintance with his views, it may have been due to his influence:—

'That the Council of Trade may likewise have power to seize and compel all such persons as shall be found begging, and under the age of twenty years, to work until they shall come to the age of twenty three years; and all such as shall be of the age of twenty years or upwards for the space of three years; and all sorts of vagabonds or idle persons for a reasonable proportion of time, according to the nature of their several offences; and that all such persons as shall stand condemned, or compelled to work at the public works, may, by the Council of Trade, be employed at home or abroad, by sea or by land, or their persons and services may be transferred, assigned, or disposed of to others at the discretion of said Council of Trade.'

It will probably surprise many of our readers to be told that more than half a century before the publication of the 'Wealth of Nations,' and some years before even Quesnay was born, the advantages of free trade were not only openly discussed in Scotland, but that it was as a free trader chiefly that Paterson was celebrated in the popular ballads of the day. One of the numerous Darien rhymesters, in 1697, speaking of 'Wise Paterson' and his friends boasts, that,

'They made it evident that trade by sea  
Needs little more support than being free;  
Freedom's the polar star by which it steers,  
Secure it freedom, and it nothing fears:  
No mighty power it needs, no fertile lands,  
No gold, no silver mines, it all commands.  
All that our nature needs or can desire,  
All that for pride or pleasure we require,  
Free trade will give and teach us how to use,  
Instruct us what to take and what refuse.'

(*Life*, p. 47.)

Again, in 'Trade's Release, or Courage to the Scotch Indian Company, an excellent new ballad, to the tune of "The Turks are all confounded,"' it is stated as one of the fundamental maxims of 'Patersonian government' that

'Where'er we plant, trade shall be free.'

In the work before us there is no lack of passages which bear out these assertions as to the liberality of Paterson's commercial creed. His fifth proposal 'of customs and impositions on foreign trade,' for example, commences with the preamble that—

'Since, in order to the making way for the growth of trade and the progress of the industry of this kingdom, it will be absolutely necessary that the weight of the present duties and impositions on foreign trade shall be partly removed, and partly otherwise disposed and regulated.'

And the two first articles are—

'1. That all manner of duties or impositions on growths, products, goods, or other merchandises to be exported from any the ports or places of this kingdom, may be taken off, excepting one per cent. of the value, by the name of entry money, only.

'2. That all such growths and products of other countries as are and shall be proper to be manufactured and meliorated in this kingdom, may be freely imported without paying any duty, excepting only one per cent. of the value, by the name of entry money.'

But Paterson was not thorough-going in his free-trade principles. He saw clearly the benefit of encouraging the industry of this country both by importing the materials which its manufactures demanded, and by exporting its products duty free. But he did not see that an equal benefit might be derived from availing ourselves of foreign industry where that was cheaper than our own, or of foreign products which our climate or our soil denied us. Accordingly he proposes to double the duty 'on all foreign liquors and commodities not fit to be manufactured or meliorated in this kingdom, among which sugar and tobacco may be reckoned.'

Paterson's water-drinking propensities, in an age of strong and deep potations, may have rendered him merciless in his taxation of foreign liquors, which before the days of whiskey were the only liquors used in Scotland; and his long residence in the West Indies does not seem to have taught him to find the consolation which in the many annoyances he encountered, he might have derived from the use of the fragrant leaf. These considerations, together with his desire to save a portion of the existing revenue, are probably sufficient, without supposing any very great blindness as to the principles of taxation, to account for his suggesting, with reference to these articles, the imposition of duties which could have served little object except to fill the pockets of the Dirk Flatteracks all round the coast. But there is one principle which comes to light in the very commencement of the 'Reasons' by which he sought to recommend his proposals to the public, which shows that in some respects Paterson had not outrun his age. 'In matters of trade,' he says, 'the interests of particular men, and that of their country, are so far from being always the same, that they are oft-

times directly opposite to one another' (p. 27.); and again, on the following page, he speaks of the 'difference between the particular interests of men, and that of the public' as the chief reason for establishing a national council of trade. His notion was that individual selfishness must necessarily produce the same effects in the commercial that it does in the moral world; that individual aggrandisement would lead to social destitution, just as individual indulgence leads to domestic misery and family ruin, or as the lust of power in a class undermines the health and vigour of the body politic. It was for this reason that, impressed with the variable nature of our seasons, and the succession of bad harvests and consequently of dearth which had prevailed during the last five years—he counselled the 'erecting of national granaries and stores of corn, so as that the industry of this kingdom may not, as hitherto, be at any time clogged by extreme cheapness nor crushed by the extreme dearth of grain.' He did not perceive that what are misleading influences in the family and the state are the very salvation of the market. True, it is not a real self-interest that leads the individual in the family, or the class in the state, to set the interests of others at defiance. Selfishness, even from a selfish point of view, is a mistake everywhere. But to ordinary minds there is a conflict between apparent and real self-interest in the family and in the state which does not arise in commerce, because there are passions and prejudices at work in the one case which have no play in the latter, and retribution is by no means so speedy. Though 'engrossing' of corn was held to be an offence at common law, and a corn-dealer was actually convicted of it so late as 1800, corn-dealing had ceased, even in Paterson's day, to be regarded in the light in which usury had once been, almost everywhere. But what had long been a statutory offence, both in England and in Scotland, Paterson still regarded as an injury to the community against which the community, in common prudence, was bound to guard itself. It is very singular that with all his zeal for the development of commercial enterprise, and of free trade even in this very article of corn, he should have distrusted their efficacy in one of the most important functions they perform,—that of obviating scarcity and dearth by inducing speculators to purchase in the time of plenty and in the land of plenty, and to hoard or to carry till a more advantageous market is obtained.

'Wise and prudent states,' he says, 'will look far, and lay in stores for the winter of years as

well as for the winter of days. Joseph of old, by laying up one fifth part of the corn of the seven plentiful years, was enabled not only to supply the land of Egypt during the seven years of famine, but likewise most of all the neighbouring countries.'

The answer, of course, is that if Egypt had been full of corn-merchants, who were purchasing during the years of plenty and 'holding for a rise,' or who were in the habit of importing from other countries, there would neither have been excessive cheapness nor excessive dearth, neither profusion nor famine; and the action of those very commercial principles which Paterson was engaged in calling forth, but the offices of which he did not fully appreciate, would have rendered Joseph's wise precautions unnecessary. Even if the partial fluctuations in the price of corn which we experience could have been obviated by the arrangement which Paterson proposed, it could have been done only at the expense of an enormous establishment of officials which would have been a certain loss to the community, and which is entirely obviated by trusting to the ordinary law that the demand will call forth the supply. The same objection more or less applies to the whole of Paterson's Council of Trade. It is a scheme which could be advantageous only in a country destitute of trade, and which would be possible only in a state despotically governed, conceived by him for the purpose of developing a community of free traders in a self-governing state.

There could scarcely be a more conspicuous instance of the consequences of thus mistaking the function of free government, than that which is furnished by the history of the fisheries of Scotland, which are largely treated of in the work before us. With Paterson as with all other Scottish schemers, their artificial development was a favourite object. Every one was struck with their natural productiveness. Defoe had sung of it in his *'Caledonia,'* and Paterson declared, in plain prose, that he was 'convinced that this nation is much better and more conveniently situated for the fisheries than any other in the known world.' In consequence of the 'rawness and inexperience of our people,' however, Paterson was of opinion that 'the national fisheries cannot, or at least are never likely to be recovered by the industry of private men, merely and simply considered as such.' In this, as in all matters, he is opposed to what he calls 'monopolies, exclusions, pre-emptions, restraints, and prohibitions.' The fisheries ought to be 'as free to all the inhabitants, or those who will come to be inhabitants, of a country as the

air they breathe in.' He would not even exclude 'our neighbours the Hollanders,' or entertain other than kind and respectful thoughts of them; since there is much more than room enough in the fisheries for us and for them; and trade is and will be capable of begetting trade, money of begetting money, and one improvement of making way for another to the end of the world. But the undertaking must be conducted, and fostered, and subsidised by the nation, for the nation's sake; for no good will come of it in the hands of 'private or particular men, either out of, and much less in a monopoly, or indeed, any other way but by national care and expense.' Now it is worth remarking that in this particular instance Paterson's suggestions were complied with, and his scheme was realised. From his time to our own there has been, and there is now, a Board of Fisheries in Scotland, exercising nearly all the powers and performing pretty much the functions which he would have assigned to it as a branch of the Council of Trade; and yet the fisheries are perhaps the only branch of Scottish industry which has made no progress. They are prosecuted now by the same means, and probably not to a much greater extent than it was in the days of Malcolm Canmore, and the 'great ships, busses, and other great pink boats,' which the Parliament of Scotland commanded to be built in the time of James III., still form part of those 'schemes for the improvement of the fisheries' of which prospectuses are handed in at the doors of the citizens of Edinburgh at least once every twelvemonth. In this case Paterson's own maxim, that 'trade is a cōy mistress, and will not be hectorated but courted,' has been verified somewhat inconveniently for his prophetic reputation.

The second work in Mr. Bannister's collection is the memorial presented by Paterson to King William in 1701, in which he proposed to him to undertake the Darien scheme on behalf of England. It is full of geographical, political, and commercial information, and of bold and enlightened views of trade, but the subject has already engaged our attention more than sufficiently. After it comes the first of those curious dialogues to which Paterson gave the whimsical title of *'Proceedings of the Wednesday Club in Friday Street,'* but which there seems no reason to doubt were the creation of his own brain. The work was published in 1706, the year before the Union; and as it is entitled an *Inquiry into the Reasonableness and Consequences of that Measure*, it is probable that, like Defoe's works on the same subject, it was written at the sugges-

tion of the English Government. The arguments which he puts into the mouths of his interlocutors are not of course new to us : but it is remarkable that the way in which he puts the case is that so far from being new to any body, even in his time, they had found acceptance in Scotland for ages. The second series, which occupies the greater part of the second volume, is more interesting, inasmuch as its subjects are more varied. It professes to be an inquiry into the character of the Union which had been consummated, and into the past and present state of the trade and public revenues of the kingdom. The date assigned to it is the year before Paterson's death, and if it be true, as Mr. Bannister has conjectured, that he really died of the vexation which the prevalence of Law's principles caused him, we need not be surprised to find that a large portion of it is occupied in refuting them. The depreciation of the coinage, and the issue of inconvertible paper money, have been, everywhere and always, cardinal heresies in finance and in commerce. They both run into one fallacy, the belief, namely, that money, being an artificial medium of exchange, is therefore a wholly fictitious and arbitrary representative of value, and that consequently it will have in reality whatever value is assigned to it by public authority or the temporary opinion of the community. How far Paterson was from being caught by this delusion, which had blinded the Chamberlens, the Briscoes, the Porters, and the other ultra-currency doctors of the day, of whom Law ultimately became the Coryphæus, appears everywhere in the work which we have mentioned, and will be seen at once from the three following sentences, which we extract from the 'Brief Account of the intended Bank of England' which was published in 1694 ; and of which, though anonymous, like his other writings, there is no reason to doubt that Paterson was the author :—

'1st. That all money or credit not having an intrinsic value to answer the contents or denomination thereof is false or counterfeit, and the loss must fall one where or other. 2nd. That the species of gold and silver being accepted and chosen by the commercial world as the standard or measure of other effects, everything else is only counted valuable as compared with them. 3rd. Wherefore all credit not founded on the universal species of gold and silver is impeachable, and can never subsist either safely or long, at least till some other species of credit be found out and chosen by the trading part of mankind over and above, or in lieu thereof.'

We are sorry to find that the dialogues which we have mentioned, like most of Pat-

erson's other writings, are too diffuse for extract ; for in addition to the value of their materials, as contributions to the financial history of the Revolution Government they are not destitute of life and spirit, nor of a very fair share of literary skill. But there are many readers who will accept our assurance that they will find their account in turning over the pages of the volume before us when we inform them that it contains, probably, the only authentic account of the origin and early struggles of the Bank of England, and the account from which, in forms more or less mutilated, most of the others we possess are manifestly derived.

The composition of this work appears to have been the amusement of Paterson's declining years ; for there is no reason to suppose that it was 'written to order' as the former dialogue very possibly was. Though the habit of speaking of himself either in the third person or by a feigned name, which he followed through life, is still adhered to, there is a slight autobiographical tinge about it, which we do not find in his other writings, and Mr. May's 'surviving friend' identifies himself with the founder of the Bank and the projector of Darien, by many unmistakable signs.

We like Paterson all the better and respect him the more that he resisted the egotism of being his own historian. Yet we cannot but regret that he has thus deprived us of much which we should gladly have known about one whose character and career were apart from those of ordinary men, and of information relating to the affairs of his time which no one else was equally in a condition to transmit. That knowledge for the present is buried with him in a grave, of which all that is known seems to be that it does *not* lie under the moss-covered stone in the choir of fair Sweetheart Abbey, which is pointed out to the visitor as the resting-place of the 'great projector.' But enough of him remains to rescue his memory from undeserved obscurity or still more unjust obloquy. In an age of keen national differences his genius rose superior to these distinctions, and aimed at the greatness of the empire. He devoted his life to the solution of some of those great social problems which exert a more powerful influence over the destinies of mankind than all the revolutions of political government ; and it deserves to be remembered, to his lasting honour, that he was one of the first of that band of Scottish worthies who anticipated and worked out the truths of economical science and devoted them selves, without reserve, to the public interests of Great Britain.

ART. II.—*The Ordeal of Free Labour in the British West Indies.* By W. G. SEWELL. London and New York: 1861.

UPON no members of the human race has a larger amount of generous sympathy and political energy been employed than this country has devoted for upwards of half a century to the wrongs of Africa and to negroes in their collective character. But our sense of justice towards our former slaves being satisfied, and the burden of a wrong removed, we seldom feel any very intense desire to improve our personal knowledge of the black races, or to follow out the results of our own benevolent measures to their extreme consequences. Yet the characters, habits, feelings, and dispositions of these Africans, or ex-Africans, who have been made free either in America or the West Indies, cannot well be a matter of indifference to any thoughtful Englishman. They amount in the British West Indies alone, to nearly one million of beings. They constitute the absolute majority of the inhabitants now peopling the beautiful islands of our tropical empire; and, together with the mulattoes (of whom we shall presently speak) they constitute a vastly preponderating majority. If viewed in connexion with the blacks, free and servile, of the United States, the whole of the African community, domiciled out of Africa, amounts to five or six millions of human beings, more or less civilised, educated, and intelligent. It cannot be a matter of indifference to any man of thought and sense, what are the characters of these people, what their sentiments, prospects, and interests.

We have had, at various times, highly-coloured descriptions of the negro, some representing him as the hopeless, helpless, reckless, *ne'er-do-weel*; others as the germ of the most perfect development of which humanity is susceptible. Some have painted him as the victim of European selfishness and cruelty, others as the tyrant of European employers, and the drag-chain on European enterprise in the West. With some, he is a fiend or an idiot; with others a saint, an angel, and an idol.

We now introduce to our readers an author who has the good quality of moderation; who is a partisan neither of the white man nor of the black; who panders neither to the tastes of Exeter Hall, nor to those of the West Indian Association; and who in all respects save one, which one we shall specify later, is temperate as to statement, and modest as to prediction. Mr. Sewell is a Canadian, who has lived several years in New York, and whose notes on the British West

Indies have the twofold value of personal observation and national disinterestedness. He resided many months in Barbadoes, and had also time to watch the condition of Jamaica, Antigua, St. Vincent and Trinidad.

First, we would call attention to his remarks on the labour-question, which we think true, fair, and just. He does not stand up for the energy, resolution, and determined perseverance of the emancipated negro. Neither does he give him up as the thriftless, lazy, drowsy squatter which so many writers describe him as being. He shows that in Barbadoes, where the density of population presses upon the means of subsistence, where there is no unoccupied land, and where many labourers are looking for an employer, the industry of the working classes is a constant and trustworthy element of colonial prosperity; and that it has raised the annual exportation of sugar from 20,000 hogsheads in 1830 to upwards of 50,000 hogsheads at the present time. He shows also that in other colonies where the land is abundant, the population scanty, and the remuneration of labour small, the negro naturally prefers to cultivate his own holding for the satisfaction of his own wants, eking out his pecuniary requirements by the occasional hire of his services, or renting land on the terms of a *métayer-tenant*, rather than to earn tenpence or a shilling a day by continuous devotion to a master's interests. We have to thank Mr. Sewell for pointing out as a fact the natural deduction of common sense; and for bringing more under the domain of political economy results which had been explained exclusively on the theory of race. It is worth while to read the following observations of our author on the comparative value of free and of slave labour in Barbadoes:—

'It is urged, and truly, that when the duties were removed by the Imperial Parliament from Cuban and other slave-grown sugars, the Barbadian planter complained that he was unable to compete with the foreign producer. I think that a simple quotation of late sales of real estate in Barbadoes is, of itself, a pretty strong proof that the complaints of the Barbadian planter were unfounded, and that, in reality, he *could* compete, and *does* compete, on equal terms with the foreign producer in the British market. But allowing the complaint to be just and the representation true,—supposing that the Cuban *does* raise sugar cheaper than the Barbadian can,—it is an erroneous inference that slave labour should, therefore, be more economical than free labour. Labour is not the *only* expense in the growth of sugar. There are the expenses of management, manure, machinery, and the interest on the value of the land, as well as the expense of labour. Now it is a fact which needs no demonstration, that while land in Barbadoes costs \$500 an acre, land in

Cuba costs only \$100; that while manure in Barbadoes costs \$10 an acre, in Cuba none is required; that while, in Barbadoes, the canes must be planted every season, the land in Cuba is so rich that the process of ratooning can be carried on for many years in succession with the smallest amount of work. These, and not the superior economy of his slave labour, have enabled the Cuban planter to undersell his Barbadian rival in the British market. In the richness of his soil the Cuban planter has an advantage that enables him to pay an extravagant price for labour; and that he does pay an extravagant price we know full well. It is a matter of common report that the average life of a field labourer on a Cuban estate is not over ten years; but this is not regarded by the planter as any great misfortune, with the slave trade in full operation. Supposing the value of a Cuban slave to be \$1000, his depreciation under the terrible work to which he is subjected will amount to ten per cent., or \$100 per annum; add to this the interest of capital, the expenses of maintenance, and the loss by non-effective labourers, and the cost to the Cuban proprietor for each of his slaves will be found to average, at the very lowest estimate, \$180 per annum. If we take another mode of arriving at the same conclusion, we find this figure to be considerably under the mark. Those planters, for instance, who hire slaves, have to pay \$25 a month to their owners, and to feed and clothe the labourers besides. The amount paid for hire will then be \$300 per annum, and, estimating the cost of maintenance at \$35 more, we arrive at a total of \$335 a year as the actual expense per man to the Cuban planter who hires labour for his estate. Now the cost of a Barbadian free labourer is only \$75 a year. He receives in this island 25 cents a day, or rather a task, and he finds that ample in such a climate to supply all his wants.' (Pp. 54, 55)

So far for Barbadoes and free labour there. Let us now hear Mr. Sewell speaking of some other West Indian colonies. The following remarks may not be pleasant to sugar planters, but they are suggestive altogether of reflexions far from disagreeable:—

'If it be considered demonstrated, from the reduced exportation of sugar, that many of the large landed proprietors of St. Vincent have withdrawn from the island, it is also apparent, from the increased and increasing growth of minor products, that the small proprietors, created by a system of freedom, are enjoying unexampled prosperity. In the one article of arrow-root alone, there was exported 1,352,250 lbs. in 1857, equal in value to about \$750,000, against an average yearly export of 60,000 lbs. before abolition. The present exportation of cocoa-nuts is also very large. While, therefore, the decline of sugar exports from 14,000 and 15,000 hbd. to 8000 and 9000 hbd. would indicate decay, it is a decay (if the word be applicable at all) confined exclusively to the cultivation of a single article, and has been brought about partly, perhaps, by want of labour, but chiefly through the mismanagement, extravagance, and absenteeism of the proprietors themselves.' (Pp. 80, 81.)

Again, speaking of Grenada, he shows, that though the exportation of sugar may have decreased within the last thirty years, still the general cultivation of the land has not decreased. The negro has preferred cultivating cocoa, coffee, and oranges for his own profit, to labouring on the sugar estate of another. The planter may suffer in consequence, but the condition of the labouring classes, and the general productiveness of the colonies which they inhabit, are considerably improved. Nowhere is this more clearly shown than in the case of Jamaica, the very island which is usually cited to prove the pernicious consequences of emancipation. Jamaica is the very Atlantis of poetical tradition. Its former prosperity is purely fictitious. The wealth of its planters purely fictitious. The unmortgaged wealth of the whole island purely fictitious; all about its history is fictitious, except the prodigality, ostentation, and indebtedness of the old proprietary class, and the glorious beauty of the island's scenery. Everything about the island was pretentious and imposing, from the city churches and squares of the now wretched Kingston to the champagne, claret, and equipages of the debt-laden planters. There never was a time in the days of slavery when the island could be considered out of debt. Emancipation only hastened a fate which neither slavery nor monopoly could have averted for ever. But emancipation in Jamaica inflicted wider, deeper, and more protracted suffering than elsewhere. It came like a tornado upon planters who were blind to signs and deaf to warnings. It came upon slaves more impatient of the yoke, more intolerant of discipline, and more eager for independence than those of other islands. It came upon a colony which possessed waste land enough to reward the industry of the thrifty cultivator and maintain in competence the lazy squatter. While in Barbadoes there are one and a half inhabitant to each acre, in Jamaica there are eleven acres to each inhabitant. Under such conditions, that happened which might have been expected. Ruined planters could offer but poor remuneration to hired labourers. The negro could always fare better as a small proprietor, or as a squatter, than as a hireling. He is therefore almost always either the one or the other. In the one case his moral and physical condition are far superior to what they were when he was a slave; in the other they are not worse. Altogether, whatever be the planter's condition, that of the negro and of the colony itself is much improved. The sugar may have diminished; but, on the other hand,



the production of pimento, plantains, and oranges has increased. While we are writing of Jamaica, we cannot refrain from quoting Mr. Sewell's picture of Kingston:—

'If the city of Kingston be taken as an illustration of the prosperity of Jamaica, the visitor will arrive at more deplorable conclusions than those pointed out by commercial statistics. It seems like a romance to read to day, in the capital of Jamaica, the account of that capital's former splendour. Its "magnificent churches," now time worn and decayed, are scarcely superior to the stables of some Fifth Avenue magnate. There is not a house in the city in decent repair; not one that looks, as though it could withstand a respectable breeze; not a wharf in good order; not a street that can exhibit a square yard of pavement; no side walks; no drainage; scanty water; no light. The same picture of neglect and apathy greets one every where. In the business part of the town you are oppressed with its inactivity. Clerks yawn over the counters, or hail with greedy looks the solitary stranger who comes in to purchase. If a non-resident, he is made to suffer for the dullness of the market. Prices that in New York would be deemed exorbitant, must be paid by strangers for the common necessities of life. The Kingstonians remind me much of the Bahama wreckers. Having little or nothing themselves, they look upon a steamer-load of California passengers, cast away in their harbour for a night or a day, as very Egyptians, whom it is not only their privilege but their duty to despoil.

'There is nothing like work done in Kingston except, perhaps, in the establishments of a few European or American merchants, or on the piers, now and then, at the loading or unloading of vessels. The city was originally well laid out, but it is not ornamented with a single tree, and the square, in a central location, is a barren desert of sand, white-hot with exposure to the blazing sun. The streets are filthy, the beach-lots more so, and the commonest laws of health are totally disregarded. Wreck and ruin, destitution and neglect! There is nothing new in Kingston. The people, like their horses, their houses, and all that belongs to them, look old and worn. There are no improvements to be noted, not a device, ornament, or conceit of any kind to indicate the presence of taste or refinement. The inhabitants, taken *en masse*, are steeped to the eyelids in immorality; promiscuous intercourse of the sexes is the rule; the population shows an unnatural decrease; illegitimacy exceeds legitimacy; abortion and infanticide are not unknown. Kingston looks what it is, a place where money has been made, but can be made no more. It is used up and cast aside as useless. Nothing is replaced that time destroys. If a brick tumbles from a house to the street, it remains there; if a spout is loosened by the wind, it hangs by a thread till it falls; if furniture is accidentally broken, the idea of having it mended is not entertained. The marks of a helpless poverty are upon the faces of the people whom you meet, in their dress, in their very gait.

'Have I described a God-forsaken place, in which no one seems to take an interest, without life and without energy, old and dilapidated,

sickly and filthy, cast away from the anchorage of sound morality, of reason, and of common sense? Then, verily, have I described Kingston in 1860. Yet this wretched hulk is the capital of an island the most fertile in the world; it is blessed with a climate most glorious; it lies rotting in the shadow of mountains that can be cultivated from summit to base, with every product of temperate and tropical regions; it is mistress of a harbour where a thousand line-of-battle ships can safely ride at anchor.' (Pp. 173-5)

But if Kingston exhibits the squalid ruins of decayed wealth and faded splendour, the country districts through which Mr. Sewell travelled, exhibit many instances of thriving industry and advancing civilization. Of course these instances are not universal. Perhaps, too, Mr. Sewell's pen gives them too high a colouring. He keeps in the background, as much as Mr. Trollope throws into the foreground, the cases of negro sloth, apathy, and unthrift. Still, after every allowance has been made for exaggerated description or exceptional advancement, it is clear that, viewed collectively, the negro population have made signal progress in the comforts and arts of life since the days of slavery. It is no less true, that their progress has (in Jamaica, at all events) not so much accompanied as contributed to the decadence of the planters. At least, the planters might have been better off if the negroes had continued working on the estates for low wages, irregularly paid, and without the opportunity of improving their condition.

Mr. Sewell exults in the amelioration of the negro's position. He dilates with enthusiasm on the neat cottages, good furniture, and ample subsistence of a people who, thirty years ago, were prædial serfs. But his philanthropy does not make him fanatically blind to the claims of the planter and the interests of the colony. He deploras the interruption or decrease of sugar produce in the islands where, as in Jamaica, labour has been diverted from its former staple. But he is honest and intelligent enough to see that it is no injustice to the negroes to replace them by alien successors in the industry which they have voluntarily abandoned. He does not think that the Almighty created the negro solely and exclusively to plant sugar-canes for men of another race. Neither does he think that Divine vengeance exacts the utter ruin of the planters, present, past, and future, as a necessary atonement for the former slavery of the negro. He thinks that in Jamaica the labour of immigrants is eminently required; and that in other colonies it should be procured when all just and reasonable means for employing creole labour have

been tried and tried in vain. By those who are familiar with the history of Indian immigration, the opposition which it once provoked, and the impediments by which it was once obstructed, this will be pronounced a calm and moderate judgment. It errs perhaps in expecting too much from the experiment of hired creole industry, and deferring too long the resort to an alien element. But the very hesitation with which the judgment is pronounced enhances its value, by showing that it proceeds from no antipathy to the negro race and no prejudice against the negro character. Mr. Sewell justly remarks that such an immigration does not displace creole labour, because creole labour has already found other occupations and other prizes more alluring than those of planting sugar-canes for English land-owners. The Indian only supplies the place that the negro creole has left open, and does the work which the negro creole has left undone. And this engagement, which does no injury to the creole, is of incalculable advantage to the planter, the colony, and the Indian himself. The records of Mauritius, Guiana, and Trinidad demonstrate that, while the immigrant has increased the production, trebled the exports, and built up the wealth of settlements once decried as worthless and hopeless, — he has earned for himself an amount of remuneration which, judged by the ordinary standard of an Indian peasant's competence, is boundless and fabulous riches. He has returned to India in opulence, or remained in his adopted country with a competence.

So far we agree with Mr. Sewell. In the West Indies, whatever be the fortunes of individual planters, the negro is prospering, and, generally, the colonies are flourishing. Nor is it fair to say that, in any of the great tropical colonies, the negro is the flourishing, and the planter the ruined, member of society. We have just enumerated three colonies wherein the planter now flourishes more than ever. We might add to these Antigua. And we are convinced that not only in Jamaica but also in Grenada, St. Vincent's, and other of the smaller islands, prudent management and sage legislation may yet make the planter's calling the most lucrative of any. We have heard a public servant of large colonial experience declare that, were he to begin life afresh, having the command of a few thousand pounds, there is no profession or business in which he would so readily engage as that of a West India planter. For, although the absented proprietor may be ruined by his own neglect or the treachery of his agents, the resident planter who brings to the perform-

ance of his work a moderate amount of capital, energy, and intelligence, realises a fortune in the least disagreeable way possible. His life is eminently healthy; his occupation supplies both exercise and amusement; and, unless he begins with borrowed money, or is hampered by great scarcity of labour, his profits are generally large in proportion to his outlay. This is true, when we restrict the planter's produce to sugar, cocoa, and coffee. But it is eminently true, when we enlarge the scope of his industry, and comprehend within its objects the cultivation of a staple which may almost be reckoned among the first necessities of life. The momentous crisis, which first rent asunder the American Union, and now threatens us with an American war, may be destined to compensate us by opening new fields for British capital and enterprise. Antigua, Jamaica, and the Bahamas have each been pronounced fit for the growth of cotton. A long experience demonstrated the aptitude of one of these colonies. A sagacious experiment may now demonstrate the aptitude of all of them. If so, the West India planter will yet see days of prosperity more golden than the glowing records of the past love to record.

Having dealt with an interesting portion of Mr. Sewell's book with which we agree, we now come to a position, and a prominent position, in his book, to which we cannot give adherence. We acquit Mr. Sewell of cant, of the sentimentality of the platform, and of a morbid humanitarianism. We believe that he is neither a disciple of Exeter Hall, nor a neophyte of Christian socialism. But we also believe that his heart is keenly alive to generous impressions; and that, when his feelings are wounded by the sight of individual wrong, his expressions take the form of an honest but illogical generalisation.

It is only on this theory that we can explain, not particular phrases, but his tone of opinion respecting the political elevation of the coloured races. Justly indignant at the contumelious treatment of some persons in Barbadoes, whose affinity to the coloured classes was a matter of popular notoriety rather than of complexional evidence, he claims for the whole body of negroes and mulattoes a larger share of political power and a higher level of social rank than they generally enjoy at present. It is difficult to quarrel with opinions founded on a generous sentiment, but it is dangerous to approve conclusions which emanate more from the heart than from the head. The 'colour' question is the most delicate of all those which agitate the tropical colonies; but it is

the one which demands the exercise of a sound judgment and a cool head more than that of kindly feeling and theoretical philanthropy.

To treat it thoroughly, we must go back to first principles. We must analyse the antecedent history of the negro creole as we analyse that of the Briton and the Anglo-Saxon. We can trace the characteristics of our own mixed race to the days of Alfred, and Harold, and William; we must look for the characteristics of the negro creole in those of the African negro from whom he sprung.

In the first place, who is the creole negro of the West Indies, and the slave negro of the United States? This question is a very important one, and is generally overlooked by the mass of talkers, who lump together under the designation of 'Africans' 'negroes' or 'niggers' every native of the great African continent, from the Nubian and the Abyssinian to the Caffre and the Bosjesman. The negro of whom we are now speaking is not (except in very rare cases) a native of Africa; generally he is the grandson or great grandson of an African slave brought from the western coast of that continent to the British West Indies or the Southern States of America. He is in most cases the representative of an inferior race, *i. e.* a race inferior to the others of the same colour and country in daring, pluck, military attack and military defence; inferior also to many in mechanical skill and ingenuity. Hence, his progenitors were the victims of neighbouring tribes bolder and fiercer than themselves, who lived and flourished by making war upon them and selling them, when captured, to foreign slave-dealers. This must always be borne in mind, for otherwise we shall greatly err in estimating the characters of our own and the American negroes. As a general rule, it is correct to say that these negroes represent the most submissive and the most unwarlike of African races. It is true that by the chances of war, by the recoil of the slave-hunters' own arts, or by the superior adroitness of European captors, a few of the more warlike and ferocious tribes have been caught along with the more inert races whom they used to prey upon. But those who have read Livingstone's travels, and are also acquainted with the West Indies, well know how few Mandingoes or Kroomen there have been among the progenitors of the negro creoles.

Given, then, a multitude of races differing in dialect, perhaps even in language, but as like in character as in physiognomy, unwarlike, unaggressive, but kept in continual dread of aggression by their neighbours;

inert, contented with a simple range of animal enjoyments, possessing no conception of civilised society—of arts, manufactures, or luxury—and with a natural tendency to superstition,—what are these likely to become, when transplanted to other countries, and placed under the tutelage of other and dominant races? What are their children likely to become?

We should expect to find in them a respectful deportment, a submissive homage to the class which owned them, fed them, clothed them, worked them; patience and long suffering; a sense of absolute dependence on the master caste; a propensity to imitate that class in all external symbols, such as dress, ornament, mannerism, &c. &c.; an inclination to the least rational form of devotion; an intensely strong love of approbation, which, when encouraged, would grow into conceit; a great development of slyness to avoid the normal proportion of labour assigned and the usual amount of penalty consequent on idleness. These would be the characteristics of the great majority of such a race in such a state of things. The minority, composed of warlike and stubborn tribes, would be sullen, insubordinate, rebellious, and vindictive.

And such was the state, generally speaking, of the slaves in our West Indies. Such is, generally speaking, their state in Cuba and the Southern States; or, perhaps it would not be incorrect to say, the present state of slaves in Cuba and the older Southern States is, on the whole, somewhat better than it was in our West Indies. Leaving out, however, all comparison between the past history of the British West Indies and the present state of Cuba or the Southern States, we may say that, generally, the natural character of the captured African did not ill-assort with the condition of 'involuntary service.' It was not inconsistent with his love of pleasure, his love of finery, his love of praise, and his love of dependence. He had his feastings, his fine clothes, his gala days, his Saturnalia. If his master was kind—and cruel, harsh masters were exceptional—he was pampered and caressed like a pet spaniel or a pet monkey. His vanity was flattered by attentions which would not have been showered on a servant sprung from a superior race. His subsistence was guaranteed by laws which he regarded as unquestionable; and his protection secured by a power which he looked on as irresistible. He had no fear for the morrow. He and his family elung with parasitic tenacity to the family which owned his person and his industry. He ate, slept, worked, lounged, danced, sang, and revelled with all the

happiness and self-abandonment which an animal existence can allow.

This man and his children ceased to be chattels and became free. What were they likely to be in this new state of things? Dependence was gone, protection was gone, irresponsibility was gone. The powerful patron, under the shade of whose mansion they had sported as children and worked as adults, wore no longer the familiar and friendly face of former years. The law told the half-infant and half-savage that he was to meet his master henceforth on equal terms—to barter the value of work with him, and treat as the party to a contract with him.

Such was the language and edict of the legislature. But other forces concurred with, or rather preceded, that of legislation. All the machinery of agitation had been put in motion to accelerate the Avatar of Liberation. The political agitator had denounced—the clerical agitator had anathematized—the unhappy and unresisting owner of human property. Every act of known cruelty was exaggerated, and many an act was fabricated, to intensify the excited feelings of the British nation. The levelling spirit of Radicalism conspired with the democratic spirit of Dissent to pull down the planter from his pride of place, and exalt his former chattel to an unexpected height. Under the auspices of the Quaker, the Radical, and the Baptist preacher, the negro was bidden to assert his prerogative of equality, and enter on a career of absolute independence. What effect did—what effect could—such teaching have on such a race? The native virtues of the negro were kindness, courtesy, gentleness, and a not ungraceful sense of dependence. His vices were self-conceit, love of dress, love of idleness, love of pleasure. Imagine such a people subjected to such teaching in such a country as theirs; and you will easily picture the social and political history of the West Indies for the last thirty years. Fancy what would be the effect of transporting all the Celtic peasantry of Kerry and Mayo to a warm and sunny land abounding in all the materials of subsistence, and you have at once a picture of the effect produced by this great change upon these Celts of the tropics. Given a soil teeming with spontaneous produce; given a climate which knows neither pinching cold, nor piercing wind, nor long dark wintry nights, which exacts no severe labour or self-denying thrift,—can we wonder at the operation and effect of influences so powerful and so grateful? Their idleness asserted the privilege, if it did not assume the power, of an institution. Their self-conceit became in many cases a blustering

imitation of bold self-reliance; their natural courtesy was merged and lost in an offensive familiarity. Not at first, indeed, was this change general; and in truth it never was universal. It was, as we have had reason to notice, more frequently the case in Jamaica than in Barbadoes; it was far more apparent in the towns than in the rural districts. Where work was necessary to subsistence, there the negro continued to work; where the density of population made employment a matter of selection, there he worked hard; where he was not brought into daily contact with large bodies of his own countrymen and the lowest classes of Europeans, he retained much of his former civility. But where he was not under the immediate surveillance of educated European masters, themselves endowed with the feelings and principles of gentlemen, or under the influence of old local associations in districts but scantily and sparsely inhabited—where he was a stevedore or a porter in Kingston, Bridgetown, or Georgetown; he became insolent, offensive, and insubordinate. Whenever he found himself one of a class largely preponderating in numbers over Europeans, and freed from the habitual restraint of time-honoured authority, there the consciousness of new powers was awakened in his untrained mind, and he learned to cherish the feelings of race, of rivalry, and even of hostility. The teaching of political and religious agitators produced its fruit. He was the equal, and therefore the rival, of the white man. Why should he work and the other command? He was as good as his employer. Why should he touch his hat to him? Why say, sir, to him? Why show any sign of courtesy or civility? Why should not his wife dress as well as his employer's wife, or elbow his employer's wife in the street? And the misfortune was that he learned to refer everything to race, and to merge all other distinctions in the one distinction of colour.

In the country villages and scattered districts a different spirit prevailed. There the negro was comparatively unaffected by the demagogues of his class and the writings of levellers. If he was not as humble, as obedient, and as dependent as in the days of slavery, he still remained respectful and courteous to the white gentleman whom he instinctively regards as his superior: and this, too, though his impressions of the general superiority of the 'white folks,' must have been considerably weakened by the vulgarity, coarseness, and brutality of the lowest class of white men whom he saw. No one can have travelled either in the

British West Indies or in the Slave States, without being powerfully impressed with the superiority of the negro slaves' or peasants' natural manners to those of the inferior whites, whether American or English: and that his courtesy has in so many instances survived Emancipation, to us proves that it is innate in the negro's character, and in the American slave is not the effect of his position alone.

It seems to us that to claim for such a people sudden elevation either in social or political life, is not only a blunder, but a cruelty. We do not go out of our way to bring forward our own masons, carpenters, and journeymen, as members of English social and political life, even when they have in more than an ordinary degree the virtues of their class. We leave it to them to push their own way by their own firmness, energy, self-denial, and self-reliance; knowing that these qualities must lead to their elevation. And this mode we find in the long run to be most conducive to public and private interest. It occasionally wounds individual self-esteem; but it also stimulates individual self-exertion; and the whole community gains much from the concentration of personal energy on personal objects, and the reward of personal merit by personal self-aggrandisement. Why should we do in the case of the negro that which we do not do in the case of the English labourer? Is the enjoyment of liberty for thirty years a better training for the higher spheres of life than its traditional inheritance for three hundred years? Is it wise or expedient to launch a race imperfectly civilized at once upon the easy enjoyment of unearned privileges? Yet it is for this object that philanthropists have written and declaimed, politicians agitated, and amiable societies contributed funds.

As to the political phase of the question, it is a matter of congratulation that, after all, the negro creole does not care much about politics; and that he is too indolent to interfere in public matters, unless he lives in a large town, where a 'black party' exists, manipulated and manœuvred by mulatto politicians.

And this brings us to what we consider the main error of Mr. Sewell and other recent writers on the West Indies. They seem to combine two inconsistent views: the view that the mulatto ought to be at once and in the aggregate admitted to higher privileges than he now has, with the view that he can acquire, and will acquire for himself, any position and any privileges that he desires.

We demur to both these propositions. We deny the right and the capacity of the mulatto class, as stated in these unqualified

terms. We think that those who advance them have erred both in observation and in judgment. First, as to the right: the mulatto is (thanks to English legislation) already equal before the law to the white man. It is for him to use his own talents for the improvement of his own fortune. He can be a trader, a merchant, a broker, a lawyer, a barrister, an attorney—as easily as a white man. He can be a doctor or a clergyman. He can be a voter, an elector, a municipal councillor, a member of the House of Assembly, on the same terms and with the same facility as a white man. He is debarred from no political rights because he is coloured. The complaint rather is that he has acquired his rights too easily, and that many rights which he does enjoy, he owes not to his ability or fitness, but to his colour, and the favour of the British Government.

Doubtless there is some prejudice in this complaint. It would be strange if, the history of our tropical plantations being what it is, there was no prejudice at all against the people of colour. It is probably exaggerated in tone, and false in some of its pretexts. Still it is not wholly groundless. After making every deduction for partial views and exaggerated language, we must admit that there are valid grounds for resisting the rapid advancement and elevation of the mulatto class.

We are not about to do them the injustice of applying to them as a body, terms which have been merited only by individuals of that body. We do not echo the bitter taunt which reviles them as inheriting the vices of two races, and the virtues of neither. Such a reproach is cruel and unjust. We have known persons of colour as courteous as the most courteous of old-school Frenchmen, and as respectable as the most respectable English tradesman. We have known others whose natures seemed to be compounded of the most antagonistic properties, resembling each other solely in their extreme violence. But one common characteristic pervaded alike the best and the worst: a most jealous sensitiveness, a sensitiveness, too morbid to bear ordinary justice, ordinary comity, or ordinary kindness. It showed itself sometimes in impatience of imaginary slight, sometimes in angry vindictiveness for imaginary wrong; generally in an inability to weigh facts, balance opinions, and forego prepossessions.

A race endowed with such acute sensibilities must be pitied rather than condemned. And there is really much to pity in it. Sprung from the fervid union of two unequal races, it can attach itself to neither. It despises the one; it hardly assimilates with the other. But it is one thing to pity

a class of men, and another to shower upon them every civil right in haste and profusion. Yet this has been done to a great extent; and now it is urged that it should be done to a greater extent. Not content with the ordinary and fair participation of the prizes of commercial, professional, and political life, which the mulatto already abundantly enjoys, his advocates maintain that he should be selected for the highest offices of government, and made the invariable element of the highest society in the Colonies. Such doctrines are as unjust as they are impolitic. It is as unjust to decorate a whole class of men with honours, simply because they constitute a class, as it is to exclude them from honours and preferment on the same account. It is as unjust to make men objects of envy by obtruding them, as to make them objects of contempt by tabooing them. The white inhabitants of our older colonies feel this. They represent generally the education and the traditions of the proprietary class; they know all the antecedent history of the mulatto class; they have suffered much both in fortune and station by the changes of recent years; and they not unnaturally resent the theories by which they would suffer more, in order to exalt rivals, whom they do not yet respect as a body, and whose origin is often associated with recollections that are anything but respectable.

The truth is this. Everything connected with emancipation exhibited crude notions and precipitate action. It was obviously expedient to elevate the mulattoes from a state of systematic degradation, as soon as slavery came to an end. But this might have been effected by elevating only those whose superior abilities and superior character qualified them for elevation. The mass should have been sifted and winnowed. The best specimens should have been selected; the worst rejected. Education, talent, and probity should have been especially rewarded in the men designated for honours and employment. Unfortunately, this wise system of gradation was postponed to one which was at once precipitate and pretentious. Governors and clergymen were directed to force men into notoriety and office, who had no claim to distinction but that of colour, or a vicious cleverness. The impetus once given, it was difficult alike to recede and to stand still. What individual benevolence and misguided compassion began, was completed by public policy and governmental acts. Municipal institutions were introduced into colonies which were just as well adapted for them as a Queen's frigate is for universal suffrage. Perhaps no Secretary of State ever worked so hard for the Colonies or de-

served so much gratitude from them as Earl Gray. No Secretary of State ever left upon the colonies such vivid traces of devoted and intelligent industry. But it is hardly too much to say that he neutralised almost all the good which he otherwise effected, when he introduced municipal institutions into the Cape of Good Hope and Mauritius. Had the object professed been to arm class against class; to complicate factious malignity with personal jobbery; to give the mulatto an opportunity of showing his spite and petulance against the white creole, and to keep petty communities in a ferment of perpetual collision, it could hardly have been better achieved than it has been by creating these hybrid anomalies which amuse foreigners and disgust Englishmen.

In exercising this new suffrage, the coloured class,—which had practically the exclusive enjoyment of it,—had one great object in view: the attainment of social equality. And the social equality to which they aspired was not that of individual mulattoes with individual whites, but of the whole mulatto class with the highest and most distinguished of the whites. That three or four of the best educated, and best mannered, and most respectable of their body should be treated by the highest orders of the white population with kindness and received on terms of friendly intimacy, by no means satisfied their ambition. All must be received on the like footing, or none. Mulatto bootmakers, tailors, and bakers were to be placed on a footing with white planters, lawyers, and clergymen, because they were mulattoes. We have indeed heard of well-educated mulattoes who were ostracised from the colonies in which they had been born, simply because they were, owing to their merits, property, manners, and attainments, received by their white compatriots on better terms than were the less intelligent or less cultivated members of the same race. They were told that it was treason to the cause of colour to monopolise social favour to which all coloured persons had an equal claim, and that, if they wished to live in white society, they must consent to forego the support and alliance of their own colour and caste.

With views so narrow, ambition so concentrated, jealousy so keen, is it wonderful that both the legislative and the municipal suffrage became, in the hands of the mulatto, a poignant instrument of personal aggression? Is it wonderful that the old proprietary class, the official class, and the local governments were in turn assailed by men whose nervous susceptibility gave a peculiar pungency to their natural talents for vituperation, whose local associations inspired



them at once with discontent and ambition, and who could, according to whim, either attach or reject the aid of the negro population? Is it wonderful that, goaded by disgust, fear of slight, and desire of rising, clever mulatto demagogues have carried personal abuse and scurrility beyond the extreme limits allowed in Europe to mob-leaders and journalists, and have succeeded in making their native colonies temporary hells of discord? And is it wonderful that, having seen these things in Jamaica, at the Cape, and at Port Louis, the old proprietary class of Barbadoes and Antigua should desire to keep power out of the hands of men who are more likely to abuse it, than use it well? We dare say that in Barbadoes this jealousy on the part of the white planters does sometimes assume an ugly shape; and that social exclusiveness is somewhat tinged with cruelty. But the recent history of some colonies unfortunately affords a plausible pretext for such treatment; and at the same time it must be recollected that Mr. Sewell's statistics show that, although the white Barbadian has always retained the position of a planter, the mulattoes and negroes have alike advanced in mercantile wealth and material prosperity; and, if they like, can form a society and an 'interest' among themselves. It may be both injudicious and unkind on the part of the planter not to admit a well-educated mulatto to his house and table. We believe it to be both. We hold that it is the duty of an English gentleman residing in these colonies, to cultivate the acquaintance of any well-educated and well-conducted mulatto planter, barrister, or merchant. But it would be a great hardship to insist on his being compelled to do so. That which is asked from the white planter on behalf of the mulatto, the mulatto would certainly refuse to the negro. These social inequalities must be left to time, events, and mutual toleration.

Again we say, let us not be misunderstood. We deprecate the suspicion of carping at the elevation, or disparaging the proved merits of certain mulatto gentlemen in Jamaica and other colonies. There are in those colonies mulattoes who have received a liberal education, who have distinguished themselves in the academical institutions of England and Scotland, who are Englishmen in their attainments and sympathies, who have brought to the bar, to the legislature, and to the council, the minds of scholars and the manners of gentlemen; and whose exclusion, either from society or from office, would, despite the painful sensitiveness which they too often

exhibit, reflect discredit upon the communities by which such exclusion was tolerated. But these examples prove our case. Because these men are justly admitted into office and society in Jamaica and Guiana, others, who have no affinity to their characters or accomplishments, and only an affinity to their colour, have no reason to complain if they are excluded from the highest circles and the highest employments in their native colonies.

We now come to another point. Mr. Sewell seems to agree with Mr. Trollope in designating the coloured race as the future rulers and leaders of the West Indian Islands. We entirely demur to this proposition. We demur to it on two grounds. In the first place, we would ask, what do these gentlemen propose to do with the Anglo-Saxon planter, the Anglo-Saxon merchant, the Anglo-Saxon lawyer? Why are these to be superseded? To this day the Anglo-Saxon is the most energetic of all the races living in our western tropics. He is far more laborious than the negro. He is more strong and healthy than the mulatto. And, again, we would ask another question — is England going to keep up the West Indies solely for the gain and gratification of a race by which her own sons have been displaced? Are the mulattoes — or mulattoes and negroes combined — to drive out Englishmen, and are English taxes to defray the cost of keeping the homes of the negro and mulatto inviolate? But, putting aside this extreme hypothesis, there is a cogent reason against the admission of Mr. Trollope's and Mr. Sewell's doctrine. It is a great mistake to speak of the mulattoes as a permanent and fixed class. They are not so. They are the most fluctuating body in the world, so far as the stability of individual families is concerned. And for this reason. Formerly, women of colour lived as the mistresses of white men rather than marry with their own caste. Now, this is very much, though not wholly, altered. They marry, and in the majority of instances, with men, not only of their own caste, but exactly in the same degree as themselves removed from white or black ancestry. This weakens the constitution of their offspring; who again, intermarrying in the same degrees, become weaker; and, thus, a fragile and rickety race comes into being, which, in a few generations, dies out. We do not pretend to assign the cause of this hereditary weakness of the mulatto race. We only know, as a fact, that they are signally subject to consumptive tendencies; and at assemblies of this population, Europeans have been struck with the

fragile forms and delicate faces of both sexes. Formerly, when morality was less the rule, the children of mulatresses, in succeeding generations, fined off gradually into the complexion, and attained the physique, of Europeans. But now that concubinage with white creoles is less common among mulatresses, and the latter marry with their own caste, the children of these intermarriages perpetuate the colour and intensify the debility of their ancestors. The consequence is that not only are there fewer children born than formerly of white men and mulatto women, but that there is very little probability of many existing mulatto families being represented by lineal descendants forty or fifty years hence. The mulatto race now claiming propinquity to white blood is the fruit of the intercourse between white men and black women. And even these connexions are fewer in number than they formerly were. So that there is great reason on the whole to expect that, within the lifetime of persons now in existence, the mulatto race—using the term in its widest sense, and including in it quadroons, samboos, octoroons—will, in Jamaica and some other colonies, be less numerous than it is now. Certain it is that the mulattoes of fifty years hence will not be—except in rare instances—the descendants of the mulattoes of 1861. Their constitutional peculiarities render this impossible.

Thus, then, we consider that unreasonable importance is attached to the present influence, and unreasonable apprehensions entertained of the future predominance, of the mixed races of colour. We do not say that the mulatto race will be nearly extinguished in fifty years hence. So long as white men and black women are found in proximity to each other, and so long as the coloured races of very different degrees of affinity intermarry, such a result is out of the question. But what we maintain is this:—the present mulatto families who have attained either political or social eminence, will not be represented in the same position by their own descendants of the same colour two generations hence.

Now this state of things is fatal to the aspirations of this people. A caste which depends entirely upon accident for its sustentation, can never fix its roots in the soil. Devoid of those supports which ramifications of kindred give to every family, and of the ambition which pride or hope of posterity inspires, a race cannot thrive. No race can thrive upon a sterile antagonism. So far as human eye can foresee, the mulatto race must always be made up of segregated atoms, having no close affinity and no

identity of interest with any class or any individuals, save that which a factitious sympathy and an equally factitious antipathy afford.

We do not make these remarks in a spirit of hostility to the mulatto race. We have known many estimable members of their class, in positions of wealth, acquired by diligence and integrity. But we do deprecate most earnestly, the monopoly of future power by this class; and with equal earnestness we dissent from the hypothesis on which their claims to such a monopoly are advocated. Even if England were to consent to maintain the tropical colonies for the especial behoof of the coloured races (a not very probable event), the physical relations of those races would effectually prevent the monopoly of power by the mulattoes. They would fade away, or they would again become negroes. In neither case could they hold power long, or exercise it beneficially. Jamaica and Barbadoes would become what the Haytian and Dominican Republics have been; aggregations of sloth, sensuality, and abasement; societies without law, order, industry, or authority. The energy of the white man, and the rivalry of the white man, and the truthful courage of the white man once withdrawn from his contemplation, the negroized mulatto would relapse into that condition which makes men of violent and extreme opinions rejoice that St. Domingo has reverted to Spain, and almost hope that Hayti may revert to France.

No. The white settler is indispensable for the good government, for the order, for the commerce, for the industry of the Antilles; without him, the mulatto race would be extinguished or brutalised. And if he continue to occupy the islands which the blood and treasure of his countrymen acquired, he must have a share, and a large share, in their government. We say this, well knowing that the white settler is not always a gentleman, and is frequently a very coarse sample of his country; believing, however, that his sterner and harder qualities are essentially serviceable amidst the languid life of the tropics. But we so far agree with Mr. Sewell as to hope that the British residents in the rich and beautiful islands which he describes, will have so much good sense, sound wisdom, and Christian charity, as to encourage the development not only of talent, but of conduct in the mulatto race, by selecting not only for official employment, but also for social intimacy, those mulattoes who are especially distinguished for probity, truthfulness, and amiability. We trust also that both the local governments, and individuals,

will use their best efforts to improve the female education of the mulatto families, so that to the personal charms which the women of that denomination often possess in a high degree, they may also add mental and moral attractions, which would make them more beautiful in the eyes of their white admirers. For, after all, we are convinced that the kindest thing that could be done to the mulatto race, would be to absorb it in the white race as already many of its members have been absorbed. But this result will not happen so long as 'colour' is put forward by one party as a self-sufficient claim to equality and power, or an adequate motive for the denial of both by another party. When the English planter or merchant finds more of English character than at present can be found in his mulatto neighbours, male and female, he will feel less repugnance to association or alliance with them. But such association is entirely out of the question so long as it is claimed as an absolute right, without reference to the education, habits, character, or antecedent history of the claimants.

Before we quit this subject we ought to remark that the prejudice against colour or the imputation of colour is far stronger in Barbadoes than it is in Guiana and Trinidad, two colonies which date their prosperity from an epoch posterior to slavery. We believe that in one, if not in both, of these colonies the mulatto class ranks among its numbers many, whose qualifications, both in respect of property and of education, fully entitle them to the position which is almost ungrudgingly accorded them. And both in these and other islands, we believe that society has wisely and kindly given the benefit of the complexional evidence in favour of those whose origin notoriously identifies them with a class, to which they bear hardly any superficial resemblance. But this discriminating admission of a plausible title, and this leniency of interpretation—right and amiable as they are—are very different from that which is so loudly demanded, the indiscriminate and wholesale exaltation of the coloured races, of whatever hue, station, or character.

With these qualifications we record our satisfaction at the general candour, fairness, and instructiveness of Mr. Sewell's useful book. And we bear the readier testimony to its merits, because despite the theories which it incidentally favours, it proves, by the history of the last thirty years, that the real advancement and civilization of the coloured populations of the West Indies depend upon the presence, example, and authority of English residents, endowed

with English principles and nurtured in English traditions: not on any fantastic notions of negro or mulatto ascendancy, or on the supersession of the one superior people by what we must still, in reference to their physical and moral strength, and without using the term offensively, venture to denominate the two 'inferior races.'

But after doing, as we consider, justice to the practical value of this work, we cannot conclude these observations without reference to a subject on which they have an immediate bearing. No one can compare the present with the past state of the negroes in the British West Indies, without thinking of the present and prospective condition of the negroes in the Confederate States. Already there are muttering indications of the fate by which the Federalists propose to punish treason to the Union and an infringement on the rights of humanity. That portion of the Unionists which is the most vehement in its sentiments if not the strongest in its powers, menaces the South with an immediate abolition of the slavery which is supposed to be the mainspring of its wealth. 'Catch your hare first,' is perhaps not an inapplicable hint to a party whose ability is not yet abreast of its will. But although the Northern Federation may not be able, and many of its members not be inclined, to carry this menace into execution, the very threat brings home more closely to the mind an event which, however remote, is neither impossible nor—under certain conditions—undesirable.

We are not about to launch invectives at the heads of Southern planters, or cover with stereotype abuse their unhappy 'institution.' But we wish to give a calm though brief consideration to that which both Northerners and Southerners alike contemplate with curiosity and awe—the eventual, if distant, emancipation of the Southern negro.

When will this be done? How will it be done? These are momentous questions, questions to which the minds of the best and purest men in America must revert, when the present internecine strife has been terminated by conquest or mediation. That four million slaves should go on generating other slaves, and still, with augmented numbers, submitting to the involuntary yoke, seems to us hardly reconcilable with the instincts of nature or the analogies of history. It would be almost impracticable, if the slaves were all of pure and unmixed black origin. But this is not so. Many of them are mulattoes; and not a few of these mulattoes are of a colour hardly distinguishable from that of Southern Europeans.

Where this element exists in numbers, where it is increasing, and where it represents the art, cunning, and stratagem of the servile class, it seems to us that protracted slavery is impossible as an institution. We know well what is and may be advanced against this view. We know that on many estates the most patriarchal and paternal government prevails—that the owner is regarded by his slaves as a father is regarded by his children—that they owe more to him than he to them; and that emancipation, while it rescued him from the responsibilities, would wrench them from the protection which slavery entails. But this plea, in its widest scope, is hardly borne out by facts. All planters are not gentlemen of Virginia or Carolina. The cotton-growers of Texas, Alabama, and Mississippi are of a very different stock. There are among them rude, rough Yankees with keen notions of gain, of property, and its rights. And these men, though they may not make the institution loathsome by abusing the privilege it confers, may find it onerous and tiresome by the losses which it involves. They may find out—as by many examples Mr. Olmsted has shown, although he has failed to show it universally—that in certain districts and certain kinds of labour it ‘does not pay.’ Viewing, then, this ‘non-paying’ quality in connexion with other and more repulsive characteristics, they may feel an inclination to terminate a condition of things which is at once unprofitable and discreditable. But how to do this? That is the question. Shall they repeat the policy of Great Britain? But that would be to repeat the illusions, deceptions, disappointments and losses which we endured for twenty-five years, for a longer period and on a larger scale. With us, hard as the task was, it was light compared to what it would be with the slave-owners of the Confederate States. We had but 600,000 slaves to emancipate. They have 4,000,000. Our emancipation cost us 100,000,000 of dollars: theirs would cost them 700,000,000. Ours were separated from each other and from the power of combination by hundreds of miles of unknown ocean. Theirs are connected by the contiguity of one common continent. Ours had been, though imperfectly, still in a certain degree educated and prepared for freedom. Theirs have had no education at all; and the only form of civilized life with which they are acquainted, they have learned on the estates of the few patrician families residing in South Carolina, Georgia, or Virginia. Ours were under harsh agents and inspectors; but they not unfrequently saw the English gentleman and

his lady; conversed with the clergyman and his wife; or had free access to their spiritual guide in the tabernacle. With anything of refined life the slave on an American plantation—except in a few parts of the older and more aristocratic States—is wholly unacquainted. Courteous manners, except in those districts, he rarely sees; and his religious exercises are confined to howling, groaning, singing, and screaming.

To confer on such a semi-barbarous race full civil liberty seems to the Southerners and to many Northerners a dangerous and Quixotic experiment. They appeal to us and our example. We, they remind us, failed, with large means at our disposal and scattered communities to liberate. Our negroes, when they ceased to be slaves, ceased to be industrious; and when they became free, became insolent and ‘uppish’ in the drunkenness of unwonted liberty.

We cannot admit this reply in full. We do not think the greatest evils of emancipation are to be compared with the normal evils of perpetual slavery. But we admit the difficulty, nay the inexpediency, of a literal imitation of ourselves by the American emancipators. It might be dangerous, it certainly would be very difficult. It would lead to consequences which, with us, the strength of the government and the strength of the popular will of England combined to neutralise. The new-born freeman would provoke the wrath, and retort the insults, of his former master. There would ensue quarrels, abuse, recrimination. Angry words would lead to passionate acts, and blows and assassination would follow what contumely and recrimination had begun. The negro, with an ample territory, whereon to squat, would refuse to labour for hire. The employer would forget the freedom of the man he wished to employ, and would inflict upon his idleness the chastisement which could with impunity be inflicted on a chattel alone. The assertion of equality would irritate even more than the indulgence of idleness. Instead of amelioration, confusion and anarchy would be the fruits of emancipation; bloodshed and strife would mark the traces of a policy designed in a spirit of wisdom and beneficence; and, after all, the emancipated race might have to renew the struggles and the fate of the Iroquois and the Seminoles; to be excited to resistance; to be beaten in murderous engagements; to be utterly exterminated.

But it does not follow, that, because a literal imitation of our policy is impracticable, it is impossible to ameliorate the condition of the slave. We believe it is possible to do this with advantage to the master's

interest; and two suggestions seem worthy of consideration.

In the first place, the mulattoes, who are more near in colour to the whites than the blacks, should be emancipated from slavery at once. It is positively dangerous to keep men of their organisation in bondage. Their admission to political privileges should be one of gradual and pedetentous elevation. Property and education should both be regarded as essential conditions of such an advancement.

As for the mass of untrained and uneducated negroes, we would, as an intermediate and preparatory step, render them inseparable adjuncts of the estates on which they laboured—*adscripti glebæ*,—with the attributes of the Saxon cheorl, incapable of being bought or sold except with the land, possessing legal claims on the benevolence of the masters, and punishable only according to a prescribed and recognised code. That this system would only pave the way to ultimate and complete emancipation, we readily admit. But it would make that emancipation easy in its execution and harmless in its effects; and, when that emancipation came, it is superfluous for us to suggest that the new free men should not acquire, as our negroes acquired, *uno saltu*, all the political privileges exercised by their white compatriots. Character, industry, education and property, should be exacted as the qualifications of citizens, who, as the history of our own colonies teaches us, might be apt to confound a pert and forward selfassertion with manly independence, and to mistake a licentious insolence for a dignified and noble self respect.

But to bring about such a state of things, there is one thing which is more indispensably necessary than the good will of Northern and Southern statesmen; and that is a prudent and patient demeanour on the part of the slaves and their friends. Let the friends of the negroes, and the most intelligent of the negroes themselves, seek to raise the moral and industrial characters of the race up to the highest standard known in our own West Indies; let them cite the islands where the negro has acquired habits of thrift and a love of knowledge as the proper models of imitation, and let them denounce as unworthy either of imitation or panegyric those upstart societies, which, in the midst of a luxuriant fertility unexcelled and almost unequalled by any portions of the earth, drag on a drowsy and half-starved existence rather than submit to the toil of earning the proffered treasures of Nature's store-house. By such teaching as this not only may the negro himself be improved,

but his white master and his white rival be alike conciliated. And though in his new state of general freedom he may not always realise the aspirations of his warmest friends, he will yet for the most part disappoint the anticipations of those, whose evil predictions are dictated by the history of the most troublous æra of Jamaica, and whose conceptions of negro capacity are bounded by what they know of the cultivation of Hayti and the grotesque tyranny of Solouque. The negro race possesses many good and excellent qualities; and if its members fail to win our admiration by the display of those sterner and more dominant faculties which the opinion of mankind associates with greatness, they redeem the deficiency by the exhibition of milder and engaging virtues, which cannot be regarded without esteem, or exercised without benefit to mankind.

It is by developing and encouraging those virtues that the social harmony not only of our own tropical colonies, but of the future polity of the Southern States, will best be preserved. That the coloured races in our colonies could (even if they were so disposed) ever throw off their allegiance to Great Britain, so long as Great Britain cares to retain a Colonial Empire, is an extravagant assumption. That the coloured races in the Southern States could ever succeed in setting up and maintaining a separate government of their own under any circumstances, is equally improbable. In those climates the white man and his black brother must live close together. And, so far as concerns the British West Indies, we maintain that—conscious as we may be of our own strength and superiority in the event of a collision of races, and assured as we must be of the only issue which could ultimately attend a resort to arms—not only is it just, but it is expedient also, to use our best exertions to cement the various populations of those scattered dependencies by the mild influences of mutual comity and kindness, and of an education adapted to their different positions in life. If we do not do this, we must expect the worst consequences of that worst antagonism: the antagonism, which is engendered between the vulgar superciliousness of illiterate white creoles and the vulgar assumption of illiterate and irritated negroes.

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ART. III.—*Lectures on the Science of Language.* Delivered at the Royal Institution of Great Britain in April, May, and June,

1861. By MAX MÜLLER, M.A., Fellow of All Soul's College, Oxford; Corresponding Member of the Imperial Institute of France. London: 1861.

THE Ptolemæan theory of the universe was not more completely set aside by the system of Copernicus, than all previous conceptions of grammar and speech by the new-born science of language. It can scarcely be said that this science has opposed popular ideas, for all ideas on the subject have been confined comparatively to a few. The assertions of Copernicus seemed to contradict the evidence of a sense common alike to all; but no general prejudices are affected by mere researches in the boundless field of human utterance. The popular mind has scarcely grasped the distinction between grammar and speech, and fails to see that the dry and tedious examination of unknown and barbarous languages may lead the way to conclusions in which all must feel a personal interest. Men were contented with a vague belief that in some way or other speech was a divine gift, and that language was originally one; but there was little inducement even for the scholar or the philosopher to examine and dissect any language for its own sake, as long as a supposed impossibility of arriving at any certain conclusion seemed to render all examination useless. To ordinary minds the subject naturally appeared devoid of all interest; to scholars grammar became nothing more than an instrument for the attainment of a higher end.

The science (under whatever name we may speak of it\*) has but lately emerged from its infancy; yet it is curious to watch the havoc it is making with notions of which very few can suddenly or hastily divest themselves. As Englishmen we are proud, and not without good reason proud, of our language. It appears to us a vehicle of marvellous power and beauty for the expression of thought. We look forward with satisfaction to the wide dominion which it seems destined to exercise in time to come. We look back on the long series of centuries during which it has been growing

up to its present richness. We watch with keen interest the various influences which seem to be at work, whether to purify it or to corrupt it. We have, perhaps, our own idea of what the language ought to be, and our own reasons for desiring to bring out more prominently one or more of the many elements which make up its wealthy stores. We may be fighting to uphold the purity of English idiom against a spurious literary dialect, which threatens to overlay it with the cumbrous overgrowth of exotic forms. We may have our battle with those who can never speak of anything by its simple English name. We may guard our utterance with scrupulous jealousy from the least intrusion of what we call provincialism, and resent the introduction of vulgar words or phrases into our own more choice vocabulary. To us the dialects of Somerset and Dorset may, not less than the Americanisms which come pouring in upon us, be simply ugly and repulsive; and our dislike may be quickened by a secret feeling that there is a strange vitality in the adversaries which we are striving to put down.

These notions or convictions may show but little discrimination; but from them we may extract some definite axioms which form the creed of many even among English scholars on the subject of language generally. Drawing a strong line between a dominant literary language and all its cognate dialects, they regard the latter as mere corruptions, and the former as a living development from the original stock. From its present supposed wealth, as compared with its former poverty, they draw a general inference that languages are at first scanty and afterwards rich, while the contributions which our own speech has received from dead and living tongues appear to justify the idea of mixed languages. And yet more; these axioms involve a belief that the science of language, if it exists at all, must be an historical science, that researches into the growth and changes of human speech can require no other method than that which is applied to the history of music, sculpture, or painting. Under other forms the old distinction of Greek and barbarian still survives. The speech of clowns and ploughmen can never deserve the patient attention of the scholar; the jargon of savages can never be worthy of comparison with the language of poets, orators, and philosophers. Whatever interest the subject may possess is thus concentrated on written, and more especially on literary languages. To the examination of these the scholar devotes himself, less to analyse their structure than to appreciate their beauty; less

\* Professor Müller has, we think, rightly chosen the simpler name, 'Science of Language,' in preference to that of 'Scientific Etymology,' 'Phonology,' or 'Glossology.' To speak of 'Linguistic,' after the French fashion, or of 'Lozology,' would grate upon English ears. The title of 'Comparative Philology' is, perhaps, not wide enough for the wants of the science; but, with Professor Müller, we may leave the question of title to be settled when the character of the science shall have been firmly established.



to learn the history of their growth than to trace out the course of human thought.

To every one of these notions, without exception, the science of language, as distinguished from that of philology, deals a death-blow. It is utterly at variance with every theory which sets up no other standard of comparison between languages than that of beauty, or which is based on an examination of one, or perhaps part of one, family of human speech. It has nothing to do with force or purity of idiom; it gives no special prominence to any language as having been employed by the greatest of poets or the most eloquent of orators. It seeks not to acquaint itself with what men have written, but to learn what they spoke and how their speech grew. All human speech is, therefore, its province, the vulgar idiom of the peasant no less than the refined dialect of the philosopher; the uncouth articulation or scream of the savage not less than the majestic rhythm of the most exquisite poetry. For the purposes of this science the language of Homer is not more valuable than that of the Hottentot, and the stereotyped speech of the Chinese not less interesting than the sacred language of the Brahman. It seeks to know the nature of all human utterance, to learn how it began, to survey every change through which it has passed, and every form which it has assumed. It seeks to analyse the marvellous faculty which separates man from the brute, and to trace it back to its mysterious birth. And in order to perform its task, and to solve the problems which it must encounter, it insists on taking its place among the physical sciences, and on adopting the method which is applied in their several provinces by the geologist, the botanist, or the astronomer. It has no partialities and no pride. It asserts the absolute equality of every form of speech from its own point of view, while it ascribes a living force to spoken dialects altogether beyond that of literary and cultivated languages. It teaches that the latter have been taken out of the living stream of spoken words which still continues to flow on, that their growth is arrested, that their history must be one of decay. It asserts that no language can die in giving birth to another, that no language can ever pass into another, and that a mixed language is therefore an impossibility. It maintains that this stream of speech bursts out with an exuberance of wealth, and that a dialect is really crippled and impoverished when it becomes the speech of a highly civilised or learned society. It shows that a dialect, so chosen has lost the principle of growth,—that the

streams of a living speech are flowing on beneath it and around it, not heeded, or else despised, until some great convulsion sweeps away the old society and the language of the people vindicates its inherent vitality in the after growth of new languages which may, in their turn, pass through the same conditions of civilisation and decay.

And, as following the strictest method of physical science, it does not profess to determine points for which it has not the fullest evidence. It draws a broad line between what it has accomplished already and what it may accomplish hereafter. It acknowledges a distinction between what is certain and established and what is probable or possible. It has defined absolutely all possible forms of speech; it has traced out with certainty every stage in the growth of the most complicated and highly developed of languages; it has analysed the elements of which they are composed, and laid bare the naked roots from which all language springs. It has established the affinity of forms of speech to all appearance utterly unlike each other: it has proved the possibility of a common origin for all the countless dialects of mankind. Beyond this region of fact it ventures now to look into the faculty itself,—to show how the elements, which it has failed to decompose, came into being,—to solve the great problem of the origin of language. It has carried its researches into regions of controversy, but it demands the banishment of every idea which does not belong to the subject in hand. It will not allow theological prejudices to be mixed up with questions of fact, or permit the analysis of language to be affected by ethnological considerations. It maintains that a common source of language is consistent with either an original diversity or identity of race, and that affinity or identity of language does not of necessity prove an affinity of blood. But it also insists on regarding as open questions those points on which it is impossible to prove a negative, or of which the negative has not yet been proved; and it believes that not long hence some of the few questions yet undetermined will have been finally set at rest.

Of this subject, so vast in its range, so profound in its interest, Professor Müller's lectures aim at giving no more than the outlines. His effort has been to extend the general knowledge of a subject which more than any other brings all mankind before our view. To illustrate at any length the method of inquiry in such a science, would be beyond the compass of a series of lectures; but it would be impossible to show more clearly than Professor Müller in the

present volume has shown; what this science is, and what it is not; what it has and what it has not done. In such a work we may, perhaps, wish that some parts had been more expanded, others, possibly, more compressed. We may feel that the final problem has not yet been so nearly solved as the writer believes; but it would be of little use to dwell on blemishes, few and slight if any, in a work which it is almost an impertinence to praise. Dealing with a difficult subject, and one in some of its aspects not very attractive, Professor Müller has never failed to express his meaning with perfect clearness. They who will not accept his conclusions can never be at any loss to understand his arguments. His method of arrangement has left no room for general objections, while it combines the several portions of the subject in perfect unity. That method is based on the distinction drawn between philology and the science of language. The examination of the former involves a history of grammatical knowledge, whether in ancient or modern times, which is followed by a sketch of the origin and growth of the later science of language. The strictness of inductive method, which he has applied to the working and results of this science, may render it easier to discover weak points in his argument, if such there be; but it cannot fail to overthrow the empty theories which, under a cloud of words, involve the subject in uncertainty and controversy.

If it is difficult for us to abandon our notions of the relative value of literary and vulgar dialects, it is scarcely less difficult to realise the condition of men who could write and speak with the utmost beauty and eloquence without any consciousness of grammar whatsoever. We do not easily bring ourselves to think that the Homeric poems were composed without a thought of declension and conjugation, or any theory of predicates. Habit has so accustomed us to think of every foreign language as an intricate grammatical system, and to apply to them a careful and minute terminology, that we forget how little conscious, after all, we are of the grammar of our own. And it requires a further effort to extend this unconsciousness to men whose inflexional system was altogether more elaborate and comprehensive than that of the modern languages with which we are generally familiar. This error is strengthened by the knowledge that the terminology to which we are habituated is Greek, that the scholars of Alexandria used the terms which we still retain, and that many of these terms were employed by Aristotle and Plato. But the

schools of Greek philosophy had dwelt long on the nature of human thought before they dreamt of analysing the forms of human language. They knew no other language than their own, and they had no temptation to learn any. All other dialects were to them barbarous jargons, which they could not conceive as subjected to analysis and classification; and Professor Müller rightly insists on the impossibility that any nomenclature introduced under such conditions could be strictly grammatical. The distinctions of case and gender, of article, noun, and verb, were distinctions of philosophy, enabling them, in whatever measure, to ascertain the laws of thought, but having no tendency to acquaint them with the forms or the history of human utterance. Their ignorance of its real character betrayed them into the constant employment of merely verbal arguments; while their logical nomenclature had to be adapted to the requirements of grammar, and many not unimportant errors are the result of this adaptation. The noun and verb were with Aristotle nothing but the expression of predication; the noun was simply the subject of the sentence, while the verb might be what we call an adjective. Of the distinction of numbers into singular and plural he was conscious, while of the dual he takes no notice; but the terms (*ἀριθμὸς ἐνικός*, *ἀριθμὸς πληθυντικός*) belong to a later day.\* The article, in his view, comprised every word which marked the interdependence of clauses. It might be a pronoun, demonstrative or relative; it could not be the article in the sense with which we are familiar. *Case* again had no reference to declension. It expressed simply the relation of one word to another in a sentence, a meaning which our Latin term, as a literal translation, fails to convey fully, while other translations, such as *genitive*, have tended to introduce and uphold positive error. This case was to Aristotle the predicating case, that which determined the class or genus to which a thing belonged. It had nothing to do with origin or birth, for it might express the relation of a son to the father as well as of the father to the son. It was to him practically an adjective; and his philosophical analysis brought him in this instance to an exactness of grammatical definition of which he was wholly unconscious.†

\* See Max Müller's 'History of Sanskrit Literature,' p. 163.

† In a note at p. 104. Professor Müller has shown that the genitive case was formed by the same suffix which converted a noun substantive into an adjective. This suffix, in Sanskrit *ya* becomes in Greek

In all this there was nothing to lead him to an examination of other languages, or to make him acquainted with the grammatical developement of his own. The pride of race withheld the Greek from any research into the jargon of aliens, and even made him care little for the work of the stranger who sought to bring before him in his own language the history of other nations. The course of Macedonian conquest had extended among barbarians the study of Greek; but the abandonment of their native tongue has failed to preserve to us anything more than fragments of the great works of Menander, of Berosus, and of Manetho. The necessity of preparing correct editions of Greek writers, and especially of the Homeric poems, imposed on the scholars of Alexandria a more critical examination of the forms of Greek language; and the controversies which arose on the text of Homer introduced such distinctions as that of the pronoun from the article, and the invention of technical terms for the various usages of words. But no direct advance was made by their labours towards a system of practical grammar; nor could it be made until the task of teaching a language was added to the examination of its grammatical forms. The need of such a system was not felt as long as the merchant and traveller could trust to a class of interpreters in his dealings with Egyptians, or with the many tribes which were classed together under the common name of Scythians. But the growth of Roman power supplied the motive which Greek philosophy and criticism had failed to furnish. Rome owed everything to Greece, and not only to its schools of later philosophy, but to the influence of the earliest Hellenic colonisation in the West. Their alphabet, their writing, their terms of seafaring and of other ordinary employments, came to them from Greek sources; and the power of Greek thought and genius gave to their language at Rome a popularity not less than that of the Norman French of William the Bastard in the halls of the English Edward. Roman boys learnt Greek; Roman historians wrote in Greek; and the defects of previous teaching were at length met by the practical grammar of Dionysius the Thracian. Through the pupil of Aristarchus, the nomenclature, of which the Alexandrian scholars had re-

ceived the germs from Athens, was brought to Rome; from Rome it has gone over the world. With him the work of grammatical analysis practically reached its completion; and his system is substantially that by which European scholars have been trained from his time to the present.

But long before this work was commenced in Athens and Alexandria, or completed at Rome, the same analysis had been carried out with far greater minuteness in a distant land. The colossal fabric of Sanskrit grammar had embraced every form of the language, regular and irregular, and supplied the rules for the employment of every word. The resemblance of its terminology to that of the Greeks leads Professor Müller to remark 'that there must be some true and natural foundation for the much-abused grammatical system of the schools' (p. 107.). It would, perhaps, prove more the marvellous resemblance, or rather identity of structure, in both the languages. The work of mere analysis could not be carried further; but of the origin and growth of the languages of which they treat, these systems tell us nothing. With the reason and the meaning of the several grammatical terminations we are no better acquainted than we were before. The knowledge that declension is produced by changes of termination fails to explain why these terminations should produce this change of meaning. If we are told that the addition of *r* to *amo* converts it from an active to a passive verb, that *love* with *d* affixed becomes a thing of the past, that the suffix *s*, or the prefix *of*, marks the gentive case in English, while in Greek it is marked by *os*, in Latin by *is*, we are no nearer to a knowledge of these words or letters: and yet such knowledge we must have before we can be said really to know these languages. And if there be such a thing as a science of language, it must tell us what the *d* in *loved*, and the *is* in *lupidis*, are; whence they come, and through what changes they have passed. It must be able to decompose all the elements of which our speech is made up; it must be able to determine all the possible forms under which those elements may be combined. The grammatical system of the Thracian Dionysius is merely empirical. The collection of grammatical forms, of declensions and conjugations, is to the science of language nothing more than the collection of herbs to botany. Until any language has received its right place in the group or family to which it belongs, and until that family has been compared with other varieties of human speech, or, in other words, until our empirical analysis has been succeeded by a

*σας*. Hence *δῆμος* becomes *δημόσιος*; or, without gender, *δημόσιο*. But in Greek *σ* between two vowels cannot stand in grammatical terminations; and the gentive therefore of *γένος* is not, like the Latin *generis*, *γένεος*, but *γένεος*, or *γένους*. *Δῆμος* thus becomes *δημοίο*, the common form of the Homeric gentive, which establishes the identity of growth in the Sanskrit and Greek declensions.

systematic classification, we can never rise beyond an art of grammar. But for the science of language there is yet a further stage. From the classification of languages and the decombination of their elements, it must proceed to account for the existence of those primary roots which bid defiance to all analysis: it must take up its legitimate position in the circle of the physical sciences.

For that of which it treats cannot with strictness be said to have either growth or history. The latter, as Professor Müller remarks, is concerned with the actions of free agents, while the former must be confined to organic beings. And if it can be shown that the course of language is beyond the control of the human will, and that language itself has no substantial or personal existence, it becomes almost superfluous to meet other objections which may be urged against the claims of the science of language to be regarded as a physical science. If it starts with vague guesses and assumptions, the sciences of botany, geometry, and astronomy cannot point to a source more exalted or philosophical. The provision of food, the measuring of ground, the necessities of navigation, gave birth to sciences which range over the whole earth and heaven, and of which one at least professes to take no cognisance of material and palpable forms. If it be urged that each of these sciences answers some practical purpose, it remains yet to be seen whether the science of language fails in this condition. It will not fail for want of questions to answer, or of mysteries to be cleared up. If it turn out, indeed, that it can to the last furnish nothing but crude theories without clear and indisputable evidence, it must go the way of astrology, alchemy, and any other science which has failed to produce results proportioned to its pretensions. Yet even in the nineteenth century there are questions which have an interest apart from the attainment of some merely utilitarian end. The aid of the astronomer is invaluable to the seaman, but he works from a higher motive than that which impelled men first to scan the heavens in the night season. Words alone have raised fierce controversies, and the determination of their substantial or relative existence lay at the root of the questions which occupied the antagonistic schools of Nominalists and Realists. In times nearer to our own the problems of language have been handled by less disinterested students; and American philologists have asserted the impossibility of a common origin of races and languages, in order to strengthen the theory of slavery. For us the subject has a more righteous interest in the contro-

versies which turn on the border land between matter and spirit. If recent research has shown a tendency to remove all physical barriers between man and brute, if the only palpable distinction remaining is perhaps a mere fold of the brain, here at least is a faculty which no brute has exhibited, and which seems to present an impassable boundary between man and everything beneath him. If the controversy is carried on with something less than judicial calmness, we may think with Professor Müller that, after all, 'the great problems of our being, of the true nobility of our blood, of our descent from heaven on earth, though unconnected with anything that is commonly called practical, have still retained a charm of their own, a charm that will never lose its power on the mind and on the heart of man' (p. 13.); and that, until the results of this science are set aside, we may enter our protest 'against the revival of the shallow theories of Lord Monboddo' (p. 14.).

It cannot, however, be denied that the claim of the science of language to rank as a physical science is at once overthrown, if we admit the old hypothesis that language is the artificial result of conscious agreement. But this assumption is obviously worth nothing until it has been proved. In the meanwhile it cannot be allowed to impede the progress of a science which professes to affirm nothing positively without irresistible evidence, while those who uphold it have to explain how the discussion, which preceded the agreement, could without language have been carried on. A more plausible, if not a more forcible, objection arises from the constant change which is perceptible in language. The types of nature, it is urged, are never changed. The ingenuity of the beaver, the intelligence of the dog, the mechanical skill of the spider, are not more advanced now than when they first came into being; and each can be recognised by the same distinctive marks throughout the whole course of their existence. Language has advanced, while nature remains stationary; language has improved, while natural species have continued unchanged. To this objection Professor Müller has allowed ample force. He admits that languages change, or rather he asserts that, if left to themselves, they never rest. He allows that the changes of a few generations will make the utterances of a people unintelligible to their children, that one language gives way before another, or that its old ground is occupied by many languages of the same character. But he maintains that there is a wide distinction between historical change and natural growth, and that language, so rich in the

latter, knows nothing of the former. Systems of philosophy, laws, religion, art, have their historical changes, whether marked or unmarked; the influence of schools, of statesmen, of historians or theologians is distinctly perceptible in the character of their development. But over the changes of language the will of man has no control. He can do no more than check its growth by placing on it the bit and curb of literary refinement, or rather he can sever a single dialect from the main stream, which will flow on beside it without interruption.

The causes of that growth it may be impossible fully to explain: but there can be little doubt of its method. In it are seen two processes which Professor Müller calls Dialectical Regeneration, and Phonetic Decay. It would seem to be a self-evident proposition that language at the first could have contained nothing more than what was needful for its meaning, and that all the parts of a word must have had their appreciable force. The Chinese still obeys this law more perfectly than any other form of speech (although even in it the signs of attrition or decay are not wanting). The Aryan languages have departed the furthest from it. The former, to express *twenty*, places the word *eul*, *two*, before *shi*, which expresses *ten*. In the latter the Greek gives *elkoai*, the Latin *viginti*, the Sanskrit *vin-sati*. To the Chinese *eul-shi* tells its own tale; but neither the Greek nor the Roman could have been conscious that his own word was similarly composed, that from the Sanskrit *dāsan*, *ten*, came *dāsati*, a *decad*, and that *dāsati* was reduced to *sati*; hence, *vinsati*, from which the Greek or Latin terms have been derived. Thus also we speak of *eleven* and *twelve*, without being aware that the same *dāsan* enters into their composition. We do not feel that our *twelve*, the German *zwölf*, and Gothic *twalif*, is the same as the Greek *δέδεκα*, until we find that *déka* (*dāsan*) becomes in Lithuanian *lika* in compound forms from eleven to twenty.\* In these instances the component parts of the word are completely merged, and their original force entirely lost. 'Such,' says Professor Müller, 'is the virulence of this phonetic change, that it will sometimes cut away the whole body of a word, and leave nothing behind but decayed fragments. Thus *sister*, which in Sanskrit is *vasar*, appears in Pehlvi and

Ossetian as *cho*. *Daughter*, which in Sanskrit is *duhitar*, has dwindled down in Bohemian to *dei* (pronounced *tsi*)' (p. 46.). Nor are Englishmen and Frenchmen generally conscious that *age* and *eternity* are the same word, and come directly from the Greek *αἰών*, the Latin *ævum*.\* But while every inflexional language exhibits an irresistible tendency to this principle of Phonetic Decay, they exhibit, as long as they are left to themselves, a more marvellous power in Dialectical Regeneration. Like the tree, until its roots are severed from the soil, speech rises from the human soul with the rank luxuriance of a weed, until it chancings to be raised to the distinction of a national or literary language. Its spontaneous tendency is to the multiplication of dialects: and in these dialects lies its living power. In spite of all that poets and orators, scholars and philosophers, have done, there is not a country in Europe which does not exhibit a harvest of dialects more or less rich and numerous. But we cannot see this principle at work in all its wantonness of prodigality, until we fix our attention on countries, where no influence of one favoured literary dialect checks its natural fertility. In these countries the barriers of a single hill or a river will produce a variation of dialect. Missionaries in America have remarked that tribes who left their native village to settle in another valley became in two or three generations unintelligible to those whom they had left behind them; others in Southern Africa have noticed that not unfrequently even in a single generation the entire character of a language may be changed.

This inexhaustible exuberance must prove beyond all doubt that speech reduced to writing loses its essential character, and that the first tendency of language must have been towards an unbounded variety. Few notions can be more mistaken than that languages advance from poverty to wealth. When a written language has three or four synonymes for any object, its cognate dialects will produce tens or hundreds. Every employment and occupation has its own nomenclature, and would despise the poverty of the literary language. While the latter speaks of the young of all sorts of animals, 'farmers, shepherds, and sportsmen would be ashamed to use so general a term' (p.

\* The transition of the Lithuanian *lika* (the affinity of which with *déka* is obvious) to the Gothic *lif*, may be illustrated by the cognate variations of such words as *ἵππος*, Latin *equus*, and the Gothic *fidvor*, Lithuanian *ketturi*, Latin *quatuor*, &c.

\* Of these two words the apparently older form is really the latest, being, in fact, a mere termination without any predicative root. From the Latin *ætas* (for *ævitas*) were obtained the two adjectives *æternus* and *ætalicus*; and thus our word *eternity* was parallel with the older form which the French derived from *ætalicus*, and of which the mere ending survives in *âge*.

60.). Every written language is therefore one which has passed into an artificial condition of arrested growth and inevitable decay. It has lost the power of regeneration which the dialects retain : it is exposed not less than they are to phonetic corruption : it cannot issue out into new forms by any powers of its own. Professor Müller's more extended researches since the time of his well-known essay on 'Comparative Mythology,' have shown him that Latin cannot with greater justice be described as the mother of French and Italian than Sanskrit can be called the parent of Greek\* ; and to these researches we owe his present account of the rise of the Romance languages, from which we extract a few sentences.

'After having been established as the language of legislation, religion, literature, and general civilisation, the classical Latin dialect became stationary and stagnant. It could not grow because it was not allowed to change or to deviate from its classical correctness. It was haunted by its own ghost. Literary dialects, or what are commonly called classical languages, pay for their temporary greatness by inevitable decay. They are like stagnant lakes at the side of great rivers. They form reservoirs of what was once living and moving speech, but they are no longer carried on by the main current. At times it may seem as if the whole stream of language was absorbed by these lakes, and we can hardly trace the small rivulets which run on in the same bed. But if lower down, that is to say later in history, we meet again with a new body of stationary language, forming or formed, we may be sure that its tributaries were those very rivulets which for a time were almost lost from our sight. . . . It is during times when the higher classes are either crushed in religious and social struggles, or mix again with the lower classes to repel foreign invasion ; when literary occupations are discouraged, palaces burnt, monasteries pillaged, and seats of learning destroyed ; it is then that the popular or, as they are called, the vulgar dialects which had formed a kind of under current, rise beneath the crystal surface of the literary language, and sweep away, like the waters in spring, the cumulous formation of a bygone age. . . . As soon as a language loses its unbounded capability of change, its carelessness about what it throws away, and its readiness in always supplying instantaneously the wants of mind and heart, its natural life is changed into a merely artificial existence. It may still live on for a long time, but while it seems to be the leading shoot it is in reality but a broken and withering branch, slowly falling from the stock from which it sprang. The sources of Italian are not to be found in the classical literature of Rome, but in the popular dialects of Italy. English did not spring from the Anglo-Saxon of Wessex only, but from the dialects spoken in every part of Great Britain, distinguished by local peculiarities, and modified

at different times by the influence of Latin, Danish, Norman, French, and other foreign elements.' (P. 58.)

But whatever changes were necessary to produce the modern Romance languages from the old Italian dialects, not one single alteration was ever brought about by any individual will. Poets may have invented words : but their acceptance depended on other influences than their own. But neither poets nor orators had anything to do with the phonetic changes which were wearing away the hard angles of the ancient speech, and still less with the growth of new grammatical forms which distinguish the younger dialects. In truth, in such developments human agency is no more discernible than in the growth of the earth's crust ; and we may at once accept Professor Müller's conclusion that if we are justified in applying this term to an accumulation of material particles, the employment of the same word in the same sense will also justify our removing the science of language into the class of the physical sciences (p. 66.).

But the connexion of languages with history is indisputable ; and it has been urged that we cannot analyse and classify the former without a direct reference to the latter. Languages have borrowed one from another and have exercised an influence more or less powerful on their several developments. Some have existed as mere unwritten dialects, others as the written language of a tribe or nation, some only as the rude utterances of a savage people, others as the refined speech of highly civilised races. But if from these facts the inference is drawn, that the science of language must therefore be historical, the argument is not less fatal to the claims of botany or zoology to rank as physical sciences. The former requires a knowledge of the cultivation to which each has been subjected, to account for the peculiarities of several sorts of grain : the latter needs information of national migrations to account for modifications of national characteristics. But beyond this it may be asserted plainly that the science of language, although it may not disdain its aid, is altogether independent of history. Its criterion is not the resemblance or identity of words which may be borrowed, but the character of grammatical formation. Languages may adopt foreign words, to such an extent even as to bring about a complete change in their dictionary. The languages of the Turks and Persians are full of Arabic words. The countryman, who visits Constantinople, recognises the grammar, but cannot understand the words of the Court dialect. Our own English is

\* Essay on Comparative Mythology, p. 46.



made up from the stores of many languages. Yet neither English, Turkish, Persian or Armenian has in the slightest degree deviated from its grammatical type; every foreign importation has been by each submitted to the crucible of its own grammatical laws. If every single historical document were lost, we should not the less see that English belonged to the class of Teutonic, and French or Spanish to that of the Romance languages, while both would be at once distinguished from the agglutinative dialects of the Turanian family or the monosyllabic speech of the Chinese. No language can ever be mixed. The Araucan with its Spanish vocabulary still remained an American dialect. English, even if it should hereafter overlay its native words by an overgrowth of Latin phraseology, would still belong to the Teutonic branch in the Aryan family of speech. Of this, to adopt Professor Müller's words, 'the single *s*, used as the exponent of the third person singular of the indicative present, is irrefragable evidence' (p. 75.)

But if it be asked what is this single letter which can determine the group to which a language belongs, a new field of research is at once opened up. If the addition of *s* can change the person of a verb, while the suffix *d* can convert the present into the past, what are these letters in themselves? Is the history of both the same? and do they belong to the same class of words or terminations? To answer such questions it is clear that our method can no longer concern itself with the arbitrary rules of empirical analysis, but with the origin of words and the meaning of suffixes. To ascertain this it matters not whether our search leads us through languages which orators and poets have rendered illustrious, or through the rudest dialects of shepherds and hunters. We discard at once the arrogant distinction between Greek and barbarian which led Herodotus to speak of dialects not less nearly akin to his own than German to English, as unintelligible jargons\*, which prevented Cæsar, while inventing grammatical terms for his own language, from see-

ing that the grammar of the conquered Gauls was the same as that of their Roman conquerors. But manifestly our labour will be wasted, if we begin to frame theories, before we have traced back these terminations, *he loves, he loved*, to the oldest form under which they appear in English. The grammar of our language has been modified by the laws which regulate the growth of all language; and the mere knowledge of our own English will not enable us to understand the English of our forefathers some centuries ago. Through every period therefore of the language we must trace these terminations to Anglo-Saxon: but this very name shows that our task cannot end here. We must pass on to the Saxon of the Continent, and compare that with every other Low German dialect, and these with all other German dialects until finally we arrive at the Gothic of Bishop Ulfilas.

Here, then, we have a group of languages, between all of which we can trace a certain connexion. We can identify the Anglo-Saxon of our own country with the old Saxon of Northern Germany. We can see that these again are related to the other forms of German speech both high and low, and all these again with the Gothic of the fourth century. But can we determine the nature of this connexion? Is the Gothic the parent of this whole group, or do they all point to some common but more remote source? Are there any other languages besides these which belong to the same branch? or are there any others which with them make up a larger class of languages? And if there are such, what place does this class occupy in the vast ocean of human speech? Is it in its turn only the member of a wider family, which may have its own relation to other families? or are the many forms of human utterance like floating islands driven by chance over a trackless sea? These are questions which our retrospective search will not yet enable us to answer. We are still in the empirical stage of the science, although on the right road towards a true classification. Like the botanist, we must make a larger collection of herbs before we can venture on definite distinctions; and the means for such further observation are furnished by the Romance languages of Europe. To a certain extent, Italian, Spanish, and French tell their own tale and proclaim their close affinity to Latin; but in what relation do they, with all their dialects past as well as present, stand to each other and to the language which looks as though it were their common parent? Are French and Italian sprung directly from Latin, or must we set up Provençal as the real mother of the

\* The want of historical evidence had led Mr. Grote ('History of Greece,' vol. ii. p. 354.) and Sir G. C. Lewis ('Credibility of Early Roman History,' vol. i. p. 269.), to give up as hopeless the task of determining the precise affinity of Greeks and Romans with the earlier races which they may have dispossessed. The evidence of language deals still more roughly with the intricate and shifting theories of Niebuhr. In an excellent note on the affinity of the Hellenic with the prehistoric races, Professor Müller concludes that 'it is lost labour to try to extract anything positive from the statements of the Greeks and Romans on the race and language of their barbarian neighbours.'

modern Romance tongues? Yet, further, is Latin, in strictness of speech, the one source of all? and has the group to which they all belong, any relation to the language of Englishmen and Germans?

The barriers, which the old distinctions of the Hellenic race had set up, were thrown down by the one religion which claims a legitimate empire over every child of man. The practical needs of its teachers imposed on them the task of learning the tongue of all with whom they came into contact; but other theories were broached, which for centuries hindered all advance towards a real knowledge of language. All dialects, except one or two, were no longer to be stigmatised as barbarous; but it was assumed that all languages were sprung from Hebrew, and that to that source all might be traced back. On the attempt to solve this hopeless problem the toil of ages was spent, but, as Professor Müller remarks, not altogether wasted. Men laboured to prove a mere assumption; but they were slowly gathering evidence which was destined to overthrow that assumption and open the way for strictly inductive researches. If every additional fact collected increased the difficulty of the self-imposed task, the inference must be that they were working in a wrong direction. The keen discernment of Leibnitz saw clearly that, if anything was to be done to good purpose in the classification of languages, it must be by a diligent accumulation of facts and by the utmost care in arguing from the known to the unknown. After him the Spanish Jesuit Hervas saw not less clearly that languages must be classified not by similarity of words but wholly by their grammatical construction; and he perceived the resemblance between Greek and Sanskrit forms so far at least as to identify the Greek *θεός* with the Sanskrit *Deva*, and *εἶμι* with the Sanskrit *asmi*. But as yet, no one had advanced beyond a geographical classification, and there was danger that an endless catalogue of names might lose its interest, unless a system based on essential characteristics could be substituted for one of accidental distinctions.

Such a classification was rendered not only possible but inevitable by the discovery of Sanskrit. We can do little more than refer to the admirable sketch which Professor Müller has given of the history of this language, the knowledge of which was first imparted to European scholars during the last century. This sacred language of the Hindus, which is admitted by all to have been the language of the Brahmans in the days of the Macedonian Alexander, and which Professor Müller proves to have

been spoken at the mouth of the Indus in the days of Solomon, carries us back by the internal evidence of its literature to a far more distant time. There can be little doubt that the eras assigned by Professor Müller to the several portions of the Vedas, ascending up to 1200 B.C., are rather short of than beyond the truth.\* But the question of its age (although it may be looked upon as set at rest) is of very secondary interest compared with the light which it throws on the languages of Europe, and through these on every other form of speech. With the discovery of Sanskrit the problem of language assumed a totally different shape. It had been seen that Greek and Latin, English and German, French and Italian, were severally connected with each other; but when Sanskrit revealed a system of grammar substantially identical with the Greek, when in declension and conjugation the same laws were seen at work in both, when it showed the same numerals, articles, and pronouns, it became clear either that Sanskrit was the parent of Greek, or that it pointed to a common origin of both. The work of classification was in fact accomplished. The language of the Vedas had finally determined the fact that the relation of languages was to be measured by the similarity of grammatical forms, and that this resemblance must be traced by the laws of phonetic change. Every language, therefore, whose structure accorded with that of Sanskrit, was either sprung from it or was a member of that wide family to which Sanskrit itself belonged; and with a marvellous rapidity almost every language in Europe hastened to claim its place in this great family, which embraced, perhaps, other Asiatic languages besides the one which had held up its torch to light the way. The relative age of each must be determined wholly by internal evidence. The presence of a single more perfect grammatical form furnished indubitable proof that the language in which it was found could not be the offspring of any other in which the same form existed in a less perfect state. At once the high and low German branches with the Scandinavian filled up the class of Teutonic languages, while the speech of Greece and Rome ceased to claim more than a co-ordinate rank with the Illyric, Celtic and Windic, which they once despised as the rude babblings of savages. All these, with their many subdivisions, were to be ranged (along with the languages of the Vedas and the Zend-Avesta) with those of Persia and Armenia, of Bokhara and Afghanistan.

\* History of Sanskrit Literature, p. 572.

The veil was in some measure raised which had hitherto concealed the mechanism of all grammatical forms; but without advancing to such minute analysis it became comparatively an easy task to determine the relative age as well as the positive connexion of many languages belonging to the larger classes of this great family. The theory of Raynouard, that Provençal alone was the daughter of the ancient Latin and in its turn the parent of French and Italian, Spanish and Portuguese, was upset by the fact that the French had retained some older forms of primary words than the Provençal. It would have been, in Professor Müller's words, 'a grammatical miracle,' if the crippled Provençal forms, *sem*, *et*, *son*, had been changed back into the French *sommes*, *êtes*, *sont*, the more immediate representatives of the Latin *sumus*, *estis*, *sunt*. The same verb proves that neither Greek nor Latin, nor the speech of Teutonic Christendom, can be sprung from Sanskrit. The latter may, indeed, be an elder sister; but while we cannot deny the identity of the Sanskrit *dsmi* with the Greek *ἐμὶ*, the Latin *sum*, the Lithuanian *esmi* and the English *am*, it is equally certain that the Latin *estis* and the Greek *ἐστέ* are older than the Sanskrit *'śha*, while the Lithuanian *esmi* is more ancient than the Greek *ἐμὶ* or the Latin *sum*. It is also certain from the same evidence that the Latin never passed through the Greek; the Latin *sunt* could never have been developed from the Greek *εἰσὶ* (or even *ἐντι*). And as it was evident that the Romance languages were not sprung from the Latin, but that with the Latin they owed their origin to one common language of Italian shepherds before the existence of the Eternal City, so a comparison of the several high and low German dialects made it clear that there never was one common Teutonic language. The Gothic of Ulfilas may be the oldest form under which that speech is known to us; but it has no more claim to the parentage of the other forms than Sanskrit to that of Greek or Greek to that of Latin. Still all of them together point to the common language of some earlier age, when the ancestors of Greek and Roman, Teuton, Celt, and Scandinavian dwelt in the same home. The existence of that earlier language is as unquestionable as that Sanskrit is not that language; and, from the internal evidence of these forms of speech, it is possible not only to determine the order in which the several branches separated from the parent stream, but to describe in some measure the condition of these our common ancestors while yet their family was undivided.

This great tribe of languages lacked a

name, until the poetical instinct of Frederic Schlegel classed them all together, under the title of Indo-Germanic. The title showed clearly over how vast a space this family was extended, but it failed in comprehensiveness. The name of Aryan, which it has now received, is not only more fit as expressing the mind of the ancient people whose speech we have inherited, but as an example of the manner in which the same name may run through a long series of languages and dialects. From the sense of ploughing or tilling the word passed, long before the dawn of the earliest history, into a title of high honour. The root is found in the Greek *ἔρα* and *ἀρῶν*, the Latin *arare*, in the participial forms *erde* and *earth*, and in *earing* as distinct from harvest; but the force of the root had probably been lost before, as in the Vedic literature, *Arya* and *Sudra* became an exhaustive division of all mankind. With the Persian distinction of Iran and Aniran we are more familiar; but the same dichotomy is also found in the Zend-Avesta and in the *Ἀναπλάκαι* of Strabo, who speaks of Bactria as the ornament of the whole region of Ariana. It is the boast of Darius, in the inscriptions of Behistun, that he is *Arya Chitra*, of Aryan descent; and the significance of the title is still further shown by such names as Ariaramnes, Ariomardus, &c. Professor Müller has traced out the name through the countries washed by the Oxus and the Jaxartes, and through Thrace under its old designation of Aria. Although speaking with less certainty, he is inclined to recognise the word in the names of Armenia, Albania and Ireland, and of the Arians of Eastern Germany on the Vistula.

This classification, if other reasons were wanting, has swept away all the theories which treated of language as the result of conscious agreement, and which discerned that agreement in the formal, as distinguished from the radical elements of speech. It was no longer possible to speak of the inflexional terminations of nouns and verbs as arbitrary additions which originally had no meaning, when we find these terminations existing in earlier forms of language as separate words, and discover the working of similar combinations in more recent dialects. It was no longer possible to doubt that *m* and *s* in the English *am* and *is* are the fragments of appended pronouns, when in Lithuanian or Greek or Sanskrit we find a nearer approach to a distinctive pronominal form. We cannot doubt that the French *il aime* represents the Latin *amat*, when we find the *t* coming out in such forms as *aime-t-il*; or refuse to see in the French future, a proof that words, originally separate, may be blended together.

If there were any doubt that it was formed by adding to the infinitive of the verb the present of the auxiliary *avoir*, it would be set at rest by the Provençal form which gives us *dir vos ai*, *dir vos em*, &c., in its genuine and uncompounded state. It was no new process. The Latin future *amabo* was as much made up of the auxiliary *bhu*, to be, and the Greek *τυπ-σ-ω* (*τυπω*) of the auxiliary *as*, to be. And thus we are enabled to determine what is the *s* of the English present *loves*, or the *d* of the preterite *loved*, and to show their essential difference. The *s* of the present is the pronoun, worn down by the same phonetic decay which has left nothing more than *d* from the past tense of the verb, to *do*: whether under the forms *s*, *t* or *th* (*gives*, *giveth*), it re-appears in the Latin *dat*, the Greek *δίδωσι*, the Sanskrit *dadati*, while the verbal origin of the *d* in the preterite is proved by comparing the English form with the Anglo-Saxon and the Gothic. The latter has a verb *nasjan*, to nourish, with a preterite *nas-i-da* which in the plural gives the full form *nas-i-dêdum*, reduced in Anglo-Saxon to *ner-ê-don*, which in its turn would in English dwindle down to *ne-red*, as *lufidêdum* has dwindled down to *loved*. In this way there is scarcely a single form or anomaly in the Aryan language which has not been fully explained. If any still remain to be accounted for\*, it is a sufficient answer to say that the work of analysis is not yet complete, while the astonishing results achieved by the labours of little more than half a century leave no room to doubt the successful solution of every question which may still perplex the student of language.

To this process of dissection the radical components of words refuse to yield; and these elements, which we cannot decompose, are found to be of two kinds,—*roots predicative* and *roots demonstrative* (the latter being sometimes entitled *pronominal* or *locnl*). A few of the latter may, perhaps,

\* Among these unexplained forms Professor Müller (p. 376.) seems to reckon the Greek augment, which Bopp ('Comparative Grammar,' p. 761.) regards as originally the same as the *a privative*, and which in his belief expresses therefore simply a negation of the *present*. In proof of this he cites many words in Sanskrit, in which the stress lies not on the negative but on the word to which it is prefixed: *e. g.* *ullamas*, highest; *anullamas*, not the highest, *i. e.* removed beyond the degrees of comparison, incomparable; *eka*, one; *aneka* (not equivalent to *ovêls*, but to 'Lot one,' *i. e.*) many. There is nothing here which militates against the substantive origin of all words, while the augment would certainly in such case be no 'arbitrary addition of a consonant or vowel, used as it were algebraically, or by mutual agreement, to distinguish a past from a present tense.'

be traced back to predicative forms, but a small number will yet remain which resist every attempt at analysis,—which predicate nothing, but serve simply to point out the object to which the predicative root is applied. In three ways only can these two kinds of roots be employed, and these methods characterise severally the great families of human speech. It is in these roots that we find the hidden source of the wealth of language; it is here that we must determine the great questions of its nature and its origin. By examining them we discern not merely the unbounded fertility of language, but the fallacy of the theory which asserts the growth of grammatical terminations from suffixes without any original meaning. Such words as *landscape* in English and *Gesellschaft* in German, at once prove that the very reverse is the truth. These terminations are in themselves predicative roots, of which the demonstrative suffix has been lost in the English and barely survives in the final consonant of the German. It is the same with the comparison of Greek adjectives, where the termination *-τερος*, as in *σοφώτερος*, is no pronominal ending, but the predicative root *tar*, to go beyond, which we find in the Latin *trans* and the French *très* used as a prefix to mark the superlative degree. Still, whether visible or not, both these elements are absolutely necessary for all purposes of predication; and a long process of attention was needed to reduce any of them to the condition of a mere unmeaning suffix. But although in the Aryan family of language no predicative root could by itself convey a meaning or form a word, their wonderful power of expansion is even increased by the amalgamation which deprived them of their distinctive form; and this fact of itself suffices to overthrow the theories which ascribe to all language either an interjectional or an onomatopoeic origin. The root *ar*, which we have already traced in some of its earlier derivatives, is not limited to the idea of tillage or bounded by any necessary connexion with the earth. Every word which is not a mere imitation of some natural sound, must necessarily be applicable to every object which presents any analogy to the original idea of the root. The first boat that sailed upon the sea suggested a comparison with the furrowing of the plough; and the Sanskrit *aritam*, in the sense of an oar, shows how soon the term was extended to the sea, which, in the words of Shakspeare, 'men ear and wound with keels.' But from the idea of tillage the word was also extended to the expression of labour in general, and then to the results of labour, earnings, and wealth.

This is seen in the Old Norse *erfði*, the Gothic *arbaids*, the Anglo-Saxon *earfoðh* or *eorfedhe*, and the modern German *arbeit*. Still more delicate shades of meaning are discerned on a comparison of the Greek *ἔργον* with (*ἀργός*) *ἀργός*, *ἀργηστής*, *ἄργιος* and the Latin *agrestis*, in which the ideas of swiftness, slowness, brilliancy, rudeness, &c. are evolved from the original idea of ploughing\*, until in the Latin *ars* and the English *art* it embraces the highest inspirations of the musician, the painter, and the poet. Still more varied are the changes through which Professor Müller has traced the root *spac*, to see or look, the Sanskrit *pas* (or *spas*, for the latter is found in *spasa*, old high German *Spehon*, the English *spy*). Like many others, this root in Greek is transposed, and becomes *σκεπ* in *σκέπτομαι* *σκοπέω*, *ἐπίσκοπος*. In Latin it gives birth to a large family of words, chiefly by combination with prepositions, which give us in English such words as *circumspection* and *inspection*, *aspect*, *prospect*, and *conspicuous*. From *respicio* we have *respect* and *respectable*, anything which calls our attention back, while common things are passed by unnoticed. From the Latin *speculum* again comes our *speculate*, the Italian *specchio*, and the German *Eulen-spiegel* or owl glass, whence the word *espiegle* has naturalised itself in French, which from the German *Spehon* has also obtained *epier*, *espion*, and *espionage*. The Latin *species* introduced into the word the philosophical distinction between classes and the genera comprehending them, which Aristotle had expressed by the term *εἶδος* as opposed to *γένος*. The etymological meaning of the word, as signifying a classification irrespective of generic affinity, was lost, and the idea of restriction substituted, until the force of the root is no longer discernible in a *special* train or a *special* messenger. This restricted meaning produced also the Italian *spezieria*, where the chemist sold drugs not of the common kind, and from which have sprung the French *épicerie*, and the English *spice* and *spicy*.

These roots Professor Müller, advancing on Bopp's simpler division into roots ending with a vowel and roots ending with a consonant, classifies as primitive, secondary, and tertiary; the first having simply a vowel (as *i*, to go), or a vowel and consonant (as *ad*, to eat, *da*, to give); the secondary comprising those which have a vowel between two consonants, while all those which have two or more consonants coming together fall under the third class. The pos-

sible combinations of these letters would give more than 14,000 such predicative roots as *ar* and *spac*. Sanskrit grammarians have reckoned the number actually in use as 1700. Probably not more than one third of that number are practically needed; and if of even 500 roots each had 50 derivatives, we should have a list of 25,000 words. The language of English peasants does not perhaps exceed 500, and is sometimes carried on with 300 words. The needs even of Shakspeare were supplied by 15,000, while Milton was content with little more, and the translators of the Old Testament with less than half that number of words. But these roots show not only the lavish abundance of the resources at the disposal of language, and the economy which it had to exercise in the rejection of a vast number of possible formations. They introduce us to a new method of classifying languages. Hitherto we have confined ourselves to those dialects and branches of language, between which we may trace a direct genealogical connexion, and of which the relative age may be determined by the character of their grammatical forms. But similarity of declension and conjugation proves something more than the mere connexion of languages. It shows that, however vast may be the family and however numerous its subdivisions of dialect, yet the separation of each from the parent stock did not take place until its grammatical system had been fully completed. But it is obvious that the stream might be parted into different channels before the system of grammar was thus developed; and even in languages between which there exists a manifest genealogical connexion, the natural abundance of synonyms, even of primary words, and the wide choice of means for the construction of new grammatical forms, has produced a variety of inflections, which it is sometimes almost impossible to trace to their real source. The necessity of distinction led the Romance languages to adopt for the expression of *brother* and *shepherd* the words *hermano* and *berger*, in place of the Latin *frater* and *pastor* which had acquired a peculiar ecclesiastical meaning. In its future the French might have adopted the compound *dirvais* (*vado dicere*) in place of the combination with the verb *avoir*; and the terminations would in that case have been utterly different. The English *second* has nothing to do with the German *zweite*: the Latin imperfect *cantabam* is formed by a totally different process from that which produced the Greek *ἔρυντρον*. In these two last-named languages a long list might be formed, in which the primary relations of life and the

\* Gladstone, 'Homer and the Homeric Age,' vol. I. p. 384.

commonest objects have been expressed by different words. When to this we add that languages, separated before the completion of their grammatical system, are not tied down by the necessities of others whose subsequent history must be one rather of decay than of growth,—when we remember that in the former new pronominal terminations could be substituted with unbounded ease for those which the process of phonetic corruption had rendered obscure or unintelligible,—and that for most, if not all, predicative roots such languages would count their synonyms by hundreds rather than by tens, we shall at once understand how languages, really springing from a common stem, should bear little or perhaps even no resemblance to each other. Under such conditions the marvel is, not that so much has been lost or changed, but that anything has been preserved; and any assumption of their original diversity on account of their present divergence becomes obviously unwarrantable. When the classification of the Aryan and Semitic families of language gave rise to the hasty generalisation that they could never have sprung from the same source with the infinite varieties of Turanian speech, it was forgotten that the problem needed for its solution no evidence drawn from present resemblance; and that inference, as Professor Müller rightly insists, was ‘nothing but a kind of scientific dogmatism which, more than anything else, has impeded the free progress of independent research.’ Still such resemblances have been detected in the course of patient analysis. The obstinate vitality of pronouns and numerals, as well as of some predicative roots, has pointed out a connexion not merely between the Aryan and Semitic, but between these and the agglutinative dialects of the Turanian family.

In the latter the principle of genealogical classification fails; but the distinction of the pronominal and predicative roots supplies us with another which is absolutely exhaustive. They may be either so combined (1.) as to preserve the distinct existence of both, and so to exclude all phonetic corruption, or (2.) so that the predicative root may remain intact, or (3.) in such a way that both the roots may be modified by phonetic changes. The Chinese alone belongs to the first or Radical stage, and is of necessity, therefore, a monosyllabic language. Every root is here a word, and has its own proper force, although the faint signs of incipient attrition are in some instances becoming visible. To the second or Terminational stage belong the agglutinative or Turanian dialects, while under the third

or Inflectional stage are comprised the written or literary languages of the Semitic and Aryan families. Under no other conditions could any languages afford to abandon both classes of roots to the influences of phonetic decay. The Chinese cannot part with its direct consciousness of the separate force of every syllable; and the use of demonstrative roots is in great measure dispensed with by a stereotyped collocation of words which admits of no deviation. The sign of the instrumental case, *y* as in *y-cung*, may without change be used as a verb: *ngo-gin* means ‘a bad man’; *gin-ngo* ‘the man is bad. In *uo-li* (domi, at home), the affix *li* is a word which means the inside, but it is one of the instances in which the consciousness of the root is being gradually worn away. In the Turanian languages the terminations may undergo phonetic decay, but they are still felt to be modificatory syllables, which must not interfere with the integrity of the predicative root. This integrity is indispensable in languages which form the speech of widely-scattered nomadic tribes. It is absolutely necessary that every word should exhibit its anatomy to the members of roving hordes who may have but scanty communication with each other, and among whom there can be no national literary dialect, arresting the growth of language and imparting a permanent meaning to words of which the elements have lost their own distinctive features. Such a word as the French *âge* for *edage* (*ætaticum*, *ætas*, *ævitas*, *ævum*, *αἰών*, Sanskrit *ay-us*),—such a conjugation as the Hindustani *hain*, *ho*, *hain*; or, still more, the solitary English *have* for *habemus*, *habetis*, *habent* would be useless for the purposes of nomadic speech, which, while it insists on an intact predicative root, will rapidly invent new pronominal terminations in place of those which may have lost their meaning. Still, all the Turanian dialects stand by no means on the same level. That of the Finns has produced the epic poem of ‘*Wainamoinen*’ and a large store of national songs, which have had their natural result in arresting the growth of the language and in a modification of grammatical forms, which seems almost to carry it out of the second or agglutinative stage. The dialects of the Turkic and other tribes, which have achieved a political organisation, exhibit in various degrees the working of the same principles. Their grammar has become more fixed, and terminations have been retained after their force has been weakened, while it has lost nothing of that transparent clearness which marks the grammar of agglutinative languages. The Turkish has received vast im-

portations of Persian and Arabic words ; but it has worked out, with a minuteness which we with our Aryan speech can hardly realise, the rich mine of Turanian conjugation. Professor Müller has given the thirty-four forms which intervene between *sev-mek*, 'to love,' and *sev-ish-dir-il-me-mek*, 'not to be brought to love one another,' a form which would seem created expressly to signify the relations existing between the Sultan and the Czar.

Thus languages, the most remote, and showing no perceptible genealogical connexion, fall readily into their places under the morphological classification which was rendered possible by the previous reduction of all words to demonstrative and predicative roots, and which in its turn forces on us the question of the common origin of all languages. This problem, Professor Müller asserts, is in part material, partly formal. To the latter (which alone relates to the classification of languages by their several methods of employing the two kinds of roots) belongs the inquiry, whether it is possible to reconcile with the assumption of an original unity the languages which are based respectively on the Radical, the Terminational, and the Inflectional principles. Professor Müller rightly insists on keeping the question clear of all irrelevant considerations. He asserts that 'the science of language and the science of ethnology have both suffered most seriously from being mixed up together;' and refers to the undoubted fact that 'races may change their languages, and history supplies us with several instances where one race adopted the language of another.' He also maintains that this problem 'has no connexion with the statements contained in the Old Testament, regarding the creation of man, and the genealogies of the patriarchs;' and adds that the belief of the Jews in a temporary unity of human speech is not at variance with the supposition, rendered probable by an examination of American dialects, that new languages may have arisen at later times. But not only may he urge that 'the genealogies of the Old Testament refer to blood and not to language,' but that no theory of language is involved in the narrative which records the building of the tower of Babel. We have seen that the tendency of language is to an unbounded luxuriance, which is only repressed by the artificial checks of a national or literary dialect. But the narrative in the book of Genesis does not specify the time during which the whole earth was of one language and of one speech. It stands as an isolated statement, preceded and followed by the genealogies of

the sons of Noah and their descendants : and the divergence of tongues is represented as strictly the result and not the cause of their political dispersion. They left off to build the city, and were scattered over the land ; and the laws of grammatical development issued at once in the multiplication of local dialects. Not less true is it that, if we admit the hypothesis that language was an artificial invention, then the original diversity of languages, if proved, does not render necessary a belief in different beginnings for the human race ; but we are less able to follow Professor Müller when he remarks that 'if we look upon language as natural to man, it might have broken out at different times and in different countries among the scattered descendants of one original pair,' or that it might have been the property of one favoured race, and communicated to others in the progress of history, and that so an original unity of language may be consistent with original diversity of races. It is not easy to see how language can be spoken of as *natural* to man, unless we regard it as the exercise, not of an acquired habit, but of an inborn faculty. The particular form in which that speech may issue is obviously as distinct a thing from the faculty itself as is any invented variety of motion from the natural power of walking : nor is it easy to see how any natural power could remain in abeyance. We cannot imagine the first man, or the first men, as destitute of utterance (if utterance is indeed natural to man) any more than we can think of the senses of sight or smell as having been developed after many generations. Professor Müller has elsewhere remarked that 'we want no explanation how birds learn to fly, created as they are with organs adapted to that purpose.' But if we must suppose that the first bird flew, we cannot avoid the conclusion that the first man or men had not merely the faculty of speech, but speech itself. Our immediate concern, however, is with fact. The evidence already obtained compels us to answer in the affirmative the question of a possible unity of origin for all the known forms of human utterance. This possibility may hereafter be converted into certainty : but we cannot do more than express our entire assent to every argument by which Professor Müller establishes the former, as well as to his conclusion that—

'The problem, if properly viewed, bears the following aspect : "If you wish to assert that language had various beginnings, you must prove it impossible that language could have had a common origin." No such impossibility has ever been established with regard to a common origin of the



Aryan and Semitic dialects; while, on the contrary, the analysis of the grammatical forms in either family has removed many difficulties, and made it at least intelligible how, with materials identical or very similar, two individuals, or two families, or two nations, could in the course of time have produced two languages so different in form as Hebrew and Sanskrit.' (P. 320.)

This conclusion, we believe, with him, is no mere theory. There are but three possible combinations of the original elements of language: these combinations are represented by actual families of languages; and it is absolutely certain that our own Aryan speech has passed through the monosyllabic and agglutinative stages.

One question alone remains, a question partly of fact, yet leading directly to the regions of theory, the third and last stage in the history of all physical sciences. If the formal varieties of language present no valid argument against its original unity, is such a supposition rendered less probable by an examination of the material elements which remain after our powers of analysis have been exercised to the utmost? What are these roots in themselves, and how and why should they represent the sensations produced in the human mind by the objects of the outward world? On this investigation Bopp, in the Preface to his great work on 'Comparative Grammar,' resolutely declined to enter;\* and if we still doubt whether the actual relation of articulate sounds to the objects exciting the action of the mind has been absolutely determined, we do not the less fully believe that all questions as to the real nature of these preliminary words has been finally set at rest. It is scarcely possible to do justice to Professor Müller's arguments without giving them at length in his own words. He has not only overthrown previous theories founded on insufficient evidence, or arising from a hasty generalisation; but, in the demonstration of his own, he has followed the strictest method of induction as long as this method was practicable. From history we can in this great question learn nothing. The earlier annals of mankind can

\* If we accept Professor Müller's illustration that every thing on being struck rings, we may explain how certain sounds came to be the exponents of certain sensations, and show how the root *sta* sufficed to express position, and *i* to express motion. But we doubt whether any answer can be returned or, at least, has as yet been given to Bopp's question, why the root *sta* should mean *stand* and not *go*, and *i* mean *go* and not *stand*. This inversion may be found in language not belonging to the same family or class, and would probably be accidental. The assertion of an inherent fitness in the sound to express the thing signified, would seem to plunge us into mysteries scarcely less than those of the Realists.

only be gleaned by patient researches into their language; and to enter into details as to the way in which it may be supposed that the Deity taught men that language is, in Professor Müller's words, to run into a most dangerous anthropomorphism, or into a realism which is contradicted by the whole subsequent history of language. And for the solution of this problem, all conjectures as to the probable utterances of infants if left to themselves, are absolutely worthless. The experiment cannot be tried on a sufficient scale; and whatever might be the result, it is certain that, English children, if so placed, would never develop the language of Englishmen any more than the Egyptian infants could have expressed their wish for bread in a form which involved the knowledge of sowing and reaping, of grinding and baking corn.

If, then, speech presents an impassable barrier between man and the brute creatures, we have simply to examine the conditions under which speech becomes possible, in order to determine the nature of that distinction. That these conditions are not physical, is evident from the fact that parrots have the power of uttering every sound which is needed for the purposes of human speech. Much has of late been said of the decreasing interval which the progress of physical research is leaving, not between men and animals approaching nearest to him in thought and intellect, but between man and the brutes which resemble him most in bodily structure. It would seem almost a prophetic anticipation which led Buffon to picture an ourang-outang or a gorilla endued with the speaking powers of a parrot, and to add the remark that with all these lofty attributes the ape would still be none the less a brute (p. 335.). It is time that these crude and hasty generalisations should cease, which seek to narrow or obliterate the distinction between man and other animals on the grounds whether of physical likeness or superiority. Possibly, if we take all his powers together, we may be justified in speaking of man as the strongest and the most enduring of all animals; but it is better to admit that in many individual attributes he is far surpassed by many. If we are to fasten our minds upon such comparisons, the flight of the eagle, the swiftness of the horse, the strength of the lion become, as Professor Müller asserts, legitimate objects of our envy. The comparison must lie between the mental faculties of man and beast; and here it will be seen that the common ground, which is shared by both, leaves as the peculiar province of man that one faculty alone which finds its expression in speech, and of whose nature the primitive elements of lan-

guage carry with them the indisputable evidence. The arguments, which seek to prove an inherent immortality in the human soul, go far towards inferring the same immortality for brutes. The employment of terms without strict definition has involved in still further confusion a question in itself sufficiently perplexing. An unworthy fear has led some, after Descartes, to look on brutes as mere animated machines. A truer, or at least a more generous philosophy, has led others, with Leibnitz, to attribute to them immortal souls; while Bishop Butler has formed the same conclusion when maintaining that death must, as for man, so for other creatures also, be nothing more than the sudden deposition of material particles which are in a constant state of flux during the whole of that which we call life.\* But apart from such speculations, it is absolutely certain that our outward senses differ in no respect from those of brutes. Brutes have memory, and the power of distinction and comparison which, if we please, we may dignify with the high-sounding phrase of syllogistic reasoning. Brutes have sensations of pleasure and pain, and exhibit the signs of love and hatred, of shame and pride. Brutes have not unfrequently a strength of will as positive as our own. We gain nothing by distinctions drawn between instinct and intellect. Man in his infancy is guided by instinct as strictly as is the spider in the weaving of his web; but no mere instinct will account for the deliberate determination with which the spider proceeds to repair any mischief done to its web, or abandons the task when it is felt to be hopeless. Not less clear is it that brutes can communicate to each other their wants or their desires:—

'When a whale is struck the whole shoal, though widely dispersed, are instantly made aware of the presence of an enemy; and when the grave-digger beetle finds the carcass of a mole, he hastens to communicate his discovery to his fellows, and soon returns with his four confederates. It is evident too that dogs, though they do not speak, possess the power of understanding much that is said to them, their names, and the calls of their master.' (P. 341.)

All this they can do; but they cannot speak, if by speech we mean the utterance of articulate sounds to express sensations produced upon the mind. And thus we are brought back to the question, What in their own nature are the elements of language which remain when the work of analysis has been pushed to the utmost? What are these roots of which we can discover the visible combination in Turanian dialects,

which we trace through all their modifications and under every disguise in the Semitic and Aryan families, and which happily the Chinese has preserved in all or nearly all their ancient integrity? In the agglutinative tongues, as well as in the inflexional no predicative root can by itself be used as a word. We can trace the root *da* through the Sanskrit *dadami* and *danam*, the Greek *δίδωμι* and *δῶρον*, the Latin *donum*, &c. but by itself it has no force. In Chinese the root without prefix or suffix may be used as a noun, a verb, or an adverb, its use in each case being determined simply by its collocation with the other words of a sentence. These roots have been regarded either as onomatopoeic or interjectional in their origin by two rival schools, to whose views Professor Müller has done no injustice by speaking of them as the *Bow-wow* and the *Pooh-pooh* theories. Such views deserve, indeed, little indulgence now; but, hard as it may be to understand how such theories could ever have found any acceptance, the conjectures of a past generation, groping without clue through the vast labyrinth of language, deserve the gentle handling which they receive from Professor Müller. It cannot be denied that by both methods, a language of some kind might have been framed, but not that of man, or one which could claim to be the expression of any faculty peculiar to man.

'If the constituent elements of human speech were either mere cries, or the mimicking of the cries of nature, it would be difficult to understand why brutes should be without language. There is not only the parrot, but the mocking-bird, and others, which can imitate most successfully both articulate and inarticulate sounds; and there is hardly an animal without the faculty of uttering interjections.' (P. 356.)

But, beyond the possibility of framing some kind of language from these materials, it is also true that our speech does contain some words which may be assigned to these sources. They are, however, much fewer in number than is commonly supposed; and further examination is constantly thinning their ranks. The interjectional theory has claimed such words as *fiend*, *foul*, *filth*, &c.; but *fiend* is a participle from *fian*, Gothic *fiġan*, to hate; as *friend* belongs to the Sanskrit *pri*, to delight. The onomatopoeic theory may claim such words as *cuckoo*, *peewit*, &c.: but all languages furnish almost a ludicrous contradiction to the speculations in which a few such names tempted Herder to indulge. We must content ourselves with the fact that he believed not merely that the soul recognised the lamb by its bleating, and put the stamp of speech on the

\* Analogy, part I. ch. i. p. 25.

mark which it had so found, but that all language was simply a collection of such words. Herder, indeed, lived to see that his theory failed to account for the very names of *sheep*, *lamb*, *cow*, &c., and that even such a word as the Latin *balans* was founded on a general notion which embraced many objects under a single term. The Englishman who in China, pointing to the dish before him, asked its contents by putting the question 'Quack, quack?' received the very plain and intelligible answer, 'Bow wow.' But neither he nor the Chinese were employing words of their own or any other language. But, further, the few words which spring from the mere imitation of natural cries and sounds, are barren words, and for all purposes of general predication worthless. With our English *cuckoo* we can do nothing: the Greek and Latin give it the support of a suffix: but even if we make a verb *κοκκῶζω*, it will express nothing more than the single perception of the cuckoo's cry. Such words, as Professor Müller remarks, can at best give rise merely to metaphorical expressions, as the French *coquet*, from the strutting of a cock, *coquetterie*, *cocarde*, our *cockade*. Other words, however, as *raven* and *thunder*, which are often hastily set down as onomatopoeic, are found on examination to be strictly the expression of general ideas. In the word *raven*, a comparison of the Anglo Saxon *hrafn*, German *rabe*, Old High German *hraban*, with the Sanskrit *harava*, the Latin *corvus*, and the Greek *κορώνη*, will show that these words spring from a common root which in Sanskrit is *ru*, a name expressive of all low and murmuring sounds. From this root

'In Latin we find *raucus*, hoarse; *rumor*, a whisper. In German *runen*, to speak low; and *runa*, mystery. The Latin *lamentum* stands for an original *ravimentum*, or *cravimentum*. This root *ru* has several secondary forms, such as the Sanskrit *rud*, to cry; the Latin *rug*, in *rugire*, to howl; the Greek *krv*, or *klu*, in *klaiō*, *klusomai*; the Sanskrit *krus*, to shout; the Gothic *krukjan*, to crow; and *kroppjan*, to cry; the German *rufen*. Even the common Aryan word for hearing is closely allied to this root. It is *śru* in Sanskrit, *klyō* in Greek, *cluo* in Latin; and before it took the recognised meaning of hearing, it meant to sound, to ring.' (P. 349.)

Even the word *thunder* refuses to be allied with such words as *cuckoo*. It is the same as the Latin *tonitru* and its root is *tan*, to stretch, which we find in the Sanskrit *tanayitnu*, thundering; in the Greek *τόνος*, our *tone*, as expressing the extension and vibration of cords, in our *thin*, Sanskrit *tanu*, Latin *tener*, *tenuis*, *attenuare*, French *tendre*, English *tender*. In these latter words the idea of sound, as involved in ex-

tension, is lost in that of mere extension, and is replaced by the notion, first of thinness, then of delicacy.

One school of thinkers has, however, maintained that nouns, which have come to express these general notions, were all of them originally mere appellatives for one particular object (not, indeed, as springing from mere imitation of natural sounds or from involuntary exclamations, but as names arbitrarily chosen for one thing and without any further force until they were applied to other things of the same kind or form). Thus *cave*, *fountain*, *tree* would be unmeaning names given to some one *cave*, *fountain*, or *tree*, and extended to others as men came to trace the resemblance. This theory, which was adopted by Locke, Condillac, Adam Smith, and other philosophers is not wrong in so far as it asserts that general names were first applied to particular objects; but the analysis of speech at once sets it aside if carried further.

'A cave in Latin is called *antrum*, *cavea*, *spelunca*. Now *antrum* means really the same as *internum*. *Antar* in Sanskrit means *between* and *within*. *Antrum* therefore meant originally what is within or inside the earth or anything else. It is clear therefore that such a name could not have been given to any individual cave, unless the general idea of being within, or inwardness, had been present in the mind. This general idea once formed, and once expressed by the pronominal root *an* or *antar*, and the process of naming is clear and intelligible. The place where the savage would live safe from rain and from sudden attacks of wild beasts, a natural hollow in the rock, he would call his *within*, his *antrum*; and afterwards similar places, whether dug in the earth or cut in a tree, would be designated by the same name. The same general idea, however, would likewise supply other names; and thus we find that the *entrails* were called *antra* (neuter) in Sanskrit, *enteron* in Greek; originally things within.' (P. 361.)

It is the same with *cave*; its root, *ku*, or *sku*, expressed the notion of covering or protection, the first purpose for which the thing signified by it would be used. It is the same with every noun. Some have not been extended to other objects than those to which they were originally applied; yet the Sanskrit *Gunga* (Ganges), and German *Rhenus*, *Rhine*, express, like *rivus* and *river*, the mere general notion of running water. The root of the former enters into some of our commonest words; the latter is found in the Greek *πέω* and *ῥέος*, and may, perhaps, be traced in the *rhines* of Somersetshire.

Deep, and indeed inexhaustible, as must be the interest in such analysis of names, it is unnecessary to advance further in order to show that words are the expression of

general ideas, and that the faculty of forming these general ideas is the real distinction between man and brute,—the special prerogative of human reason,—the barrier which no brute has ever passed, and which none can ever pass so long as its nature remains unchanged. The first utterances of human lips attested the distinctive character of human thought. The moon was the measurer, the sun the begetter; the animal was a thing that breathed; the soul was the restless spirit whose action was figured by the heaving of the sea. The snake had his name *sarpa*, serpent, from his crawling movement on the earth; his other name,—in Sanskrit *ahi*, the Greek *ἔχιδνα*, the Latin *anguis*,—came from the notion of the serpent as a throttler, and gave birth to the Sanskrit *anhas* as a name for sin (the Greek *ἄγος*, Gothic *agis*, fear, our *awe* and *ugly*), to the Latin *angor*, and hence to our *anxiety* and *anguish*. Man, as subject to death, was the mortal; Sanskrit *marta*, Greek *βροτός*. In his origin he was, in Latin *homo*, French *homme*, the being taken from the ground (*humus*) and therefore (*humilis*) *humble*; but in his name *man* he was pre-eminently the thinker. These synonyms might of course be multiplied indefinitely, and at once explain that superabundant wealth of early language which caused what physical science speaks of as a *struggle for life*, ending, after long conflict, in the victory of some one or more stronger words as the recognised expression for the thing.

Thus far we have advanced with absolute certainty. The fact that words express general ideas (that is, that every word was originally a predicate), has been proved by the strictest analysis carried through the whole field of human speech; and those roots which were needed to build up the most complicated languages have been reduced in number to a few hundreds. These roots Professor Müller believes to be

'Phonetic types produced by a power inherent in human nature. . . . There is a law which runs through nearly the whole of nature, that every thing which is struck rings. Each substance has its peculiar ring. . . . It was the same with man, the most highly organised of nature's works. Man, in his primitive and perfect state, was endowed not only, like the brute, with the power of expressing his sensations by interjections, and his perceptions by onomatopoeia. He possessed likewise the faculty of giving more articulate expression to the rational conceptions of his mind. That faculty was not of his own making. It was an instinct, an instinct of the mind, as irresistible as any other instinct. So far as language is the production of that instinct, it belongs to the realm of nature. Man loses his instincts as he ceases to want them; his senses become fainter when, as in the case of scent, they become use-

less. Thus the creative faculty which gave to each conception, as it thrilled for the first time through the brain, a phonetic expression, became extinct when its object was fulfilled.' (P. 371.)

Whether these illustrations lie open to objection or not, (and that which is drawn from the sense of scent, appears not to be borne out by fact,) it is plain that we have here left the field of induction and entered upon that of theory, possibly on that of conjecture. But if we bring forward the primitive and perfect state of man as a scientific hypothesis, we need an exact definition of the term; and yet more, after we have admitted that man from the first was distinguished from brutes by the power of abstraction and generalisation,—when we have allowed that there was not and could not have been any period of mutism for a being whose faculty of speech was strictly natural,—when we have acknowledged that every impression made on his mind by outward objects found an immediate vent in articulate sounds, it would seem that we must still determine the condition of the creature who uttered them before we can explain the mode in which those sounds were expanded into language. It is in this sense that we need an answer to the question whether mankind sprang from a single pair, or whether they did not. If the former be admitted, the difficulties connected with the subject are indefinitely lessened.\* If the negative is maintained, then it is not easy to understand how, after all, we can dispense with some sort of agreement in the formation of language. If the history of mankind began with a group, then the impressions made on the mind of each member of that group by any given object, might have been expressed by different sounds, and have produced at once a vast family of synonyms. How could the force of these synonyms be

\* Two other sciences, at least, tend to the same conclusion. The evidence which the science of Comparative Mythology furnishes for the unity of the human race, seems at present to be in advance of that which is afforded by the Science of Language. On no other supposition can we explain the wealth of legends common to Greek, Teuton, and Norseman, with the negro tribes of Equatorial Africa. On no other supposition can the history of mankind convey to us any clearer and intelligible lesson. Nay, it would seem that this same conclusion is forcing itself more and more on the minds of physiologists. Professor Owen holds man to be a genus of one species. M. de Quatrefages ('Unité de l'Espèce Humaine') has exalted that genus into a kingdom, on the ground that an idea of morality and religion separates man from the animal kingdom, as much as sensibility separates the animal from the vegetable. The opinion deserves notice as being the judgment of one who maintains his theory solely and entirely on the grounds of science.

conveyed from the one to the others? How could the struggle for life and victory even begin without some instrument for insuring that the hearer associated the predicative root with the object which it was intended to distinguish? If it could scarcely be done by a mere pointing of the fingers, still less could it be accomplished by a fixed collocation of words, as in Chinese, for this would equally presuppose agreement, while it would also anticipate a developement brought about by the traditions of ages: it could only be done by means of roots demonstrative. But what law was there to determine that a number of men should accept the same sound for such roots? and how, otherwise, was the covenant effected which fixed the sounds to be so employed? If, however, we may assume the fact of origin from a single pair, there would be no dangerous wealth of synonyms; and the consciousness of their personality, as distinct from that of other objects, would determine at once the first demonstrative roots and the basis of number. But it would not, therefore, be necessary to admit any peculiar relation in the sounds expressive of thought to the objects which had produced the impression. The instinct may have been irresistible; but the selection of sounds would seem to be arbitrary, for different sounds may express the same conception. We may, and indeed we must, admit that this faculty of expression was from nature, or, more strictly, from God; but unless we also admit some realism in language, it is unnecessary to presume that essential relation of sound to the thing expressed, which is apparently involved in the term *phonetic type*. The arbitrary selection, or rather the accidental utterance, of a few predicative sounds by the original parents of mankind, would determine the future course of the great stream of language. The harvest of synonyms might, in a second generation, spring up with rank luxuriance, but the means would be provided for that process of natural elimination, which at once brings us back to the province of strictly inductive research.

We speak with diffidence; but where the debateable land is reduced to boundaries so narrow, and when all without it has been mapped out with such admirable clearness and precision, we cannot but feel some reluctance to adopt a term which may possibly convey an erroneous meaning. The deep learning of Professor Müller has left but scanty room for criticism, and we do not presume to praise where our desire is to learn. In a far narrower compass we have endeavoured to give some idea of a subject

for whose vast range Professor Müller feels that a volume furnishes no adequate space. But the paramount need, for the present, is to awaken and extend a popular interest in a science which lays bare the true nature and history of all language, and while it strips the subject of much of its ancient mystery, reveals wonders in reality far more astonishing. This science has still a great work before it; yet few sciences have done so much in the short time during which it may be said to have had a being. It has already inverted strangely our traditional notions of grammar, and transferred the life of human speech from national language to local dialects. It has taught us that underneath, or rather all around, that language which lives for us in the pages of Macaulay, or Arnold, or Gibbon, the streams of dialects are flowing onwards which may one day give birth to new literary language. We have our own ideas on beauty of sound or style; but while it deals roughly with some traditional prejudices, the science of language teaches us to look hopefully to the changes of future times. Nor is it a slight advantage that in its onward course this science can furnish no large materials for purely theological warfare. And it claims yet one other distinction, which is pre-eminently its own. The science of language was impossible, as long as the speech of Macedonians and Illyrians was a barbarous jargon to the fastidious taste of Hellenic thinkers. Its existence was ensured, and a pledge for its future success has been given by that faith, which has set aside the unrighteous distinctions of ancient ignorance, and refused to recognise any partitions of human pride between Greek or Jew, barbarian, Scythian, bond or free.

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ART. IV.—1. *Report from the Select Committee on Colonial Military Expenditure.* Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, July 11, 1861.

2. *Lectures on Colonization and Colonies*, delivered before the University of Oxford, in 1839, 1840, and 1841, by HERMAN MERIVALE, A.M., Professor of Political Economy. New edition, 1 vol. 8vo. London: 1861.

BLUE Books are proverbially unattractive reading; but we believe that the number of persons who read the evidence taken by a Parliamentary Committee is even smaller than it is commonly supposed to be. The Report of a Select Committee is usually short; it is often reprinted in the newspa-

pers, and, if the subject be important, it obtains a tolerably wide publicity. But, with the exception of the members of the Committee, and one or two persons in the Government Office to whose department the subject relates, the *evidence* scarcely ever finds a reader. Yet the witnesses examined by public committees of the two Houses of Parliament are usually selected for their ability, experience, and knowledge of the matter under examination; and their evidence often contains much that is interesting and instructive. These remarks have been suggested to us by the perusal of the Report of the House of Commons Committee appointed last session to inquire into the military expenditure in Colonies. The evidence attached to it contains opinions of able and enlightened men upon Colonial Policy, which are deserving of general attention, but which run the risk of passing unobserved, if they remain entombed in the folio pages of a blue book. Indeed, at the present moment, the subject which might have passed unobserved a few months ago, assumes the highest degree of practical interest and importance. War, or the prospect of war, instantly brings home to the people of this country a multitude of questions which they would willingly leave to slumber under the ægis of a general peace; and the military defence of the colonies is of this number. But the possibility of hostilities with a great maritime Power, or with a Power contiguous to the colonial dependencies of Great Britain, leaves us no option. Our honour, as well as our interest, are deeply engaged in maintaining a position to which we might otherwise have pleaded indifference; and it is not improbable that at this very time some of our colonies may be on the eve of witnessing a considerable military struggle. These considerations will, we are convinced, suffice to recommend the evidence before us to the attention of the public, to whom it is probably quite unknown.

In the year 1859, an official committee, composed of Mr. Hamilton, Assistant Secretary to the Treasury, Mr. Frederic Elliot, Assistant Under-Secretary in the Colonial Department, and Mr. Godley, Assistant Under-Secretary in the War Department\*, were, at the suggestion of General Peel, then Secretary of State for War, appointed to inquire into the military expenditure in Colonies. In proposing the formation of this official Committee, General Peel laid down the following principles:—1. That

England should assist in the defence of her colonies against external aggression; but should assume the whole of such defence only in colonies which are mere garrisons kept for imperial purposes. 2. That military expenditure, for purposes of internal police, should be defrayed from local funds. The Committee thus appointed were not unanimous: Mr. Hamilton and Mr. Godley made a joint report in January, 1860, and Mr. Frederic Elliot, the representative of the Colonial Office, sent in, at the same time, a separate report, dissenting from the conclusions of his two colleagues. Mr. Godley subsequently contributed a memorandum (March, 1860) commenting upon Mr. Elliot's report, and supporting the views taken by himself and Mr. Hamilton.

The proposal of Mr. Godley and Mr. Hamilton is that (with the exception of Malta, Gibraltar, Corfu, Bermuda, and a few other garrison-stations) the system of defence for the colonies should be founded on two simple principles, namely, colonial management and joint contribution at a uniform rate. They advise that the Imperial Government should call upon each colony to decide the nature of its own defences, and the amount of its garrison, and should offer to assist it, by bearing a share of the entire cost. They further recommend that the Imperial Government should furnish this subsidy either by a pecuniary contribution towards a local colonial corps, or by sending imperial troops.

The ground having been broken by this official controversy, which was conducted with much ability on both sides, Mr. Arthur Mills (whose publications attest the care with which he has studied our colonial system), moved, in March last, for a Select Committee of the House of Commons to inquire into Colonial Military Expenditure. The House granted the motion after a debate, but without a division. The Committee were instructed 'to inquire and report whether any and what alterations may be advantageously adopted in regard to the defence of the British dependencies, and the proportions of cost of such defence as now defrayed from imperial and colonial funds respectively.' This Committee reported in July last, and to their Report, and to the evidence of the witnesses whom they examined, we now propose to direct the attention of our readers.

The Committee divide the dependencies of the British Empire (exclusive of India) into two classes: 1. Military garrisons, naval stations, convict depôts, and dependencies maintained chiefly for objects of imperial policy. Under this class they include Malta, Gibraltar, the Ionian Isles, Hong-

\* By the premature death of Mr. Godley (which has recently occurred) the public has been deprived of an intelligent, accomplished, and thoroughly honest servant.

kong, Labuan, Bermuda, the Bahamas, St. Helena, the Falklands, Western Australia, Sierra Leone, Gambia, and the Gold Coast. 2. Those which may properly be called colonies. To this class they refer the North American and South African colonies, the West Indies, Ceylon, Mauritius, New Zealand, and the Australian colonies, with the exception of Western Australia.

This classification may perhaps rest on an intelligible principle, but it is not expressed with much clearness or precision. We apprehend that the dependencies of the second, as well as of the first, class, are 'maintained chiefly for objects of imperial policy.' If this were not assumed to be the case, they probably would not be maintained at all. Moreover, we do not see how the heterogeneous class of communities in Class 2. can be said to be 'properly called colonies.' Trinidad, Ceylon, Mauritius, and even Canada, are not colonies of England, in the sense in which Syracuse was a colony of Corinth, or Carthage a colony of Tyre. These dependencies can only be called colonies of England, as being principally maintained for the cultivation of their soil. In our official language, every dependency under the control of the Colonial Office is a colony.

The Committee give the following account from official sources, of the Imperial Military Expenditure, in respect of the several dependencies, for the year ending March 31, 1860.

<i>Class I.</i>	
Gibraltar . . . . .	£420,695
Malta . . . . .	483,173
Ionian Islands . . . . .	280,061
West African settlements . . . . .	74,993
Bermuda . . . . .	87,587
Bahamas . . . . .	32,280
Falklands . . . . .	2,117
St. Helena . . . . .	38,354
Western Australia . . . . .	25,946
Hongkong . . . . .	57,300
Labuan . . . . .	7,329
<b>Total . . . . .</b>	<b>£1,509,835</b>
<i>Class II.</i>	
North American Colonies . . . . .	£413,566
West Indies . . . . .	362,699
South African colonies . . . . .	456,658
Mauritius . . . . .	145,658
Ceylon . . . . .	110,268
Australian colonies . . . . .	121,545
New Zealand . . . . .	104,852
<b>Total . . . . .</b>	<b>£1,715,246</b>
<b>Class I. . . . .</b>	<b>£1,509,835</b>
<b>Class II. . . . .</b>	<b>1,715,246</b>
<b>Gross total . . . . .</b>	<b>£3,225,081</b>

In the sum charged against class 1. is included 202,924*l.* for dead weight, recruiting, and departmental expenses at home, and in the sum charged against class 2., a similar sum of 264,521*l.* is included; making together 467,445*l.*

In addition to this expenditure, a sum of 369,224*l.* was contributed by different dependencies towards their military defences, and was composed of the following items:—

For maintenance of local forces . . . . .	£71,468
For pay and allowances to British troops, and for various military purposes . . . . .	241,840
For construction of works, barracks, &c. . . . .	30,916
From the Ionian Islands . . . . .	25,000
<b>Total . . . . .</b>	<b>£369,224</b>

Of this amount, the sum of 73,315*l.* was passed to the credit of the Exchequer, and went in aid of the army vote. The rest was defrayed in local payments, in addition to that vote; so that, according to the statement of the Committee, the total cost of the Military defence of the British dependencies (with the exception of India), in the year ending March 31, 1860, was,

Imperial payment . . . . .	£3,225,081
Colonial payment . . . . .	295,909
<b>Grand total . . . . .</b>	<b>£3,520,990</b>

If we disregard the preceding classification, and arrange the various dependencies according to their geographical distribution, we shall find that the gross Imperial charge for their military defences is thus apportioned.

<i>Europe.</i>	
Gibraltar . . . . .	£420,695
Malta . . . . .	483,173
Ionian Islands . . . . .	280,061
<b>Total . . . . .</b>	<b>£1,183,929</b>
<i>America.</i>	
North American colonies . . . . .	£413,566
West Indies . . . . .	362,699
Bermuda . . . . .	87,587
Bahamas . . . . .	32,280
Falklands . . . . .	2,117
<b>Total . . . . .</b>	<b>£898,349</b>
<i>Africa.</i>	
West African settlements . . . . .	£74,993
South African colonies . . . . .	456,658
St. Helena . . . . .	38,354
<b>Total . . . . .</b>	<b>£570,005</b>
<i>Asia.</i>	
Mauritius . . . . .	£145,658
Ceylon . . . . .	110,268
Hongkong . . . . .	57,300
Labuan . . . . .	7,329
<b>Total . . . . .</b>	<b>£320,555</b>



*Australia.*

Australian colonies	£121,545
Western Australia	25,946
New Zealand	104,852
	<hr/> £253,343 <hr/>

It appears from this statement that the principal expenditure is for the three military stations in the Mediterranean, the North American colonies, the West Indies, and the South African colonies.

The Committee express an opinion that, with respect to communities so various as those which compose the British Colonial Empire, no uniform rule as to the cost or mode of their military defence can be laid down. They hold, however, that as to the dependencies included in Class 1. above stated, the responsibility and main cost of their defence properly devolve on the Imperial Government. With respect to the dependencies 'properly called colonies' (those in Class 2.), the Committee hold that the responsibility and cost of their military defence ought mainly to devolve upon themselves, a discretion as to the application of this rule being reserved to the Executive Government. The Committee recommend that steps should be taken, by negotiation with the several colonial Governments, to carry this principle into effect; and they point to the Australian colonies and New Zealand, to the South African colonies, to Ceylon, and to the West Indies, as fit subjects for reduction. They further object to the multiplication of fortified places, and the erection of fortifications in distant colonial possessions. In conclusion they lay it down that, inasmuch as the tendency of modern warfare is to strike blows at the heart of a hostile Power, the troops required for the defence of the United Kingdom ought to be as much concentrated as possible, and that we ought to trust mainly to naval supremacy for securing the distant dependencies of the Empire against foreign aggression.

The recommendations of the Committee would, if they were constantly acted upon, lead to an important change in our colonial policy. But the most interesting part of this blue book appears to us to be the evidence of the witnesses, some portions of which we will now proceed to notice.

Mr. Godley, in answer to a question as to the leading principle of his plan for the defence of the colonies, states that it is 'colonial responsibility and management, and, as a rule, the contribution of the Imperial Government, if any, in the shape of money only.' (2069.) Being asked as to the policy of retaining distant stations for

coaling and refitting our ships in case of war, he answers as follows:—

'It appears to me that if those points are essential to the interests of the empire, the better plan would be, if we were stronger at sea, to occupy them when war broke out; if we were not stronger at sea, our garrisons would be ineffectual in defending them. The plan now is to scatter garrisons over the world, on the chance that they may be wanted; I should propose keeping the troops at home, and sending them to the places where they were wanted when war broke out.' (Report, 2091.)

We extract other portions of Mr. Godley's evidence.

'Mr. Baxter.—Do you advocate the entire withdrawal of British troops from the colonies of this country?—Not necessarily; I should leave that for the colonists themselves to settle.

'Provided the colonies are willing to defray the larger proportion, if not the whole, of the expenditure, you would not object to British troops being scattered over the world, as they are at present?—I should not think it a good plan; but if we could spare the troops I should acquiesce in it, in deference to the general principle of letting the colonists settle for themselves what is the best way of defending themselves.

'Why do you not think it a good plan?—Because I think it would be better for them to arm and train their own people; but that is more a military question, and is not one on which my opinion is worth having.

'Your main object is to diminish the imperial expenditure in respect to the military defences of the colonies?—No, my main object is to throw upon the colonists the habit and responsibility of self-defence; it is a secondary but very important object to diminish the Imperial expenditure.' (Report, Nos. 2098–2101.)

'Mr. Fortescue.—It is the case, is it not, that a dependency of the empire has no control over its foreign policy, but that all its relations with foreign Powers are settled for it by the mother-country?—Yes.

'Does not that fact appear to you to be one of the most important in discussing this question, as giving a dependency a strong claim upon the mother-country for protection against those dangers which are produced by her policy?—Certainly; it is the only one that makes it a question at all.

'Then are we to understand you fully to admit that amount of claim?—I fully admit it as a claim to the protection of the mother-country.

'You think that a dependency has a claim to the advantages, as it must submit to the disadvantages, of its dependent position?—Certainly.

'Supposing the dependencies of the empire, finding themselves left without that amount of protection from the mother-country to which they consider themselves equally entitled in all the dangers that may be created by the policy of the mother-country, should be prepared to place themselves under the protection of some other Power, do you think that in that case the mother-country would be fairly in a position to re-

fuse her consent to that course? — I do not think it would ever be expedient or desirable for the mother-country to retain her dominion over any colony that deliberately wished to withdraw itself from it.' (*Report*, Nos. 2107–10, 2122)

Mr. Godley's views as to the military defence of the British colonies sufficiently appear from these passages. He discards the idea that England has any interest of her own involved in their military defence; he thinks that the regulation of the foreign policy of the colony by the Imperial Government, and the claim for protection which the colony thus acquires, is the only circumstance which raises a question as to its military defence at the imperial expense. He holds that the military defence of the colony is a question to be settled by the colonial, not by the imperial authorities: that the main expense of it is to be borne by the colonial treasury; and that the imperial exchequer is only to come in as an auxiliary, and as subsidising the local forces maintained and controlled by the Colonial Government. With respect to military defence, colonial responsibility and management is to be the rule; the colony is to have the burden and the power. The naval defence of the colonies would remain, as at present, exclusively under the control, and at the charge of the imperial Government.

With respect to the military defence of Australia, Mr. Lowe gives an opinion to the Committee which substantially agrees with Mr. Godley's, and, to some extent, goes beyond it.

'Confining myself to the peculiar circumstances of New South Wales, and leaving out of the question anything that is common to it with the rest of the colonies, I do not think it desirable to retain any troops at all there. The government of New South Wales, which has been established about five years, is responsible to an assembly elected by universal suffrage. There has been a general election every year since responsible government was introduced, and the existence of each successive ministry has been exceedingly short; and the measures taken by those ministries, particularly by the one now in office, have been such as to shake the confidence of the residents in the colony in the stability of property. . . . I do not think that a government of this kind is fit to be trusted with the disposition of her majesty's troops for any purpose whatever. . . . The government of New South Wales is placed on a far more democratic basis than the government of the states of the American Union. In America the democracy is settled on the land, and has an interest in the preservation and prosperity of the country. In New South Wales a great proportion of the voters are not settled on the land, but are in the receipt of wages, and they have no interest or feeling identical with the prosperity of the country whose destinies are virtually intrusted

to them. The consequence is that there is a state of downward progress; that each government falls below its predecessor in respectability, and there is a kind of ostracism of men of property and intelligence.

'Mr. Adderley.—Putting out of the question the democratic nature of the government of Australia, do you not see some objection to any community that is self-governed being protected by another Power? — When a colony has received self-government, that is, when it has a ministry responsible to a freely elected assembly, the colony, though nominally a dependency of the Crown, and subject to the legislation of the British Parliament, has really for most purposes become a foreign Power, and as such should in the first instance be charged with the duty of its own protection and its internal police. . . . It seems to me that the people of this country ought not to be taxed for maintaining the external defence or internal police of such a colony in time of peace.' (*Report*, Nos. 3330–31.)

In a subsequent part of his evidence, Mr. Lowe explains still more clearly his view of the constitutional position of a colony in which responsible government is established.

'The position of those colonies which have self-government seems to me very much to resemble the position of Hanover, from the accession of the House of Brunswick in England, until the male line succeeded on the accession of Her Majesty.' (*Report*, No. 3339.)

Mr. Lowe further illustrates his view of the danger of stationing troops in a colony under a responsible government.

'You are placing the troops at the disposal of the minister of the day; that is a thunderbolt in the hand of a child. A large military expenditure is a popular thing in a colony. Even a war in a remote part of the colony will be popular in parts where it is not carried on, on account of the money which is made out of it. The country may suffer, but the towns often gain a great advantage. I think it is a great want of prudence on the part of the Imperial Government to place the power of commencing wars, in which it will be obliged to take a part, in the hands of persons over whom it has not only no control, but who are often directly interested in getting up a war. And I would also say that the small colonies struggling into existence ought not to expect to take things with so high a hand, and to resent every injury as boldly and rapidly as a country like England. If the New Zealand settlers have a quarrel with the natives, in which the natives are doing anything which they ought not to do, it may be a perfect *casus belli*, but I think it much better that war should not necessarily ensue; much better that these young communities should learn that there are many things which they must endure, and that it is better to put up with a great deal of injury than rush immediately to arms.' (*Report*, No. 3344)

With respect to the advantage which the distant colonies of England derive from this

protection, Mr. Lowe delivers the following opinions :—

‘By their connexion with the mother-country the colonists lose the power of making war and peace, and they run the risk of being involved in war, in consequence of some quarrel in this part of the world, with which they have nothing to do. Those are the disadvantages to the colony of its connexion with Great Britain; but those evils are much lightened by the remote situation of our colonies, and by the fact that the mother-country is the greatest naval Power in the world. On the other hand, the advantages they gain by being part of the British Empire are enormous: they are relieved from the necessity of keeping up a large force at any time on land; they are absolutely relieved from the expense of keeping up a navy. There are no people who enjoy more security in time of war. England is better defended, but she is more exposed; she lies nearer the enemy. In case of war between England and France, the difference between her risk and that of Australia may be expressed by the difference between 21 miles, the distance from Dover to Calais, and 15,000 miles, the distance from England to Australia.’ (*Report*, No. 3335.)

Mr. Lowe recognises the difference between Australia and a colony likely to be the theatre of hostilities in a war springing out of imperial interests; and, in point of fact, recent events have already given a very pointed interest to the following remarks on the defence of Canada. Australia is a continent separated by a vast ocean from the belligerent powers of the world. Our islands and other settlements may be defended by the navy. But Canada is a vast territory with a long and weak inland frontier. One or more of its principal cities invite the attack of an unscrupulous neighbour: and the navy of England is, during a considerable part of the year, excluded from any direct action in the country. These considerations were not overlooked by the Committee, and the following passages are highly important at the present crisis.

‘*Lord Stanley.*—Taking the case of such a colony as Canada, and supposing that unfortunately differences arose between this country and the United States, do you not think that the population of Canada, having nothing to do with the cause of the quarrel, would have a claim upon England for protection in a war which they had not brought on, but in which they nevertheless found themselves involved?—I think so; they have twice been involved in such wars; once when General Montgomery went to Quebec, and again in the war of 1812.’ (*Report*, No. 3369.)

The same point is illustrated in the evidence of Mr. Merivale before the Committee:

‘The Australian colonies have no permanent apprehension or idea of a foreign Power or inva-

sion; it is not a contingency often thought of in those colonies. In the political horizon of Canada, however, it is always present; they are always thinking of their relations to the United States and the position in which they would be in the case of a difficulty between us and the United States. They consider (according to such evidence as I have seen) that the business of this country is to take care of them in the event of political complications of which they are not in any way the cause, and of which they expect they will be the victims.

‘*Lord Stanley.*—You mean in the event of a difference arising between Canada and the United States, the Canadians would feel that that was not a quarrel in which they were the principals, but that they were drawn into it in consequence of their connexion with the mother-country?—Yes, and I may illustrate what I believe their feeling to be by this; that two years ago, when it became a question whether we should not be involved in difficulties with America, in consequence of the boundaries in Vancouver’s Island, many Canadians said, “This is no concern of ours at all.”

‘At the same time they would be the first attacked?—Canada would be the first battle-field, in their opinion.’ (*Report*, Nos. 2243–45.)

The Duke of Newcastle, who speaks with official authority on the subject, thus expresses himself on the case of Canada.

‘I think one of the duties which devolve upon the mother-country is the defence of a colony. I do not know what advantage a colony would find in its relative position, if the mother-country did not protect it. Just on account of the peculiar position of Canada, I think the Imperial Government is bound to keep up a certain amount of force in time of peace, and a much larger force in the event of war with those parties who would be aggressive. Canada stands in a different position from any other colony we have; take, for instance, Australia. The real defence of Australia must be by our fleet, but the fleet can do little to assist Canada, except it be by sending small vessels up the St. Lawrence, and nearly the whole assistance to be rendered by this country to Canada must be by a land force.’ (*Report*, No. 2992.)

Sir Stuart Donaldson, who has held the offices of Colonial Secretary and Colonial Treasurer in New South Wales, and was a member of the colonial legislature for upwards of eleven years, testifies to the colonial opinion, that the mother-country ought to protect the colony against dangers which flow from her own foreign policy.

‘*Chairman.*—Do you say that the claim of those colonies in respect of their defences mainly rests upon the perils in which they may be involved by the conflicts of England with foreign Powers?—Yes, I think that principle is very generally accepted in the colonies, that, as they are not free agents with regard to European complications, they ought not to be left in a state of

undefence in case some enemy of the mother-country should take advantage of their defenceless situation and invade them or bombard their towns; and that so long as the mother-country is liable to be involved in European wars, and so long as enemies from without may do damage to the colonial interests, it is felt that England is bound to protect the colonies, at all events on the sea-board. The question of military defence is rather more complicated in its nature.' (*Report*, No. 2653.)

Mr. Lowe finds in the prospect of the separation of the large colonies from the mother-country a reason for not maintaining small garrisons in them.

'*Mr. Adderley.*—Do you see the necessity of England keeping a small body of troops in Australia either in the way of guards of honour to the governors, or for the purpose of maintaining the imperial prestige?—I think that for every purpose, for that of prestige as well as for that of defence in time of peace, the imperial troops are better away. I cannot help looking forward to a period which may arrive when some of those colonies may wish to separate from the mother-country. The presence of troops and garrisons in those colonies would form on such an occasion a formidable obstacle in the way of an amicable separation. I hope if ever any one of our colonies deliberately expresses a wish to separate from the mother-country, it will be met in a very different spirit from that in which the separation movement has been met in America. If an insult were offered to the English flag, or a small detachment of our troops were cut off in such a colony, such a feeling might be raised among the people of England as might render an amicable separation next to impossible.' (*Report*, No. 3333.)

The opinions respecting military defence of the colonies delivered before the Committee by Lord Herbert differ widely from those expressed by Mr. Lowe. The following are extracts from Lord Herbert's evidence.

'The great fortresses, such as the two Mediterranean fortresses, Malta and Gibraltar, and one or two others, I should garrison to the utmost. I think that the difference between peace and war in many of the colonies would be, that instead of maintaining a force in them in time of war, we should withdraw it. I see no use in maintaining isolated battalions; either we have the supremacy of the sea, in which case they are useless; or we lose the supremacy of the sea, in which case they are caught in a trap.' (*Report*, No. 3558.)

'*Lord Stanley.*—Do you consider it a good principle that has been acted upon of late in Australia, to obtain certain contributions from colonial legislatures in aid of the maintenance of imperial troops; does it not give the colonial authorities the right to control the movement of the troops?—It does to a certain extent; but I do not think that is of any serious disadvantage. In the case of the navy, great disadvantage would result from limiting the operations of a ship to

the colony; but a battalion that is sent to the colony must remain there, and so long as the troops remain, the colony pays; when they are withdrawn, the colony ceases to pay for them.

'Which do you think is preferable, to say to a colony which is willing to pay a certain amount towards its own defences, that it should contribute in the shape of part payment for imperial troops, or that it should raise a colonial force of its own to serve as a part of its garrison?—I think one is possible, namely, the payment; but I doubt the practicability of the other; they have not the material for troops. Then there is an advantage in troops passing through a colony, not only to the army, but to the colony.

'What is the advantage to the army?—You get a change of station, and it is of great importance to have healthy colonies to which troops can be sent after serving in unhealthy colonies.

'I suppose that the cost of a colonial force is much greater than that of maintaining imperial troops, on account of labour being so highly paid?—It is not a question of cost, but a question of levying the men at all. The colony will not pay more than the mother-country does, and the only question is, whether they can succeed in raising the men. In point of fact, our troops receive much higher pay than is generally supposed.' (*Report*, Nos. 3579–82.)

'*Sir James Ferguson.*—Do you consider it wise expenditure to keep a certain portion of troops in a colony where there are not any important military posts to represent the imperial authority, as well as to serve as a nucleus for defending local authorities in time of danger?—Yes, to a certain extent.

'You think it proper that a certain number of troops should be kept in the colony to represent the imperial authority?—Yes, it is said that you should have the English flag flying, and the red coat with it.' (*Report*, Nos. 8628–29.)

'*Mr. Adderley.*—Mr. Lowe stated that the principles he would act upon in time of peace would be to have no imperial troops in any colony, but only in case of war?—My opinion is rather the reverse of that.

'What would you do in time of peace?—In the case of a colony which had no native tribes to contend with, and which was not adjacent to powerful neighbours, I would not keep any garrison beyond that which would be necessary upon the flag and red coat principle.' (*Report*, Nos. 3644–45.)

The following extracts from Mr. Gladstone's evidence will show the light in which the military defence of the colonies is regarded by him.

'I think that to arrive at a system under which the primary responsibility of self-defence by land should be thrown upon the colonies—speaking of course of those colonies which are, so to say, normally constituted—would be not only an immense advantage to the British exchequer, but would have, I think, many still more important and higher recommendations independently of the question of cost.

'*Chairman.*—You think that any such arrangement, by which the primary responsibility

should be thrown upon the colonies, would be advantageous to communities circumstanced as the British colonies are?—I would almost venture to say, without speaking of cases in which the circumstances are altogether peculiar, that *no community which is not primarily charged with the ordinary business of its own defence, is really, or can be, in the full sense of the word, a free community.* The privileges of freedom and the burdens of freedom are absolutely associated together; to bear the burden is as necessary as to enjoy the privilege, in order to form that character which is the great ornament of all freedom itself.

*Mr. Roebuck.*—Does not the relation of the mother-country to a colony impose upon the mother-country the obligation of defending the colony from external attack?—I should rather look back in order to answer that question. I should say that the obligation of the mother-country cannot be overlooked, and I do not say that she is not bound to defend her colonies under whatever system, if they do not defend themselves; but what I venture to say is, that the system under which a colonial community itself is primarily charged with the duty of her own defence is by far the best, both for the mother-country and for the colony itself. I am aware that we are at present far from the system, and if we are to arrive at it, it must be by patient effort, and perhaps after a long course of time.

‘When a state is allowed to do what it likes with its internal regulations, and to protect itself against external aggression, what is the difference between that and independence?—My opinion is that the difference between that and independence would still be a very important one; because, for a variety of causes, it would still, I have no doubt, remain the case, that a large part of the work of military defence would have to be borne, and gladly, I should say proudly borne by this country, and therefore a very important portion of the military charge of the defence would remain with us, and that would at all times be a strong political tie; but *the really valuable tie with a colony, in my view, is the moral and social tie*; and I do not think that that is stronger now than it was in the case of the old American colonies, even if it be as strong.

*Sir James Ferguson.*—Supposing it is possible for troops to be raised in the colonies sufficient for their defence, according to the matured judgment of the colonists as to these requirements, would you contemplate, where it was necessary, a contribution from this country towards the maintenance of the troops?—I do not look with so much anxiety to the question of the amount of contribution, as I do to *the transfer of responsibility; that is what I really desire.* I think that if the colonists and the colonial government, so far as it is really colonial, had the primary responsibility resting upon them, no difficulty would occur between the colonies and this country upon a mere question of amount. What makes me anxious is, our being invested with a responsibility which I do not think belongs to us, or to the natural order of things, *a responsibility which, I think, we have unduly assumed, and which we are not, I think, competent to discharge half so well as the colonists would discharge it themselves.* I should like to see the state of feel-

ing restored to the colonies which induced the first American colonists, when they revolted, to make it one of their grievances that British troops were kept in their borders without their consent. I do not speak of the arrangement itself, but of the feeling which dictated it.’ (*Report*, Nos. 3780–82. 3787. 3834.)

A question is likewise put to Mr. Gladstone, by Mr. Ellice, with respect to the influence of steam navigation upon the defence of our colonies.

‘A great change has taken place in this respect since the application of steam to navigation. No sudden attack could be made upon any of these colonies by a foreign force making its appearance without notice in any of these seas?—I think the change is enormous, and that, in point of fact, our present system is one founded upon a state of things and a condition of this empire relatively to other Powers, which has entirely passed away. In former times, our communications with our colonies were rare, slow, and uncertain, and it would have been very dangerous indeed to trust to the principle of supporting them from the centre; but now, on the contrary, the communications with the world in general are constant, rapid, and certain, and England is the very centre of those communications. We have enormous advantages for supporting them upon the principle of keeping our great mass of force at home, and supplying them as they may require.’ (*Report*, No. 3816.)

The question of erecting fortifications in colonies at the imperial expense is connected with their military defence. On this subject Lord Herbert expresses a clear opinion.

*Sir George Grey.*—Do you agree with several witnesses who have been examined, that it is unwise to erect fortifications which cannot be sufficiently garrisoned?—Certainly; the tendency since the peace has been to build fortifications abroad, and to neglect them at home; thus leaving the vital parts undefended, and defending, at great cost, the extremities. I believe that that policy has been entirely wrong. I should spend as little as possible upon fortifications abroad, and strengthen our fortifications at home, where there is a very small extent of sea between us and a possible enemy.’ (*Report*, No. 3599.)

The new edition of Mr. Merivale’s work on Colonization and Colonies is brought down to the present day, and contains the result of his long official experience, so as to afford a complete manual for all the controverted questions of colonial policy. Such changes have been brought about in the colonial policy of this country in the last twenty years, and even in the opinions of those persons who are most qualified to discuss the subject, by enlarged experience and improved reasoning, that this new edition of the lectures delivered in 1840 by the late Under Secretary of State for the Colonies

may in many respects be regarded as a new work, the more interesting and instructive as he has not scrupled to place the opinions which are the result of modern investigation face to face with those which were entertained twenty years ago. A long note commenting upon the recent official reports, inserted in this work, may be added to the materials for the discussion of the subject of this article (*Merivale's Lectures*, p. 586). We shall presently advert to some of the arguments in Mr. Merivale's able paper.

Having carried our readers up to the point which the official and parliamentary discussion has reached, we will offer some remarks upon the present position of the question, with a view to the practical inference to be drawn from the results of the inquiry.

First, it is to be remarked that the movement is an imperial and not a colonial movement. It originated with a Secretary of State; it assumed a definite form in an official report; and it has been taken up by Parliament and embodied in the resolutions of a Committee. It has sprung out of a desire to diminish the pressure upon the imperial army, and the burden to the imperial exchequer, caused by the present system of defending the colonies. No colony has shown any wish to diminish the number of British troops stationed within its territory, has complained of their presence, or applied for their withdrawal.

The whole character and spirit of our colonial government has been changed since the American colonies included the presence of British troops among their grievances and grounds for separation. A colony was regarded at that time as a mine to be worked by the mother-country for her own exclusive benefit. The trade and industry of the colony were avowedly sacrificed to the trade and industry of the mother-country. A British regiment was then looked upon as an instrument of coercion; it was naturally an object of colonial jealousy, as being a weapon in the hands of England for enforcing her dominion. But an imperial battalion is now considered as a protective force, against either foreign enemies, or native savages; and is not an object of suspicion or fear. The military expenditure, moreover, is viewed as a source of profit to the colony.

Labour is scarce in a new community, and the means of raising, organising, and paying a naval and military force are wanting in most colonies. The main benefit which they derive from their dependence upon England is protection. England is a great naval Power, and an effective military

Power. She is capable of giving protection to her dependencies, and they are willing to submit to the disadvantages of dependence upon a distant Government, in consideration of being protected. Whatever may be the benefit which England derives from her dependencies, she purchases it at the price of her naval and military protection.

There is no uncertainty in the colonies with respect to their interest in this matter. They would naturally prefer to be independent, if they could maintain their independence by their own exertions. But their weakness is in general such, that if they were to cease to be the dependencies of England, they would probably fall into the dependence of some other Power, and they wisely prefer to remain as they are. On the other hand, a vast change has of late years taken place in the opinion of England as to the advantage derivable from the possession of colonial dependencies. Monopoly of colonial trade is abandoned. A colony is no longer considered as an exclusive source of wealth for the mother-country. The cry of 'ships, colonies, and commerce,' has ceased to exercise a magic influence on the feelings of Englishmen. The fact that colonies are not now subjects of contention between nations—that they are no longer incentives to wars—is a proof that they are not prized as before.

'In the last century' (says Lord Grey, in his evidence before the Committee), 'the possession of colonies, of which the trade was to be monopolised by the mother-country, was believed to be a source of wealth to a nation. Hence to wrest from each other their colonial possessions was regarded by European nations as an object of great importance; and it was regarded almost a sufficient object for a war, to capture one or two sugar colonies. But it is now generally understood that monopolising the trade of colonies is contrary to the true interest of both parties, and that nothing therefore is gained by conquering colonies for this purpose.' (*Report*, No. 2626.)

Mr. Gladstone expresses a similar opinion with respect to the improbability of a war for the acquisition of colonies.

'The cases, in my opinion, in which the colonies would now be involved in the consequences of imperial wars, are exceptional cases; I think there is a great change since the last century in that respect. Each of the colonies were then supposed to be separate and exclusive resources of wealth for the mother-country, in consequence of the supposed value of exclusive trade; that has now disappeared, and I think now the whole application of the consequences of war to transmarine possessions is greatly changed.' (*Report*, No. 3864.)

This remark may be true if it was meant

to apply exclusively to imperial wars between the great Powers of Europe, but it is not true if wars arise between the States of Europe and those of America. War between Spain and the United States would immediately have caused expeditions to be directed against Cuba and Porto Rico; war between England and the United States can hardly fail to be fought out on the frontiers of Canada, New York, and Maine, though it may be true that England has no direct interest in the retention of her North American provinces.

A dependency can see clearly the advantage which it derives from protection by the mother-country; but it is not so easy to express in an articulate form the benefit derived by England from her colonial possessions. Mr. Gladstone passes over the economical advantage, and insists upon 'the moral and social tie' between the sovereign state and the dependency. However much we may take refuge in phrases about the glory and prestige of extended empire, the popular conviction in the substantial gain and strength derivable from colonies is shaken. This state of mind appears clearly in a question put to Mr. Gladstone by Mr. Adderley.

'You were asked' (he says) 'whether, if any of the colonies defended themselves, there would be any difference in their relations with England as regards their independence: do you consider, generally, that it would be worth while for us to incur all the disadvantages of the present system, in order to keep up what remains of dependence?' (Report, No. 3869.)

When the separation of the American colonies was consummated, our statesmen of that day mourned over the gloomy prospects of their country, and declared that 'the sun of England had set for ever.' But the modern statesman anticipates with coolness the contingency of the separation of a colony, and hopes that it will be effected without a struggle. He contemplates with indifference the disruption of the colonial tie,

'Si fractus illabatur orbis,  
Impavidum ferient ruinæ.'

Mr. Godley, in his memorandum of March 1860, after pointing out that the Greek colonies were not dependencies of the mother-country, proceeds thus:

'We cannot deal in this way with our colonies, because they were formed with the understanding that they were to remain "part of the empire," and have a right, so long as they choose to assert it, to the fulfilment of this virtual compact. But it is desirable, both for our sakes and theirs, to

reduce to the minimum the incidents of their dependence: for ours, because we have a right to discharge ourselves, so far as justice and honour permit, of the material burdens caused by a relation which does not bring us any corresponding material advantages; for theirs, because in proportion as they learn to provide for their own wants and to assert their own rights, instead of leaning on others, their national character will be elevated and strengthened, and they will be prepared for the day when their independence shall become inevitable.'

The naval defence of our colonies is admitted by the advocates of reduction to be an inevitable expense. Our fleet is distributed over the entire world, for the protection of our commerce. The ships cruise about during a portion of the year, and it is scarcely possible to assign the expense of any portion of the navy to particular colonies. The expense of the slave squadron may indeed be distinguished; but this expense is for a national, not for a colonial object.

According to the account furnished by the Committee, the total charge upon the imperial exchequer for the military defence of the colonies during the year ending March 31. 1860, was 3,225,081*l*. In this total is included a charge of 467,445*l*. for dead weight, recruiting, and departmental expenses. Even if the military defence of the colonies at the cost of the imperial exchequer were abandoned, a large part of this expense would continue for many years. A deduction of 73,315*l*. paid by the colonies in aid of the army vote, may be also made.

We will, however, assume that the annual charge on the British exchequer is 3,225,081*l*.; and we will first remark that the Committee begin by excluding 1,509,835*l*., as applicable to imperial purposes proper. This sum comprises the cost of the Mediterranean garrisons, which are for strictly military objects, of the West African stations, which are for the suppression of the slave trade, and of Western Australia and Bermuda, which are for the punishment of convicts. The only practical question, therefore, arises upon the remaining sum of 1,715,246*l*. This expenditure is simply for the protection of those dependencies which are maintained as fields for our industry, as markets for our products, and as outlets for our population; for purposes of cultivation, trade, and emigration.

Now a large part of this expenditure, viz. 561,510*l*., is caused by the two colonies of the Cape and New Zealand, and is owing, not so much to any colonial necessity, as to the philanthropic policy of the mother-country, in the treatment of the native tribes. The colonists, having personal experience of



the treachery and cruelty of savages, would treat them as wild animals, and would, if left to themselves, ward off the attacks of the aborigines by rough and inhuman means. The mother-country insists on a more humane policy; she holds that the aborigines are to be treated as men living in a community, and possessed of civil and international rights. For the enforcement of this doctrine England must pay. As she paid for the emancipation of the colonial slaves, so she must pay for the humane treatment of the colonial aborigines. But this is not a part of the expense of colonial protection which is incurred for the benefit of the colonists themselves, or at least in the furtherance of any policy which the colonists would voluntarily pursue.

Mr. Merivale has devoted an interesting section of his work to the treatment of native races in the colonies. He holds that the protection of aborigines is a duty of the imperial Government; but that when responsible government has been established in a colony, the separate administration of native affairs by authorities acting under the Home Executive, is a system unfitted for practice. He considers the civilisation of savages, in a separate body, impossible; and conceives our choice to lie between extermination and amalgamation. The following passage contains a graphic, and, we regret to say, a true description of the vacillation which has too often characterised the imperial policy as to military protection against aborigines.

'The truth is, that the establishment definitively and on a solid basis of either system, that of home control, or that of abandonment to the settlers, requires a degree of consistent firmness on the part of the executive, which it is difficult to secure under constitutional government. No colonial minister can venture to oppose, with deliberate steadiness, the supporters of any prevalent and popular doctrine. If he recalls troops from distant colonial possessions, and maintains the principle that their inhabitants must provide for their own internal peace and security against natives, he will no doubt find strong assistance from those who believe that the colonists should be taught to rely on themselves, and still stronger from the prevailing desire for economy in national expenditure. But, on the other hand, he has to encounter all the interests connected with the particular colony in question: and he has in addition, to reckon on opposition from that body so long and justly powerful in British assemblies, who constitute themselves the protectors of inferior races, and regard with apprehension any measure which tends to withdraw them from the exercise of that protection. And, besides all this, there are real or supposed dangers in every such change of moment, which it requires great political courage to confront. An extermination of natives—a massacre of settlers—these are terrors

ever present to the mind of the executive at home, which render it loth to part, until the very last moment, with that security which has hitherto been enjoyed at the very easy cost of military expenditure. And besides this, there is always looming in the distance the phantom of colonial disaffection. There is the fear lest the colonists should lose the wish to remain longer connected with a country which refuses to spend money on them. That the fear is unphilosophical all statesmen will admit, and that colonial attachment will not be retained by this kind of tribute, if it were worth retaining at such cost. But though prepared to recognise colonial independence as the natural ultimate result of modern colonial policy, none of them wish to see the revolution commence in their own day.

'The consequence of these opposing political tendencies is a vacillation of purpose greatly to be regretted. The same series of events continually recurs in colonies thus circumstanced. In every period of tranquillity, some preparation is made for weaning colonists from their reliance on imperial arms. Troops are gradually withdrawn. But the colonists—pretty well assured of what is coming—make very slight effort to create a defensive force. Then comes a rebellion or a border war. Troops are hurried back from England, and the danger is at length averted at an expense greatly exceeding what would have occurred if they had remained in the colony. Then the old process of withdrawal begins again. The colonists are again threatened with being left to themselves, and again exhorted to military preparation—threats which they have learnt to estimate at their just value, and exhortations which have no power to stir them from their inertness produced both by habit and by calculation. For there is a principle in their resistance. The same community which will cheerfully contribute, with a generosity far outstripping its apparent means, to any object of public munificence in which Old England is interested, will hold out as long as it can against any invitation to take on itself its own charges, hitherto defrayed by the mother-country. And thus the course of affairs goes on, period after period, in the same vicious circle. The principle of military protection from home, openly avowed and consistently acted on, would have cost far less money than the opposite principle maintained in theory, and perpetually departed from in practice.' (*Merivale's Lectures*, p. 519.)

Of the remaining sum of 1,153,730*l.*, the chief part, viz. 776,265*l.*, is due to the North American and West Indian colonies. As to the North American colonies, Mr. Godley has attempted to found an argument upon the practice of England in the last century. Before the American war, England did not regularly station troops in the North American colonies, but left their military defence to their own exertions. This argument is conclusively refuted by Mr. Merivale in the note to which we already referred.

'The Old English colonies had no foreign enemy to fear except France. Against France, all their

instincts of self-defence were roused into immediate activity. Had England absolutely deserted them, nothing but downright force would ever have driven them into subjection to a country of absolute government, of foreign language and religion. All that was needed to ward off danger, was that England should be practically as near to them as France, and ready to help as soon as occasion required. Their own courage and hearty good-will were sufficient for the rest, at least until the changes produced by the seven years' war. At the present day, the menace against which the British troops are thought to guard proceed, not from France, but from the United States: the country of a powerful and warlike people, continuous with our provinces for thousands of miles, ready, from geographical position, to throw at any time a strong force against any weak point, and secure of considerable sympathies among large classes of our colonists. Against such enemies as these, the maintenance of a few fortified posts, by imperial expenditure, to serve as rallying points in the event of sudden invasion until assistance can arrive from the mother-country, may, or may not, be a sufficient and wise precaution, may or may not be imperially expedient. These are open questions, of a mixed political and military character: but to refer for guidance on them to a precedent so utterly dissimilar as that of our ancient colonial dominions—or to imagine them capable of solution on any general principles of colonial administration at all—is, I cannot but think, a waste of ingenuity. (*Merivale's Lectures*, p. 589.)

These remarks receive a forcible illustration from the present relations of this country with the United States. The first probable consequence of a rupture of friendly relations with the Federal Government, against which our Government has been called on to provide, is an invasion of Canada by the American forces. The frontier between the United States and the British North American provinces is long and undefended, either by nature or by art. The lower part of the St. Lawrence is frozen after January, and the military communication between England and Quebec is by a road from St. John's through the province of New Brunswick, which runs along the frontier of the State of Maine, and is therefore exposed to hostile inroads in the event of war with the United States. Neither Halifax nor St. John's is connected with Quebec by a railway; whereas there are numerous railways in the State of New York which might carry troops to points adjoining the Canadian border. The militia of the British provinces may be called out at a moment of emergency, but it is untrained, and unsupplied with officers accustomed to the profession of arms.

Under these circumstances, the defence of Canada and of the other British provinces of North America must be undertaken by Eng-

land in the event of war with the United States; and even in time of peace, preparations against the contingency of invasion from the American territory must be made, which will be a serious charge upon the Imperial exchequer. We have no doubt that the spirit of the Canadian people will show itself capable of that self-defence which Mr. Gladstone regards as a primary condition of freedom, and the enterprise of the conquest of Canada by the United States would not in any case be so easy a task as it has perhaps been imagined to be by the sanguine adventurers who rule at Washington. But if Canada become the scene of military operations in a war which is begun to vindicate the honour and independence of the British flag, our obligation to protect Canada with all the power of the Empire is equal to her obligation to share in repelling an attack on the symbol which now waves over her fortresses and her inland seas. At the same time it cannot be denied that a colonial possession like Canada is by its nature a vulnerable part of the empire; and that the advantage it may render to the common interest, as a base of offensive warlike operations, is incomparably less than the burden it imposes upon us in providing for its defence.

The West Indian colonies are in so feeble and impoverished a state, that they cannot be expected to make any effectual provision for their own military defence. How far they would be an object of cupidity either to the United States or to Spain, is doubtful. Probably neither of those Powers would wish to possess a tropical territory, in which negro slavery is abolished, and in which the soil is cultivated by free black labourers; and neither government would wish to re-establish slavery in an island where it had been abolished by England. At the same time, the undefended state of a West India island might provoke an aggression, which, however worthless the subject of quarrel, would render a war inevitable.

With all our respect for Mr. Lowe's juridical knowledge and experience of colonial affairs, we cannot subscribe to the doctrine that a colony under a responsible government is virtually a foreign Power, or that it resembles Hanover, when an independent State, whose king was likewise king of England. Such a colony is still a dependency of England; it is subject to the legislation of Parliament; it receives a governor appointed by the Crown, who is the head of the local executive government; its laws are subject to the veto of the Crown. In addition to these marks of dependence, it may be garrisoned by troops who are under the control of the governor, and whose com-

manding officer acts under instructions sent to him direct from the War Department. If the local government is constituted on too democratic a basis, that is a state of things for which Parliament is responsible, and the mother-country would not be justified in visiting the colony with a punishment for the results of her own policy.

This analysis of the component parts of the expenditure in question, gives us little ground for expecting that the burden of the military defence of the colonies upon the imperial exchequer can be materially lightened. The labours of the Committee seem to us chiefly valuable as furnishing information, as promoting discussion, and as exhibiting the discordance and inconsistency of opinion on the subject; not as recommending any practicable policy. The entire movement is founded on the assumption that our colonies are of little economical benefit to the mother-country. It would follow from this principle, as a practical maxim, that we ought not to extend our existing colonial possessions, or acquire new ones. Lord Herbert was of opinion that we recognise this maxim in our practice. 'I think' (he says, in answer to a question put to him by the Committee) 'that the tendency is not to extend our colonies; the Colonial Office is always on its guard against accessions of territory, and in South Africa we have given up territory.' Nevertheless we have lately added Hong-kong and Labuan to our colonial empire, as well as British Columbia. More recently we have made Lagos a new station against the slave-trade. We have annexed Oude to our Indian dominions, and there is a constant tendency to multiply stations and settlements, all of which require military protection, and add to the number of places to be garrisoned. We continue to extol the advantages and glory of our vast Colonial and Indian Empire, in sounding phrases, and with much rhetorical amplification; but we murmur at the necessary cost of maintaining it. The inquiries of the Committee will be useful, if they throw a clear light upon this inconsistency.

It is to be wished, on the one hand, that the advocates of colonial extension would point out, in plain and unmetaphorical language, the precise advantages which England derives from her dependencies, old and new. On the other hand, it is to be wished that the advocates of the reduction of imperial expenditure on colonial defence, would perceive that naval and military protection is the principal benefit which the dependency derives from the sovereign State, and that, in proportion as this protection is withdrawn, the ties of interest which attach the smaller,

poorer, and weaker, to the more populous, wealthy, and powerful community, are likely to be broken.

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ART. V.—*Reisebriefe von Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy aus den Jahren 1830 bis 1832.*  
Herausgegeben von PAUL MENDELSSOHN  
BARTHOLDY. Leipzig: 1861.

THIS book, though it is merely in one sense a fragment—at best an episode belonging to a life which was a complete poem—is in every point of view remarkable, as the unconscious utterance of young genius full of hope and enjoyment, in which the form bears a most harmonious proportion to the matter. By no musician, it may be said without fear of correction, has any record been left comparable to these memorials of travel, sent by an artist, to gladden the happiest home from which artist ever went forth, to gather, to observe, and to enjoy. Among the histories of hope deferred, of powers wasted, of faculties half developed, of passions and appetites forced into preternatural activity, which the biography of musicians includes, the virtuous, brilliant, and successful career of Felix Mendelssohn stands alone and apart. 'The boy,' as Goethe well said, 'came into the world on a lucky day.' He was born into a family of easy fortune;—a family, too, having ambitions and traditions belonging to other lives than those of the merchant and the trader. Philosophy and scholarship were connected with the name of Mendelssohn. It had a place and an honour of its own, even in that cold, cynical capital, the city of Berlin. His father was a man as earnest as liberal. His mother was superior in every sense of the word;—not merely in ordering her own household life, but in looking beyond it, to every influence and enjoyment from without, which taste and art and literature could furnish;—a serene, cordial woman, as unpretending as she was gentle, who will live in the recollections of all who have known her, by that tone of distinction in manner, in thought, and in acquirements, which help at once to freshen and to warm the atmosphere in which genius is born and nurtured.

Rarely, if ever, has culture been more wisely and liberally bestowed, than in the case of this fortunate boy. Rarely, if ever, have affection and intelligence reaped a richer harvest. He was as gracious as he was gifted—evil seemed to glance aside from him—temptation to get no hold on him. He was singularly exact without pedantry. Every thing that he acquired was ranged ac-

cording to its value in the chambers of a memory which nothing seemed to encumber. He learned with extreme ease and rapidity,—yet retained that which was solid and serious, with a steadfastness rare in men of so mercurial a temperament. Though he was full of vivacity and humour, endowed with a keenness of observation not to be surpassed, there was not a grain of mockery in his composition. He delighted to admire and to venerate;—from the first to the last he had an unaffected relish and enjoyment in the society of those older than himself, while he retained the merriment of a child, and his sympathy with childhood. In the practice of that art which he exercised as naturally as other men exercise the common gift of speech, in the regulation of his life, in his public responsibilities, and in his domestic duties and affections, the whole career of Felix Mendelssohn bore the stamp of a moral beauty and elevation, not common among the sons of men. Nothing vulgar, affected, or unclean could approach him; no ungenerous thought ever touched him; he combined the wit and readiness of a man of the world with the affectionate simplicity of boyhood. One more universal in appreciation, more shrewdly discriminating, yet withal in his own personality intensely national, has rarely been born. His tastes and aptitudes seemed hardly to have a limit. He had a painter's eye and a poet's heart. Every thing that was good and beautiful in art or in Nature—no matter what the world, no matter what the climate, no matter what the period,—was not so much seen and studied, as possessed by him. He was a ready and exquisite linguist, endowed with that instinct for subtlety in language, of which many less perfectly educated persons never dream. One of his last earthly exercises, we have been told, was the examination of a friend's son in Greek. He was a keen lover of literature. Lastly, having exceeding personal beauty, a face of such mobility, brilliancy, and sweetness of expression, as defied the portrait-painter's art, the absence of personal vanity or frivolity was as rare as it was real. It is difficult, indeed, by the aid of the most minute magnifying powers, to recall a flaw, or an inconsistency of character or talent. 'Complete' might have been the one word written on his tombstone, could it be applied to any human being.

Complete, too, was his career in all that makes existence radiant and prosperous. It became obvious, at an early period of his boyhood, that the gift of musical genius dropped in his cradle was the central one, round which many other tastes and talents grouped themselves. The practical part of

his art he took up like a sport, in rivalry with his sister Fanny,—one of the most remarkable female musicians of her time. There were excellent masters of the science in Berlin; and the genial and profound Zelter, a man brimful of intellect and ideas, who could hold his own with even such a correspondent as Goethe,—was the friend and counsellor to whom, probably, Mendelssohn was the most largely indebted for instruction, and to whose influence may be in part ascribed the tone and cast which characterise his music. This, again, might possibly, in part, arise from the peculiar plight of his art in Berlin, during the period when the boy's mind was moulded. The appointment of Spontini to a place of trust and emolument, and his reputation as a man insincere and intriguing as he was courtly, sharpened to opposition an anti-Italian spirit, and contributed to turn an imagination, in which fantasy was singularly balanced by a spirit of order, towards the antique and rich, but not obsolete, writings of the patriarchs of music. Be this as it may, it became presently apparent that Mendelssohn's musical tendencies did not chime in with those of Berlin. It was his father's dream that he should become one of the ornaments of his birthplace; but the youth never took kindly to the town as a residence, nor the town to him as a composer, till its captious inhabitants were compelled, for very shame, to follow in the wake of European fashion. How it fell out, that our England—as much decried abroad as if this country had not nourished Handel's mighty genius, and suggested to Haydn the crowning inspiration of his life, and welcomed the prodigious talent of little Mozart, and soothed the last hours of Beethoven, soured with Austrian neglect—furnished Mendelssohn with the arena in which his genius surprised all Europe, is a matter of history too well known to need re-statement here, though it has been too largely forgotten in the wholesale contempt with which musical Germany is pleased to regard musical England. He was wont to refer with exquisite delight to his first visit to London, and to his after journey to Scotland and Wales, during which life-friendships were made, never to fail him. But there was something still wanting to his education,—the influence of that spell of beauty and association which belongs to Italy as to no other country under the sun or moon. This volume is largely devoted to his impressions of the South, showered forth for the beloved home-circle. Taken as letters, in themselves, their literary value can hardly be overrated; nothing more perfect has ever fallen from the pen even of those whose pen is their only

instrument, and it is long indeed since Germany has given us any production of equal interest and merit. We understand that an English translation of the volume is in preparation; but as the work is probably still unknown to the great majority of our readers, we shall borrow largely from its pages.

The very first letter in the series—written at Weimar on the first stage of the journey from Berlin to Italy—contains possibly the last bright glimpse which will be given of a spot of which we are not yet weary.

‘Weimar, May 21st, 1830.

‘I do not think that in all my former experience in travelling, I ever remember so bright or fresh a day as that of yesterday. In the early morning the sky was dark and cloudy, till later when the sun broke through; add to this the clearness of the air and its being the Assumption day of the Virgin: the people were all in their holiday clothes; in one village we saw them going into church, in another streaming out of it, in another playing at bowls, every garden bright with beds of tulips; we drove quickly, and I had all these things to admire. In Weisenfels they gave me a little wicker carriage, and in Naumburg an open drosky; the luggage, with hat and cloaks, was stowed into it somehow; I bought two great sprays of lily of the valley, and so paraded the country as if on a pleasure excursion. Beyond Naumburg we met P—, who envied me; next President G—, in a tiny little carriage (its springs in him had no light weight to bear); he and his two daughters, or wives, at any rate the two females who were with him, also envied me like the first. We rattled up the Köserner hill; for the draught was nothing for the horses. . . . The country was so gracious with spring, it looked so bright, smiling and arrayed; then the sun went down very solemnly behind the hills; and as the Russian ambassador rolled by, very moody and business like, with two carriages and four, I slipped past him in my little drosky with the speed of a hare; . . . through the whole day I composed very little, and only enjoyed myself in a lazy way . . . —24th. I had written all this before I saw Goethe, which I did after an early walk in the park, and now here I am, and my letter, of course, no further on. I may possibly remain for the next two days, and it will be no harm if I do, for I have never seen the old gentleman so amiable and cheerful, so talkative and communicative, as he is at present. The reason of my stay is one that makes me vain, I had better say proud, and I will not hide it from you. Goethe sent me yesterday a letter addressed to a painter of the town, which I was to deliver in person; and Otilie\* has confided to me, that a commission to take my picture was contained in it; Goethe being anxious to add my likeness to a collection of sketches of his friends, which he began some time ago. The

thing pleased me well, but as I have not yet set eyes, by your leave, on the worshipful artist, nor he on me, I shall have to remain until the day after to-morrow; and as I said before, I am no ways vexed at this, for my life is perfect, and I thoroughly enjoy the society of the old gentleman. As yet I have dined with him every day, and am bidden to his house again; this evening there will be a party, when I shall have to play; at these times he talks of everything, and inquires into everything in a way that is pleasant. But I really ought to make my narrative more reasonable and consecutive. The morning I spent with Otilie, whom I found still delicate and complaining at times, but in better spirits than she used to be, and to me friendly and affectionate as I have always known her; we have been almost always together, and I have had pleasure in getting to know her better. Ulrica is more pleasing and attractive than ever; that which was so grave in her, has now settled into keeping with her whole being—she has a singleness and depth of feeling that make her one of the most loveable visions I know. The two boys, Walter and Wolff, are lively and diligent, and to hear them chatter of grandpapa's "Faust," is really quaint. But to return to my story: I had sent Zelter's letter straight to Goethe, and he invited me to dinner; when I found him externally little altered, but at first stiff and not very sympathetic. I supposed he wished to see how I would turn out, but I fancied he would continue so, and got vexed. Luckily the conversation turned on the Ladies' Committee in Weimar, and on the "Chaos," an idiotic newspaper which the ladies were to edit, and where I was exalted by appearing as a contributor. Goethe then began to make merry on the subject, to tease the ladies about their benevolence, intellectual efforts, subscriptions and sick nursing, to the last of which he seemed to have an extreme aversion. . . . We wandered on to all kinds of subjects, to the "Räuber Brant" of Riee, of which he said that it contained all that a modern artist seemed to require to make him happy, viz., a brigand and a bride. He then fell foul of all the young people of the day, for their "yearnings," and for being all so melancholy; told stories of a young lady to whom he had paid some attentions, and who seems to have felt some interest in him; and then on to the Exhibition, and to the sale of fancy work for the poor, where the ladies of Weimar were to be saleswomen, but where he averred nothing could be bought, because the young people generally apportioned the goods beforehand, and then hid their wares till the right customers appeared. After dinner he said suddenly, "Good children! pretty children! I must always be amused, but a foolish folk though," and sat making eyes like an old lion exceedingly sleepy. Afterwards I played to him; he thought it very wonderful, the more so that it was long since he had heard any music; the art, he said, had much advanced lately, but he knew nothing of the subject, and I had to tell him a great deal, for as he said, "We must now have a good and sensible talk together." He called to Otilie, "I daresay you have made very good arrangements, but it makes no difference to my commands, which are, that you should make tea here, so that we may all be together." "Will it not be too late though," she said, "for Reimer

\* Otilie von Goethe, the poet's daughter-in-law; Ulrica, Walter, and Wolff, were his grandchildren. Ulrica was at this time about five years old—a lovely child; we believe she died young: the young men still survive.

has to come to work with you?" "Why," he replied, "you let your children off from their Latin lessons to-day, that they might hear Felix play, so for once you may let me off from my work." He begged me to dine with him next day, and in the evening I played a great deal. As I had begged Goethe to *tuttor* me, he sent me a message to say, I must really remain more than the two days I had named, otherwise he should never get into the way of doing so. When he said this to me, when he thought that I should not lose time in remaining, when he invited me to dine with him every day if I had no other engagement, when I have been with him every day from that time, till this, when yesterday he made me talk to him of Scotland, of Hengstenberg, of Spontini, and of Hegel's æsthetics; when he sent me over with the ladies to Tiefurth, but forbid me to drive to Berke, because there was such a pretty girl there, that he did not wish to send me to my ruin; and when I think that *this* is the Goethe of whom people used to say, that he was not one Goethe, but consisted of several little Goethes, I should have been a fool if I had grudged my time here. To-day I am to play him things of Bach, Haydn, and Mozart, and bring him on so far, as he expresses it. Besides all this, I have done the ordinary tourist's work; I have seen his library and "Iphigenia in Aulis." Yours,  
FELIX.

How charming are the following first glimpses of the land of enchantment!—with the touch of home-yearning in the writer—with his rapture over the Titian pictures; and then his outbreak of indignation at the folly and fickleness of Vienna. The 'Ave Maria,' whimsically designated in it as a theological protest, is one of its master's most lovely and ingenious pieces of sacred music; for in Mendelssohn religious sentiment was so genuine and natural that it found musical expression with equal purity in the pathetic ritual of the Catholic Church, and in the majestic chorales of the Protestant congregation.

'To Professor Zelter.\*

'Venice, Oct. 16th, 1830.

'My dear Professor,—At last I have trodden Italian ground; and I wish this letter to be the first of a series of notes that I propose sending to you regularly of all that appears to me most interesting and remarkable. For my not having written to you ere this, you must blame the distracted and ricketty state in which I lived both in Munich and in Vienna. . . . I hope you have not taken my silence amiss, and that I may look for a few lines from you, if it be but to tell me that you are well and happy. The world, at present, looks so stormy; and all that one imagines to be most lasting in its nature, one sees collapsing in two days' time. It is, therefore, doubly good to hear well-known voices, and to convince oneself that there are some things which neither fail nor fall, but which stand fast forever. It is

very trying that for the last fortnight my home letters have all miscarried, and that neither here nor at Trieste have I had any tidings from my own people; so a few lines from you, addressed to me here, in your old way, would be both cheering and refreshing, and they would bring with them the conviction that you think of me with the same kindness that you have felt since I was a child. My family will, I daresay, have read to you what a happy impression the first sight of the plains of Italy made upon me; here I seem to hurry, hour by hour, from one pleasure to another. I am always seeing something new and unexpected. In the first days I picked out some masterpieces, to which I like to devote a couple of hours every day. These are three pictures of Titian—"The Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple," "The Assumption of the Virgin," and "The Entombment of Christ;" then a picture of Giorgione's, representing a girl, who, guitar in hand, sits lost in thought, and gazing so wistfully out of the picture, that she looks as if she was just going to break into a song, and gives me the feeling that I must begin one too. There are several others; and the pictures alone would be worth a journey to Venice, for the strength, the piety, and the intellectual wealth of the men who painted them, seem to beam upon me from their works, every time that I look at them. I scarcely regret that, as yet, I have heard no music here; for I suppose the music made by the angels in "The Assumption of the Virgin," when, floating round Mary, they shout for joy, one answering the other upon cymbals, and two playing on curious, crooked flutes, as well as that song which is passing through the soul of my lute player, cannot be reckoned among things which one has heard. I have only heard the organ played once; and it was a pitiable performance. I was looking at the "Peter Martyr," by Titian, in the Church of the Franciscans. Divine service was going on; and as the old pictures, in the very places for which they had been intended, and in which they had been painted, began to start out through the darkness, the church became, for me, full of a dim, religious solemnity. Just as I was gazing at that marvellous evening landscape, with the trees, and the angels among the branches, the organ began. The first notes that I heard, gave me a rush of delicious joy; but the second, and the third, and all the following ones, brought me back from all my visions to very ordinary life; for the man played in church, at divine service, and in the presence of rational beings, such twaddle-dum and tweedle-dee as this. . . . and the "Peter Martyr" hung beside him. . . . I have been myself very musically-minded, however, and have composed a good deal. Before I left Vienna, an acquaintance gave me a copy of Luther's "Divine Songs;" and as I read them, they took hold of me in a way that they had never done before. I mean to set several of them to music this winter. In Vienna, I finished two little bits of sacred music—a Choral, in three parts, for choir and orchestra, "O Haupt voll Blut und Wunden,"\* and an "Ave Maria," for

\* Mendelssohn's teacher in the theory of music.

\* Good Friday Hymn of Paul Gerhardt's, 1666. They were the last words to which Frederick William of Prussia listened, when he lay dying.



eight voices. The people round me there were all so worthless that I behaved myself like a divinity student among them. Moreover, from all their best piano-forte players, both male and female, I did not hear a single note of Beethoven; and when I hinted that there was, after all, *something*, both in him and in Mozart, they said, "Ah, you are then a lover of classical music." "Yes!" quoth I. To-morrow I intend to go to Bologna, there to look upon the face of St. Cecilia; then, by Florence, to Rome, which, God willing, I hope to reach in eight or ten days. From that place I can write you something longer and better; to-day I only wanted to make a beginning, and, in begging you not to forget me, to offer you my best wishes for health and happiness, which accept from yours faithfully,

'FELIX.'

Mendelssohn's appreciation of the moods and schools of Italian painting was universal. The glory of Titian could enrapture him at Venice; but that he could be held fast by glories in art, different in humour and spirit, is proved by a letter from Florence, belonging to a later period. There is something in the marvellous refinement and the early doom of Raphael which has an affecting resemblance to the genius and the destiny of the writer.

'My dear Sisters. — . . . I spent the whole forenoon, from ten to three, in the galleries. . . . I have a peculiar pleasure in the works of the monk Fra Bartolommeo, who was a pious man, with a soul at once earnest and tender. There is a little picture by him which I have discovered for myself; it is about the size of this sheet, and divided into two parts, representing the Adoration and the Presentation in the Temple. The figures are about two finger-lengths in height, but all painted with the finest and most delicate handling, with the most brilliant colouring, the brightest ornamentation, and lit by the most joyous sunshine. One sees in the picture how the pious artist must have laboured at it with love and elaborated its smallest detail, perhaps in order to give it away and to make some one very happy with the gift. I felt as if the painter were still about it, and would again sit in front of it, though absent for the moment. Just such surprise and pleasure I also had to-day, in looking at the so-called "Madonna del Cardellino," which Raphael painted as a wedding gift for a friend; and just as I was meditating on all these men, so long ago dead, but whose minds still converse so distinctly with us and with others, I passed accidentally into the room where the portraits of the great painters hang. Once before I had seen them and looked on them as a show and a curiosity; for there are over three hundred of them, generally from the masters' own hands, so that one sees at once the man and his work; but to-day they assumed a strange meaning for me. Some day by word of mouth I may tell you much of all this, but I must say that Raphael's likeness of himself is almost the most touching picture of his that I have ever seen. In the middle of a great hall covered to the very ceiling with names,

hangs a small picture, with not much to distinguish it, but upon which the eye irresistibly fastens. It is Raffaele Sanzio: young, very delicate, and pale, but with a yearning of infinite passion, and with the languor of almost sickening longing in the mouth and eyes: one seems to see into his very soul. That he never was to be able to express what he saw, what he was, and what he felt; that the wish was to goad him on and on, and that he must die young, all this is written in the sad, suffering, spiritual face, and one quivers when one looks into the dark eyes, and at the mouth, which is compressed as if by some painful thought. Over against him, you may see an ugly, stalwart fellow, a man full of bone, of muscle, and of marrow; Michael Angelo, who looks angry and rough. On the other side, is one wise, earnest, and lion-like; that is Leonardo da Vinci. But you cannot see them! and I could talk of them better than I can write.'

In the month of November he had taken up his abode for the winter in Rome, — at that time, even more than at present, the resort of men of singular genius and learning. Bunsen was the Prussian minister at the Papal Court; Thorwaldsen, Vernet, and Bendeman represented the arts of sculpture and painting; and the society of Rome had (what it has since lost) a highly intellectual character.

'Rome, November 8th, 1830.

'To-day I have to write to you of my first week in Rome, of how my *ménage* is arranged, of my hopes for the winter, and of how the *genius loci* has affected me. This will be difficult to accomplish, — more difficult to express. I feel as if I had changed my nature since I came here; and I now feel that of all my former hurry and impatience in pressing on my journey, my lively wish to reach this crowning-point has been the cause, while I looked on it only as a habit, and tried to repress it at the time. Now I have reached the goal; and my spirit is at once so joyous, so peaceful and so earnest, within me, that I cannot describe it to you. What it is that so works on me, I cannot say; but the awful Coliseum, the brighter glory of the Vatican, and the air, mild and sweet as of spring, all contribute to it. So do the kind friends, the cheerful rooms, — in short, everything that surrounds me. Something has changed me; I am well and happy, to a degree that I have not known for years; I have such a rush and pleasure in work that I think I shall accomplish even more than I had proposed to myself; indeed, I have done a good deal already. If it only pleases God to grant me a continuance of this happiness, I see a charming winter stretch before me. Imagine to yourselves a little two-windowed house in the Piazza di Spagna, No. 5, which is in sunshine all day; a room on the first floor, with a good grand piano from Vienna; on the table lie prints of Palestrina and Allegri with their scores, a Latin psalm-book, out of which I compose a "Non Nobis." Such is my present residence. . . . The evenings I generally spend with Bendeman and Hübner, at whose houses the German artists assemble. I have been several



times with Schadow, and have a valuable acquaintance in the Abbate Santini, who possesses a very complete library of old Italian music, and who is complaisance itself in giving and lending me everything I want. With regard to the singers in the Pope's choir, whom I have heard three times now, I shall write a detailed account to Zelter. I am enchanted with Bunsen; we have so much to say to one another; and I think he has some work for me to do, which, if I can conscientiously undertake, I will do as well as it is in my power to do anything. — 9th. Every day brings me new expectations, and, better still, it fulfils them. The sun has just come out for my breakfast, and I am now going to work. By the first opportunity, I will send you, dear Fanny, the things I did at Vienna, and everything else that I happen to have ready. You, dearest Rebecca, shall have my sketch-book. I cannot say I am pleased with it myself, and I mean to look a great deal at the sketches of the landscape painters here, in hopes of learning a better method. I had hoped to light upon a style of my own, but in vain. To-day I am to visit the Lateran and the ruins of old Rome, and in the evening I go to a friendly English family whose acquaintance I have made. I beg you still to send me plenty of letters of introduction, for I am seized with a wish to know a monstrous number of people among the Italians. In this happy way I live on: at each new moment of pleasure I think of you all, so be happy, rejoice with me at the prospect that seems to open for me here. Farewell. Yours,

'FELIX M. B.'

'How the influences of Rome worked on the young artist from other worlds of art than his own, may be seen in the following letters. In the first of them, however, there is something better still to be traced; the writer's manly, constant home love,—his earnest desire to satisfy the expectations of his father.

'Rome, December 10th, 1830.

'My dear Father. — It is a year to-day since your birthday was celebrated in Hensel's house; let me think it is the same to-day, and write to you from Rome, as then from London. As a present for you, I mean to finish writing out the overture to the "Isles of Fingal;"\* and when tomorrow I write the date (11th December), and have the fair copy in my hands, it will feel as if I ought to be able to give it to you directly. I believe I have never worked with such a will as at present, and to accomplish all I have undertaken will occupy the whole of this winter. My health is good; but the warm south wind, the sirocco, attacks one's nerves desperately, and I am obliged to beware of playing too much or too late at night. This is more easily done at present, for as I played every night last week, I shall take a couple of days' rest. Bunsen, who always begs me not to play if it is bad for me, gave a large party yesterday, and of course I could not stay away. I enjoyed it extremely because I made several pleasant acquaintances there, and

because Thorwaldsen expressed himself in such a friendly way that I am quite proud of it. I have always honoured him as a great man, and admired him; to see his face is refreshing. The man himself is lion-like, and by looking at him one can see he must be a great artist. His eye is clear and piercing, as if everything to his sight resolved itself into form and proportion: Add to all this he is quite gentle and kindly; humble-minded too, though standing so far above the rest. I think he has pleasure in little things, and I know that it is a great pleasure for me to be face to face with so great a man, and to feel that the creator of things in themselves immortal, stands beside me with all the peculiarities of individual life, and that with all this he is only a man, like the rest. Bunsen has just left me, and left best wishes and greetings, which he desires me to transmit to you. He is kindness and attention itself to me, and, since you ask me, I think we suit one another very well. . . . The artists here are a fearful and wonderful set of people, when one sees them sitting in their haunt, the Café Greco. I go there very seldom, for, to tell the truth, both the people and their *habitat* make me shudder. Imagine a room eight feet in width, small and dark, and along one side of which they are allowed to smoke; there they lounge upon benches with broad-leaved hats and huge dogs beside them, necks and cheeks, indeed their whole faces, covered with hair; they make a horrid spitting, and say rude things to one another, while their dogs attend to the spread and propagation of vermin. A necktie or a coat would be an innovation among these people; the only bit of their face not already disguised by hair, is hidden behind spectacles: and they sit on this wise, drinking coffee and talking of Titian and Pordenone as if *they* had hob-nobbed it beside them in the Café Greco, batted and bearded like themselves. Then they paint such sickly Madonnas, such attenuated saints, and such milk-faced heroes, that one longs to run a muck at the whole concern. These Rhadamanthine judges are not afraid to handle even that picture of Titian's in the Vatican which you allude to: they say it has no meaning or object; that a master should work so long at a picture with reverent care and love, and not be able to see into things, at least as far as they do with their large spectacles, is an idea that does not seem to have occurred to them. . . . Schadow, whose society I often share and always enjoy, because he, according to his lights, judges calmly and wisely, modestly bowing to all real greatness, said, the other day, that Titian had never painted, and could not paint, a dull or indifferent picture; and I agree with him. Life, animation, and the vigour of a great and sound mind may be seen in everything he ever touched, and when these are present it is well. It is a charming and remarkable thing, that though one can see nothing here but what has been a thousand times described, written of, praised and blamed, painted and criticised, both rightly and wrongly, by the greatest of masters and the smallest of pupils, yet the things have in themselves the power of making a fresh and strong impression, striking each man for himself, and appealing to him through the peculiarities of his own being. Here one may always turn from *people* to *things*,

\* 'Die Hebriden.'

and profit by so doing ; in Berlin the reverse was very often the case.'

The second extract adds a few more touches to the sketch of Thorwaldsen.

'Rome.

'I have been in several of the ateliers lately. Thorwaldsen has just finished the clay of his statue of Lord Byron, who is represented as seated upon some ruins, his foot upon the capital of a broken column, and looking up as if just prepared to write down something upon the tablet which he has in his hand. Instead of being in Roman costume, he is represented in the simplest ordinary dress, and I find that the effect of this is not only not disturbing, but positively good. The whole work has that inexpressible life and touch of nature which Thorwaldsen knows to give to his sculpture ; and while the expression is far from being an affected one, it is sad and elegiac in no common degree. I must send you in another letter an account of his Triumph of Alexander ; it deserves a letter to itself, for no piece of sculpture ever affected me as this has done ; I go there once a week, when there I see this only, and while seeing, I, too, feel that I "enter Babylon." You know how fond Thorwaldsen is of music, and I sometimes play to him in the morning, when he is at work. He has a very good piano in his room ; and while I watch him kneading out his brown clay, now modelling an arm, now spreading out some piece of drapery with a fine, firm hand,—in short, when I see him doing that which all men are afterwards to admire in an imperishable material, I assure you, I am glad that I can do anything that gives him pleasure.—F. M. B.'

To this must be added yet one more notice not less acute and admiring,—one more illustration of the versatility and comprehensiveness of the musical youth, when flung into the world of another art. He had fancied, as one of these letters tells us, that in drawing he might at Rome pick up 'a style of his own.' And even the little pen and ink sketches scattered occasionally through his letters show that his natural grace and facility would have enabled him to master any branch of art besides that which was peculiarly his proper gift.

'Rome.

'You asked me about Horace Vernet, and you could not have suggested a more agreeable theme. I think I may say that I have learnt from him, and I think every one *might* learn from him. He is easy of address and unselfconscious, even in his works. If he sees a figure that suggests something to him, he has it immediately ; and while the rest are debating whether it is beautiful or not, whether they are to praise or to blame it, one finds that he has already gone on to something new, and upset all our critical and æsthetic rules for us ! If this spirit is not one that can be acquired, I am sure that it is the principle of a great mind, and the brightness which arises from it, as well as the eternal freshness which it puts into his works, are things that nothing else

could replace. In one of the leafy alleys in the thickest of the Villa Medici, where the trees, in this flowery and scented season, are almost overpoweringly sweet, stands a little house which is his atelier. The finest disorder reigns throughout : guns and hunting-horns lie about, with a brace of dead hares or rabbits, while on the wall hang his finished or about to be finished pictures. There is his "Inauguration of the National Cockade" (a wild-picture which I don't like), likenesses of Thorwaldsen, Eynard, Latour, horses, studies and sketches for a Judith, a portrait of the Pope, two Moorish heads, Pifferari, soldiers and pontifical guard, my little self, Cain and Abel, finally the atelier itself hanging in the atelier. Everybody comes to visit him here. At my first sitting, there were some twenty persons present.—F. M. B.'

It is now fair to turn to his experiences in his own field of production. Few travellers' wonders have been oftener or more rapturously described than the Easter music at Rome. During some half a century it lived in the imagination of untravelled persons, as the *ne plus ultra* of what is powerful, mysterious, and noble in sacred music. It is true that some of the marvel was taken away so long ago as in Mozart's time, when his stolen transcript of the 'Miserere' made it evident that that service rested for its effect on the scenery of the rite, and the traditional manner in which the penitential chant was executed, not on any intrinsic grandeur of the composition. Still, however, the Passion-week performances have been repeatedly described by Catholic and Protestant writers, in language, however resonant, conveying little clear idea to the artistic sense. Nothing has been printed on the subject comparable to the following letters, in which the union of precise description and picturesque emotion is most happily effected.

'Rome, April 4th.

'The Holy Week has drawn to a close, my passport for Naples is made out, my rooms begin to look empty, and my winter in Rome to belong to things of remembrance and the past. I am to start in a few days, so, God willing, my next letter to you will be from Naples. However bright and exciting the winter itself may have been, it has just closed in a week the recollection of which can never be effaced ; what I have seen and heard far exceeded, my expectations, and, as it was the finale, I will try in this my last Roman letter to give you some account of it. People have praised these ceremonies of the Passion Week ; some have blamed them ; but they have always omitted to say of them that which is their great distinction,—they are a wonderful *whole*. It is of this alone that I wish to speak to you. He must be a miserable creature upon whom the united worship, and the awe of a great multitude of his fellow-men, does not make an impression of reverence and of prayer, were that worship to be offered to the very golden calf itself : and only he

who has something better to put in its place, should attempt to negative or overthrow it. Do not, therefore, expect from me a precise critique upon the singing, whether pure or false in its intonation, whether flat or not; upon the compositions, whether fine or the contrary. I prefer trying to tell you what effect the whole had upon me, how everything contributed to it; and the technical parts of the business, to which I naturally paid great attention, I will write of fully to Zelter. On Palm Sunday the first ceremony took place. . . . The cardinals, two and two, led the procession; the wide-winged doors of the chapel were opened and they swept slowly through. The music, which seemed to encircle one always like an element, became fainter and fainter, the singers passed, and at last only the refrain of the chant came floating from a distance; all at once the choir in the chapel burst out very loud, and faint and far it was answered by the retreating voices. This went on for some time, till the procession reappeared, and the two choirs united. They might have sung anything or anything they liked for me, the general effect was so perfect. After the procession the Gospels were given in a strange key, and then the Mass, where I waited for my crowning moment of delight, namely, at the "Credo." The officiating priest, standing before the altar, intoned after a short pause, and in his hoarse, quavering, old voice, the great Credo of Sebastian Bach. No sooner had he said "Credo in unum Deum," than the ecclesiastics rose, the cardinals leaving their chairs stood in a circle in the centre of the chapel, and took up, *fortissimo*, the next words, "Patrem omnipotentem." When I heard these, the first notes of my well-known and well-beloved "Credo," and the monks beside me began to sing out fervently and with one voice, I trembled from head to foot; and it is still the moment to which I best like to look back. After the ceremony, Santini gave me his olive branch, with which I walked about all day. The "Stabat Mater," which follows the "Credo," gave me less emotion than anything; they took it flat and sang it unsteadily, curtailing it also: at the Academia it is immeasurably better sung. . . . "The Psalms" were chanted in alternate verses, but always in single sets of voices (basses or tenors); and one listens for an hour and a half to the most monotonous of all music, till the "Psalms" are interrupted by the "Lamentations," where, for the first time, one gets a full harmony. The harmonised part is taken very softly and sung *pianissimo* to the end. The "Psalms," on the other hand, are to be belloved as loudly as possible, and the words said with the utmost rapidity on the same note. 'Tis no wonder that at the first sweet note of the 'Lamentation' in G major, one's heart melts within one. Then the monotony begins again. At each verse of a psalm a candle is put out. When only the six tall tapers over the entrance remain burning, the whole choir, with alti, soprani, &c., intone loudly and in unison, and to another chant, the 'Song of Zacharias' in D flat, singing it through slowly and solemnly in the ever gathering darkness. The last candle is extinguished, the pope, leaving his throne, falls on his knees before the altar, the whole multitude does likewise, for the repetition of the so-called

"Pater noster sub silentio;" that is to say, there is a pause, during which you know that every Catholic prays silently the Lord's Prayer. Immediately after the "Miserere" begins, *pian, pianissimo*. What follows you may imagine, but this opening you never can conceive. I refer you, dear Fanny, to my letter to Zelter.'

In his letter to Zelter, Mendelssohn says:—

'The "Miserere" they sang on the first day was by Baini; a composition which, like all he has written, had not a trace of power or life in it; at the same time, however, it was *music*, and had chords which were effective enough. The second day they gave some pieces of Allegri's and some of Bai's. On Good Friday the whole score was Bai's. It is, however, much the same which they sing, as there are "embellimenti" made upon one and all, a set for each chord, and so the composition itself has not any great prominence. How the "embellimenti" got there no one depones to; it is said they are traditional, a fact which I do not, however, believe; for musical tradition is a doubtful affair at the best, and I do not understand how a complete passage for five voices should have been propagated by oral tradition alone. I should say that they had been openly added at some later date by a director possessing, as I fancy, a fine high voice, which he was glad to have the opportunity of producing in the Passion Week, and in order to show it off he wrote these ornamental additions to the simple chords. Old, they certainly are not, but adapted with taste and cleverness, and they work very well in their place; one in particular, which often recurs, and which is very effective, always when it begins causes a slight sensation among the crowd: and when one hears people mention the peculiar rendering, and say how the voices, which seem not like human tones, but like those of angels in the height, make a sound of which one will never hear the like again, one may always be sure that this is the passage referred to. Of the "peculiar rendering" I have nothing to say; and what I once read of there being an appropriate acoustic arrangement for sending on the sound, is a pure fable, quite as much so as the idea that the choir sing entirely from tradition, one following the other, and without measured time. I was very well able to see the shadow of Baini's long arm going up and down, and to hear him strike his desk very audibly at times. There is no lack of vapouring on the subject, and mystery making, too, on the part of both singers and audience. They will tell you, for example, that they never arrange beforehand which *Miserere* they are to give, but decide when the moment arrives. The pitch depends chiefly on the purity of the voices. . . . The principal soprano, Mariano, had arrived in Rome from the hill country expressly to take a part on this occasion; and I have to thank his presence for having heard the "embellimenti" with all the high notes. However much the singers exert themselves at this time, the neglect and the bad tricks acquired during the rest of the year have their revenge now, for they sometimes sing most frightfully out of tune. I must tell you that on Thursday, when the "Miserere"

began, I mounted a ladder which was leaning against the wall, and crept far up into the roof of the chapel, so that I had the music, the priests, and the vast crowd of listeners beneath me in the darkness. And now what next? You must have had "Miserere" enough in this sheet and a half, and I can give you further particulars in writing, and by word of mouth, when I return.' . . .

The next letters relating to Italian music which we shall offer, are written from the Medina of musical pilgrims, — counting Rome as their Mecca. The tribute to Sontag, one of the greatest singers of any time (who has not yet gathered all the renown due to her), is precious. So, too, is the respectful mention of England, a country which the writer had already learned, even in one visit, to appreciate.

'Naples.

'The only acquaintances I am likely to make here (Naples) are musical ones; in order not to omit anything they will be, for example, Fodor, Donizetti, Coccia and others. Mademoiselle Fodor does not sing in public . . . She has been very kind and friendly to me, and her singing gives me the greatest pleasure; she has an almost incredible facility, and her *fioriture* are made in such perfect good taste, that one traces how much Sontag learnt from her; particularly in the use of the *mezza voce*, which, as Fodor's organ is not in its first strength and freshness, she very judiciously employs, and produces it with very good effect. As she does not sing on the stage I am doubly lucky in having thus made her acquaintance. The theatre here is closed, and it will be so for some weeks, as the blood of St. Januarius is to be liquefied some day soon; but judging from what I hear of it, it can hardly be worth a visit, and the orchestra, like the Roman one, is said to be poorer than any in Germany; they have not got a prima donna that is endurable, and only Tamburini's fresh bass voice to put any life into the concern. To hear an Italian opera properly given one must now go to Paris or London. I pray God that German music may never come to such a pass. I cannot agree to the proposition that the Italians alone possess the art of singing; for as far as I may judge by the exhibition of both male and female singers in this country, I should say that Sontag surpassed them in their art; it is true, she says that she learnt what she knows from Fodor, but then could not a German learn in her turn from Sontag? Malibran too was a Spaniard! No, the glory of being "the land of music" cannot now be maintained by Italy; indeed she has lost it, though whether in people's minds she may be said to have done so or not, cannot be determined. Quite lately, I was in the company of several musical people, and the subject under discussion was a new opera by Coccia, a Neapolitan. I asked if it was good or not, the reply was "O it probably is, for Coccia has been a long time in England; he studied there, and some of his things have taken well in that country." I thought the answer a remarkable one—just so in England, they would speak of having been in Italy.—F. M. B.'

There are still two more letters from Italy, for which room must be found, each referring to musical celebrities. The lady mentioned in the first of them was one of the Austrians who flourished in the time of Beethoven's happiness at Vienna, before his rugged temper and his strange habits of life had estranged him from being beloved and from loving. The portrait is delightful in its characteristic humour.

'Milan, July 14th, 1831.

'My evenings are spent in society; and this, to tell the truth, in consequence of a prank of mine, which turned out very well for me. I think I might take out a patent for these absurdities, as I certainly have invented a plan for making the pleasantest acquaintance without the help of letters, introduction, or any such thing. I asked accidentally when I arrived here, the name of the commandant of the town, and, among several other generals, General Ertmann was named to me. I immediately recollected Beethoven's "Sonata in A major," and its dedication; and as I had always heard the most charming accounts of the lady, and the highest praise of her friendly gentleness, of her beautiful playing, and of how she used to spoil Beethoven, I dressed myself next day, about the hour for morning calls, in a black surtout; had the way to the palace pointed out to me, and started off in the best of spirits, composing, as I went, an elegant and appropriate speech, in which to address the general's gifted wife. I cannot deny that when I heard that the general lived on the first floor, and found that I had already reached a fine, large, vaulted anteroom, I began to feel some timidity, and to entertain thoughts of retreating; but it occurred to me, that it was really very provincial to be made nervous by a vaulted anteroom, so I went boldly up to a guard of soldiers stationed there, and asked an old gentleman in a short nankeen jacket, whether General Ertmann lived here, and whether I could be announced to his lady? As bad luck would have it, the man's reply was, "I am General Ertmann, and at your service." This was very unpleasant, and I was obliged to produce my speech on the spot. My listener, however, seemed little edified by it, and craved to know whom he had the honour of addressing. This was still more awkward. But, fortunately, he recognised my name, was very polite, said his wife was not at home, but that if I had leisure to call at or after two o'clock, I should not fail to see her. I was only thankful that it had turned out as it did, bolted across to the Brera to stare at the "Sposazio" of Raffaele, and at two o'clock, in due form, made the acquaintance of "Dorothea von Ertmann." She received me in the most friendly way, was very pleasant, and before much longer played Beethoven's sonata in "Cis-mol," and then the one in D. flat, for me. The old gentleman, in his smart, grey, commandant's uniform covered with orders, was perfectly enchanted, and nearly cried with pleasure at hearing his wife's beautiful music. There was no one in Milan, he said, who cared to listen to her. She mentioned the trio in B major, and said she could not recollect it. I sat down and played it for her, singing the voice part,

which pleased the old couple very much, and thus our acquaintance was cemented. Since then they have treated me with so much kindness that I am really ashamed of it. The old general shows me the lions of Milan. In the afternoons they call for me in their carriage to drive me in the Corso; in the evenings we play till one o'clock. Yesterday they took me a walk in the environs. I dine there, meet company in the evenings, and have found them as pleasant and well informed people as one can imagine anywhere. Moreover, they are as much in love with one another as if they were a newly married couple, whereas they have lived together for the last thirty-three years. He talked yesterday of his profession, of being a soldier, of personal courage, and so on, expressing himself with a precision and a liberality of views such as I never remember to have heard from any one except from my father. He has been an officer for forty-six years. But you should see him galloping alongside of his wife's carriage in the Park: his bearing is gaiety and nobility itself. She plays Beethoven's music extremely well, though she has not practised for many years. She sometimes exaggerates the expression, as in *ritardando* too much, and then again hurrying too much; but a single passage she sometimes plays magnificently, and I think I have learnt something from her. Sometimes when she cannot get any more expression out of the notes, she begins to sing in a voice which is much moved, and at these times she often reminds me of you, dear Fanny; though yours is of course far superior to hers. All the time the general keeps producing the most wonderful anecdotes about Beethoven; as, for example, how one night, when she was playing to him, he took up the snuffers and picked his teeth with them. She told me that when their youngest child died, Beethoven would not come near the house for a long time afterwards: at last he invited her to his; when she arrived she found him at the piano. "Now we are going to talk to each other by these notes," was all he remarked; and so he played away for an hour. She said, "but he told me everything, and gave me comfort at last." She played the violin sonata dedicated to Kreutzer, yesterday, and when her accompanist, an officer in the Austrian dragoons, made a long flourish at the beginning of the *adagio*, à la Paganini, the old gentleman made such a horribly ridiculous grimace, that I could hardly keep from laughing. . .

The next fragment is not less interesting.

'Isola Bella.

'I made another acquaintance in Milan, namely Herr Mozart, and a thorough musician. He must be very like his father in his manner, for such things as touch one from their naïve simplicity in Mozart's letters one hears constantly from his son's lips, and one takes him to one's heart very speedily. I think it is pretty of him to be as jealous of his father's fame as if he were some young rising musician. One evening at Ertmann's, when a great deal of Beethoven was being played, the Baroness whispered to me to play something of Mozart's, otherwise, she said, her guest was sure to be neither as pleased or pleasing as usual. It was only after I had played the

overture to Don Giovanni that he began to thaw, and asked me to play something out of his father's Zauberflöte; his pleasure in hearing it was most childlike, and he wins one's best regards. He gave me a letter of introduction to a friend on the Lake of Como, where I had a glimpse of Italian provincial life, and really amused myself very well for two days with the doctor, the apothecary, the judge and other people of the place. There were several lively discussions about Sand, whom some of them greatly admired. They talked also of Shakespeare's plays, which are being translated into Italian: the doctor gave as his opinion that the tragedies were good: but that there were some pieces full of witches and spirits that were really too stupid and childish. One, in particular, "The Midsummer Night's Dream;" the old, stale plot of representing upon the stage the rehearsal of a play occurs in the piece, which was a mass of anachronisms and babyish fancies. They all agreed that it was very silly, and that I should not care to read it! I held my peace, and did not defend myself!—F.M.B.'

The incomparable overture to the 'Midsummer Night's Dream' had been written by Mendelssohn five years before. The 'Wedding March' was a later production.

To these noble and attractive Italian letters, succeed many from Switzerland, in which the scenery of William Tell's country is touched with a master's hand. If Italy was the country of Mendelssohn's loving memories, and Germany of his intense home love stronger than death, Switzerland was the land of his yearning. He had almost a mountaineer's passion for Alpine scenery, and could paint it well.

'Boltingen, August.

'There is a terrific thunderstorm raging at this moment and rain pouring in torrents; it is certainly among the mountains that one learns what thunder really means. I travelled no farther than this to-day, for it would have been a pity to traverse the beautiful Simmenthal under the cover of one's umbrella, and not to see beyond it. . . . (Wemis.) Worse than ever to-day! My plan of going to Interlachen has to be abandoned, as reaching it is out of the question! For the last four hours it has rained as if the clouds were being wrung out. The roads are as soft as featherbeds; of the hills only a few peaks are visible, and even these are not always to be described; I might fancy myself in the Mark Brandenburg and that the Simmenthal was a dead flat. I had to button my sketchbook under my waistcoat to-day, for one's umbrella ceased at last to be any protection, and so I reached this place about one o'clock; having breakfasted in a place like this.'

To this letter is affixed a little sketch, which, if it may be taken as a specimen of Felix's skill as a draughtsman, shows that he had no reason to be dissatisfied with his artistic efforts. It is a simple outline, but careful and delicate, and so 'naturalistic'

that one cannot doubt for a moment but that it is precisely what he saw; a Swiss village of wooden houses with shingles on the roof, backed by some trees, and by two Alpine peaks which look dark and near in the rainy atmosphere. In the foreground is a bridge, below the single arch of which a little stream runs and leaps. In the same letter Mendelssohn gives another small sketch; a village street, with a background of Alps whose rugged tops and declivities are capitally drawn.

'There! I drew this on the spot for you! so do not say anything against this genial weather! I had a bad night of it at Boltingen. It was the time of the fair, so there was no room in the inn, and I went to an adjoining house, where there was vermin enough to remind me of Italy, a clock with a hoarse cracked voice; and a child that cried all night. I listened to the child with the greatest attention: it yelled in all known and unknown keys: and produced a great variety of effects. First, it was angry, then frenzied, then plaintive, and finally when it could cry no longer, it emitted a series of low grunts. Let those who will wish themselves back in childhood, because, forsooth, children are happy. I, for one, am convinced that the little screaming mortal of last night was as miserable as any of us could be; and that childhood knows its passions, sleepless nights, &c.

'The glacier of the Rhone is the finest I know, and as we passed it in the early morning the sun shone brightly on it. Over it one could see here and there rocky peaks, vast fields of snow, a waterfall spanned by a bridge, or great masses of rugged fallen stones. One has no lack of thoughts about such a place; and, in short, however small in Switzerland be the space to which one's sight is confined, there is always more to be seen there than in other countries. I draw diligently, and think I am making progress in the art. I even attempted a sketch of the Jungfrau. It is always something to remind me of the spot, and one can think afterwards these strokes were made there.'

'Engelberg, Aug. 23rd.

'My heart is so full; I must tell you all about it. It is that in this loveliest of valleys I have set to work on Schiller's "Wilhelm Tell." I have just risen from reading some of the first scenes. There is no art like German art. God knows how or why it is, but I do not think that any other nation would or could appreciate such an opening. I call this a poem, and a commencement. First those bright verses, through which the mirror-like lake seems to shine; then the homely, unimportant chat of the Swiss; then Baumgarten's appearance among them. It is perfectly beautiful. There is nothing in it but what is fresh, powerful, and that carries you along with it. As yet there has been nothing done in music that is so good; and yet some day there ought to be some such perfect work accomplished there too. It is four years since I read it last; and now I must rush off to the convent and give vent to my feelings on the organ for a little.—(In the afternoon.) Do not be astonished at me, but

read over the first act and you will understand it. Such parts as those where the hunters and the herds call to each other, "Save him, save him!" Or that at the end of the Grutli scene, where the sun is supposed to rise, could only have been written by a German—indeed, only by Schiller; and the play is full of such passages. Over and above the beauty of the thoughts, they are so perfectly Swiss. Then there is that beginning of the scene on the Grutli. I composed this morning the symphony which ought to be played at the end of it; mostly, it is true, in my thoughts only, for I could not get it out well on that little organ. A number of plans and ideas have suggested themselves to me. I see that there is a monstrous deal of work to be done in the world, and I for one must be diligent. That expression of Goethe's about Schiller, that "he might have given yearly two tragedies to the world," always impressed me with the greatest veneration for him. I have had a very happy morning owing to his "Wilhelm Tell," and it has put me into that frame of mind when one wishes to have him back again, in order to thank him for what he has written. One wishes also to do like him, and that people may some day have the same feeling towards myself.'

Fully was this wish granted to Felix!—not so the one which concludes the next paragraph, on his farewell to Switzerland.

'It will be difficult to leave this country, for it is beyond all conception beautiful, although the weather has again become atrocious. The greenness of everything is marvellous, and refreshes not only the eye, but rests the whole man. Dearest mother! I will not neglect your loving directions, but you really need not disturb yourself about me; I am not careless of my health, and have not felt so well for long as I have done during this walking tour in Switzerland. If eating, drinking, walking, sleeping, and thinking music ought to make a man sound, I ought to be so; and God be praised for it. If He will we shall all have a happy meeting ere long; the time till then will pass quickly, for everything here except the Highest, passes away: let us only remain true to each other and closely loving. With me, just now, it is the old story: it is when I am most well and happy that I most deeply miss you, most long to be beside you; but who knows but that in after years we may not all be in this place together, and think *then* of *now*, as we now look back to then; no one can say: so I will not reflect any more, but go and write out my song, look once again on the hills, wish you all health and happiness as long as you live, and send off this journal.'

It was in these beautiful valleys round Interlachen that Mendelssohn, in 1847, retired for his last enjoyment of Nature's healing and holy influences, when the joyous spirit was crushed, and the happy family circle broken by the death of the loved and gifted sister to whom so many of these letters were addressed.

To France, in the days of apprenticeship to which this book refers, Mendelssohn had



small tie beyond that of curiosity. He was excited by Paris society; he delighted to bury himself among the treasures of the Louvre; he ventured to be impertinent to 'grim Cherubini' (his own epithet), a censor in his own way as savage and autocratic as Johnson; he relished Baillot's quartett; he admired Habeneck's minute care over rehearsal. But it is evident that Mendelssohn was always on the defensive in Paris. The fancy of 'discovery' in music prevalent there among connoisseurs, who find out a great man after the world has begun to weary of him; the humour which made them late in appreciating Mozart, later in adoring Beethoven; which makes them, at the time being, adopt only a few instrumental works by Mendelssohn (none of his serious vocal compositions), did not suit a youth so prescient, so deep-hearted, so unwilling to endure injustice, so fortunate, till then, in every other country.

That England was the land of his esteem and regard, the last extracts which can be given from this captivating book will sufficiently show. In Paris, the letter-writer could be ironical; in London, he was affectionate. In truth, his cordial and loving nature, however fed by German companionship, took deep root among our best and wisest, and most gifted persons from the first. He made himself many homes here; not in musical circles alone, but in those where the man himself is prized, as distinct from 'the lion' inanely run after. We have noble and burgher, and literary and artistic, and mercantile households, in which neither hearts nor hearths are yet cold, to whose members the name of Mendelssohn is the name of one who gladdened every hour that he gave to them, and every kindness of which he partook from them. The following tells its own story.

'London, April 27th, 1832.

'I wish I could describe to you how happy I am here, how everything is dear to me, and how much the cordiality of old friends pleases me. I have a number of people to look up whom I have not yet managed to see; while with Klügemann, Rosen, and Moscheles, I feel as if we had never been separated from them, they are the centres of my present life in this place. We meet every day: for it is a pleasure too great for me to describe to feel myself again among sensible, earnest, good people, who are my true friends, and in conversation with whom I have not to be in terror of every word I may let drop. Moscheles and his wife show me a kindness which is quite touching, and which is always dearer to me the more I feel of it; that and the feeling of returning health, as if I had come back fresh to the world, all unite to make me happy.\* . . . One morning of last

\* Mendelssohn had had an attack of the cholera during the last weeks of his stay in Paris.

week I must describe to you: it was the most flattering reception I have ever yet met with; it is the one which touched me most, and to which I shall perhaps most fondly look back. On Saturday morning I was at the rehearsal of the Philharmonic; at which, however, nothing of mine was to be given. I was in one of the boxes; and as I left it to go to speak to some old friends in the hall, I had hardly sat down by them when some one of the orchestra cried, "There is Mendelssohn!" and they all began immediately to cheer and clap their hands, so that I did not know where to look. When it had subsided, another called out, "Success to him!" and then they began again with the same deafening uproar, so that I had to cross the hall, clamber up into the orchestra, and express my thanks. There! I shall not forget that. It was more pleasant to me than any other demonstration. That the musicians should love me, and be glad to see me come among them, is the greatest gratification I can have.'

In the midst of these ovations he received the melancholy intelligence of the death of his old friend and master, Zelter. Although only twenty-two years old at this time, Mendelssohn might probably have succeeded him as Director of the Musical Academy at Berlin. The following letter to his father shows with what collected judgment and dignity he pursued his professional career.

'London, June 1.

'On the day on which I received the news of Zelter's death, I thought I should have been taken very ill. I was a week before I could recover it. But my many occupations have driven me out of my own thoughts, and brought me to myself again. I am well, and doing a great deal. Above all, my dear father, I must thank you for your letter. It has already been in a great measure answered by mine; but I repeat again why it would not be suitable for me to apply for the office of Director of the Academy. In the first place, I am quite of your mind that at the opening of my career it would not be a desirable place for me; and I would only accept of it under certain conditions, and as holding by my former promise. In the second place, the reason which they gave to you, seems to me not a sufficiently straightforward or truthful one. They say, they wish to be sure of my accepting it, and therefore allow me to place myself among the candidates. But three years ago when they offered it to me, Lichtenstein told me it only was done to find out if I would take it, and that I might make my mind clearly known. Then I said, yes. I wished to carry it on along with Rungenhagen. I do not know that I should think the same now, but as I have said so, I cannot change, and must remain by it. It is not needful for me to repeat this, . . . they do not require any confirmation of my promise. My letter can make no difference in this respect, and if they mean to bestow the place on another, will not prevent their doing so.

'I must further remind you of a letter I wrote to you from Paris, in which I said I must return to Berlin, as that was the only German town



I did not know : this is my serious intention. I do not know if I can settle there, or if I could remain there ; that is, if I should find the same opening there for work and occupation as I have found in other towns. I know only one house in Berlin : that is our own ; and that I should be happy *there* I know and feel. But I must have occupation also, and be doing ; and only on my return can I discover how this is to be. I hope it will turn out as I wish, for that place will be the dearest to me where *you* live ; but before being sure of all these things, I do not wish to bind myself by any official situation. I must stop, for I am overwhelmed with business, and start on my journey as soon as the next Philharmonic is over. . . . I am just going to direct a concert of Moscheles, and to play that concerto of Mozart's for which I added (for your benefit and mine) those two long Cadences.—FELIX.

Having said thus much of this admirable and successful man as a contributor to literature, something remains to be said concerning the artist in his own more particular sphere. The place of Mendelssohn among musicians was in every respect singular. He asserted it from the outset among the great Germans, with a decision which set at variance every theory of development in art as implying revolution. The world had become weary of dilutions of Mozart, — had surrendered itself to the witcheries of Weber, or was yielding itself, more slowly but not less surely, to the overpowering grandeur and vivid originality of Beethoven ; already far on its way to accept, with undistinguishing faith, his later exaggerations, audacities, crudities, as so many evidences of genius, to question which implied deficient understanding. Yet there was no set purpose in the boy who broke into enduring fame with his 'Midsummer Night's Dream' overture, which Mendelssohn composed at the age of sixteen. He had no mission (as the jargon runs), no party, nor partisanship ; — simply that necessity of pouring out his own conceptions in his own speech, which marks the distance betwixt talent and genius. But his speech was wonderfully mature for one so young. If he did not command a well-spring of melody as deep as that born to the Mozarts and Rossinis, and won in conquest by Beethoven, — from the first he showed a buoyancy of fancy, in conjunction with an extent of scientific acquirement, which has no parallel in our later times ; times when so many combinations have been exhausted, so many effects forced into extravagance, so many counterfeits palmed off as real treasures. There was sedateness as well as fantasy in Mendelssohn's very first essays. Though nothing more Shakespearian can be conceived in music than his

faëry overture, with 'Cobweb, Pease Blossom, Moth, and Mustard-seed,' and the bray of the 'translated' Bottom ; though no wilder picture of beetling promontory, and restless, rocking waves, can be conveyed in sound, than in his overture 'The Isles of Fingal,' the strictness of musical structure in both these romantic pieces is as noteworthy as their colour. The boy who had nurtured himself on the music of Bach (strong meat for a boy so vivacious had he not been also so vigorous), is no less clearly to be discerned in these musical poems, than the boy who had dreamed in the Athenian wood, and who, among the other pilgrimages of his artistic apprenticeship, had touched, as a shrine, 'the wind-swept Orcaes.' There was thus something of retrogression, as well as of advance, in his music ; contradicting the theories of the new school of destructives, whose strange proceedings have for a while threatened to make such havoc in his world of art.

The excellent and modest spirit of self-correction which Mendelssohn brought to every task entered on, is attested by the increased freedom and courage of his works as he grew in years. A thematic catalogue, carefully prepared by himself, announces the existence of a mass of music unpublished because being thought by him inferior, or else laid aside for reconsideration. The 'Walpurgis Night,' begun in Italy, was kept by him for years, and underwent large alterations. The 'Reformation Symphony,' an orchestral work on a large scale, was never given to the world for like reasons. He was resolute in trying and trying again when he failed to satisfy himself. One of the projects which he could not bring to pass was a concert-Sonata for violin and pianoforte—of such a composition he must have left at least a dozen beginnings. But 'Elijah' is the most remarkable monument of his determination to do his utmost in whatever he set himself to do. Those who were present at the production of that Oratorio in the Town Hall at Birmingham, will never forget the scene as one of the most brilliant triumphs recorded in music. Though the singers, with the exception of Herr Staudigl, were unequal to the duties allotted to them, and though the time had not admitted of such ripe and deliberate preparation as is essential to the complete execution of a new work of importance, the march of success was uninterrupted from the first note to the last. Ovation followed ovation ;—*encore* succeeded *encore*. The story of that morning matches the tale of Mozart's 'Figaro,' performed twice by the same company on the same day. If ever success was unquestioned, that of 'Elijah'

was so. But whereas a meaner man would have been intoxicated with the praise and the plaudits, into a willingness to conceive that he had done a really great thing, and have complacently sat down to enjoy his fame,—in the very hour of immediate triumph Mendelssohn was strong and modest enough to detect in the new work weak places which he could strengthen, to conceive effects which he had overlooked,—he altered several portions, took away some, and exchanged others. The unaccompanied trio for female voices was one of these after-thoughts. Thus, probably aware that the flow of melody in his vocal pieces was somewhat restrained and liable to the charge of monotony, it was excellent to observe how, year by year, he became at once more sedulous and simple in selecting the phrases on which he wrought, how without ceasing he was looking round him to increase and vary his resources. The same cause led him to postpone his design of writing a great work for the stage. In early life he had promised an opera to the Theatre at Munich; he contemplated an adaptation of the 'Tempest' of Shakspeare, a theme apparently well suited to his genius: he consulted his friend Immermann, whom he thought capable of constructing the literary part of the piece. But he was still in a course of experiment and scrutiny as to his power of gaining success in this, the only field of musical composition that he had never conquered, when his strength gave way under the strain of a life in which respite and repose had been made almost impossible by the universal popularity which had attached itself to him. With these latter years, or, to be more correct, with the few last months of pain, distress, and sudden exhaustion, we have happily not to deal. The letters here collected break off in the early noon of enjoyment and success. They have taken us back thirty years to that delightful hour of existence when the light of youthful genius and the glory of the world reflect each other; and we trust these letters may afford to some of our readers the same exquisite pleasure we have ourselves derived from them. More volumes are to come, we hope; being assured that none to come can tarnish the reputation which belongs to Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy, as a complete, successful, and thoroughly happy man and artist, who died in early manhood, but in the meridian of his fame.

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ART. VI.—1. *An Abstract of the Returns made to the Lords of the Committee of Privy Council for Trade of Wrecks and*

*Casualties which occurred on and near the Coasts of the United Kingdom from the 1st January to the 31st December, 1859, and from the 1st January to the 31st December, 1860; with a Statement of the Number of Lives lost and saved, &c., and a Wreck Chart of the United Kingdom.*

2. *The Life-boat, or Journal of the National Life-Boat Institution, 1852 to 1860.*
3. *Report of the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the Condition and Management of Lights, Buoys, and Beacons: with Appendix. 1861.*
4. *Lighthouse Management. The Report of the Royal Commissioners on Lights, Buoys, and Beacons, 1861, examined and refuted. By AN ENGLISHMAN. 2nd edit. London: 1861.*

It is only when some signal calamity attended with the loss of many lives, or invested with more than the usual horrors of agonising suspense and protracted suffering, is brought under the notice of the public in the journals of the day, that a shipwreck secures general attention. Even then, it is regarded as an exceptional catastrophe, arising from some special cause of misfortune, or some individual act of carelessness and bad seamanship, which may not easily or speedily occur again. A sudden tempest and a tremendous gale of wind, or a marked defect in the ship's construction which doubtless will be avoided in the building of others, are some of the causes to which the lamentable wreck is attributed; and then the general and apathetic conclusion follows that a considerable space of time may elapse before a like melancholy event will happen, and that vessels will sail out and return home on their ordinary voyages, escaping by good fortune those perils which are naturally incident to the sea, and by good management all those which can be avoided.

It seldom occurs to any one who has not investigated this subject that shipwrecks are calamities of frequent, and, we might almost say, regular occurrence, and that when faithfully reported and publicly recorded, they are found to be capable of tabular arrangement and statistical representation. Nor is it at all generally known that this is now really and regularly effected by one of the departments of the public service. A Wreck Register had been kept for some few years, but not with sufficient attention and accuracy, so that when a sudden increase of wrecks took place in the year 1855, this Register was transferred to the Board of Trade and officers of the Customs and Coast Guard; and Receivers of Wreck acting under that Board were empowered by Act of Parlia-

ment to examine on oath the masters and crews of ships and other persons qualified to give information respecting wrecks. These officers were also authorised to reward, according to their judgment, any persons bringing the earliest information of marine disasters; while from the nature of their employment, together with the powers with which they are invested, they possess the fairest opportunities of becoming acquainted with the causes and attendant circumstances of every calamity and casualty, which they immediately report to the Board of Trade. This department, by its statutory powers and the ample means at its disposal, succeeds in obtaining more ample reports and more accurate information as to wrecks and especially as to collisions of ships,—which of course happen at sea beyond the immediate cognisance of the Coast Guard,—than the Admiralty was able to obtain under the previously existing system. We have now, therefore, good authority for our statistical facts, particularly in the abstract of the Returns of the last two years. The abstract for the year 1860, the latest yet issued, includes a Wreck Chart of the British Isles for the ten years from 1850 to 1860 inclusive, showing every casualty (exclusive of collisions) at sea, which was attended with loss of life, even distinguishing in each case the number of the lives lost, and the direction of the wind at the time. To this is added the usual annual Wreck Chart of the British Isles for 1860, and also a Wreck Chart of Collisions attended with loss of life, occurring on or near the British Isles from the years 1850 to 1860 inclusive.

Although these returns are restricted to the seas and coasts around our isles, yet it must not be thought that they embrace an inconsiderable portion of the disasters and losses of the whole world of waters; for, in point of fact, according to the returns of Lloyds' agents, the losses upon our seas and coasts, which attract so large a share of the world's commerce, are fully proportionate to the amount of navigation; and although we have no means of forming an exact estimate of the actual proportion, we should probably not be very wide of the truth, if we assume that the disasters upon our own coasts constitute about a third of all those returned at Lloyds'. Danger always increases with narrow channels and increased navigation. The open sea is safe. Hence the experience of the last eleven years shows that the most serious wrecks, and those followed by the largest loss of life, happen in those of our own seas and channels which are most frequented by large foreign-going ships; from which we may infer that we have in these

waters no inconsiderable part of the total wrecks of the world in any one year; and this presumption is confirmed by a table from which we learn that during the period from 1852 to 1860 inclusive, without comprehending the Channel Islands, 1,820,062 voyages were made by British ships, and 389,616 by foreign ships, that is, in all no less than 2,209,678 voyages were made in the last nine years from British ports. This very large total must obviously comprehend a principal portion of the voyages performed on all seas.

In such a number of voyages we should be prepared, from a consideration of the ordinary perils of marine travel, to expect no small amount of disasters; yet our expectations would fall short of the actual amount authentically reported, for in the nine years just past, from 1852 to 1860 inclusive, the casualties which happened to British ships were 8660 in number; to foreign ships, 1676; and consequently to both 10,336. That more than *ten thousand disasters* should have attended the voyages of the last nine years will, doubtless, appear to all readers a very remarkable and melancholy fact. It is a fact which not only has never before been brought under public notice, but also one which upon other than special authority would hardly be received as entitled to credit. Such, however, is the undeniable truth, which may be rendered still more striking by showing the rate per cent. of these calamities in relation to the number of the voyages accomplished. This rate is as 1 in 210 for British ships, as 1 in 232 for foreign ships, and as 1 in 213 upon the total.

Of the whole nine years alluded to, the year 1859 was signalised by the maximum of wrecks and casualties including collisions, the total number being 1416; but the year 1860 was not far behind its predecessor, as its black record bears the number 1379. Whether it be owing to the increasing vigilance of the reporters and the more vigorous use of ample means, or whether we may ascribe it to the actual increase of the calamities themselves, cannot be determined, but the fact is plain, that instead of diminishing as the years advance, there is a considerable annual increase in the number of wrecks and casualties from the year 1855 to 1860, as will be seen by the following figures:—

Wrecks and casualties reported in the year	1855	1,141
"	1856	1,158
"	1857	1,148
"	1858	1,170
"	1859	1,416
"	1860	1,379
Total in six years		7,409

The annual average upon these six years is 1233 wrecks and casualties including collisions. If we exclude the latter, and confine our attention to wrecks and strandings apart from collisions, we find that in 1860 there was an increase of 1·31 per cent. as contrasted with 1859; an increase of 24·4 per cent. as contrasted with 1858; and an increase of 24·8 per cent. as contrasted with 1857. On the subject of collisions we shall presently speak in particular.

The inquiry of highest interest connected with the number of these calamities is that which concerns the loss of human life. With reference to the two latest years reported upon, viz., 1859 and 1860, it is remarkable, that while 1860 was marked by an almost unprecedented succession of continuous bad weather, and therefore by a greater number of wrecks and casualties from other causes than collisions than were recorded in any of the preceding eight years, yet the actual loss of life was considerably less; the number of lives lost in 1860 by all causes being 536, and that in 1859 as high as 1645. But the great loss of life in 1859 was mainly attributable to the destruction of two or three fine passenger-ships. By two wrecks alone, namely, those of the 'Pomona' and the 'Royal Charter,' 870 lives were lost, whilst in 1860 the greatest number of lives lost in any one shipwreck, was 37, and the next highest number 31. It appears from the observations accompanying the Wreck Returns for 1860, that the entire number of lives lost by shipwreck during the last eleven years' was 6883. And by another return which includes the losses by collisions and by wrecks, we find that the total number of lives lost during the last nine years (from 1852 to 1860 inclusive) was 7201; the annual average of losses being 800. It is indeed a startling truth, and one worthy of emphasis, that *seven thousand two hundred lives have been lost by marine casualties in nine years.*

The whole of the wrecks and casualties for the last eleven years have been geographically arranged with reference to different districts of the coasts of the United Kingdom, and we are thus enabled to arrive at a correct estimate of the localities of greatest danger, and to modify the generally received opinion that the greatest number of lives are lost by shipwrecks on our North-east coast. The East or North-east coast having been thus misrepresented as pre-eminently fatal, it is curious to discover that the experience of the past eleven years proves that the greatest loss of life does not take place on its ill-famed sands, but, as previously

observed, in those seas and channels which are mostly frequented by large foreign-going ships. By analysing the geographical arrangement it is seen that by far the most fatal of all the districts is that extending from the Skerries (Anglesea) and Lambay Island to Fair Head and Mull of Cantire, where 1456 lives have been lost during the eleven years. Starting again from Lambay Island and the Skerries (Anglesea) and measuring a district which, taking a direction the reverse of the preceding, terminates at St. David's Head, we find that this is next in fatality, and shows a loss of 879 lives in the eleven years. These two combined districts then, extending from St. David's Head northward to the Mull of Cantire, lie before us as the coast range of extremest peril, and include the coast of North Wales and the dismally dangerous Irish Sea, where the symbols of fatality on the wreck-chart seem, like woes, to swarm together.

But although the East and North-east coasts have lost their bad pre-eminence, they still appear second in numerical order after the district already pointed out; for the district from Flamborough Head to the North Foreland is marked by the loss of 957 lives during the eleven years; and the range of coast northward from Flamborough Head to the Faroe Islands has been the scene of the loss of 523 lives within the same period. We then come to safer or at least less fatal waters, although the range of coast southward from the North Foreland to St. Catherine's Point is marked by the loss of 465 lives, and that from Start Point to the Land's End by 445 lives within the same eleven years. It is a mistake therefore to represent the Southern coast as generally safe; it is only so comparatively, and when the comparison is instituted with the extremest perils of other parts. Let it be distinctly remembered that these figures exclude the results of collisions, and only represent deaths otherwise occasioned. If also we take the year 1860 by itself, we observe that the same fatal character is attributable to the same districts as those already so distinguished during the eleven years; so that much the largest loss, that of 350 lives, took place on the coasts from the Skerries and Lambay to Fair Head and Mull of Cantire, and the next largest loss, that of 107 lives, occurred on the coast from Flamborough Head to the North Foreland. Other years, also, of the eleven present a somewhat similar numerical preponderance; and thus we are entitled to suppose that we are enabled decisively to indicate the places of greatest peril, and may therefore hope

that in those districts we shall in future employ the fittest precautionary means at our disposal.

Surely it is a gravely significant fact that one particular class of ships is the most subject to casualties, viz. the colliers, or ships carrying coals, coke, ores, and stone in bulk. Out of the 2795 casualties which happened in 1859 and 1860, considerably more than one half, and precisely 1504, befell ships of the collier class. It appears also with reference to the tonnage or size of the ships to which casualties most frequently happen upon our coasts, that such ships are commonly between 50 and 300 tons burthen, and this is generally the class employed in carrying coal, coke, ores and stone. These vessels are in too many instances not seaworthy; almost anything that can be called a ship is considered suitable for such a trade, and too frequently when the lumbering battered vessel should be broken up, it is sent out upon what not unexpectedly proves its last voyage. The geographical arrangement of the wrecks and casualties occasioning loss of life from and during the years 1851 to 1860, is in several respects highly instructive; and particularly as the column headed 'cargo' recalls how very frequently the unfortunate ships carried coals, and only less frequently, iron-stone and ores. Along the districts lying between the Faroe Islands and Spurn Head, the cargoes seem to be almost continually coals and ores, or else they are marked as 'unknown.' As we pass the North Foreland, the cargoes of coals become less numerous, the greater portion of the colliers having doubtless made for the river Thames and the metropolis. Only occasional cargoes of the mineral fuel are traced to the Land's End and beyond it; and it is manifest that the great fatality amongst colliers must be partly ascribed to the numerous ships of this class which sail between the northern coal ports and the Thames, as well as to the few that sail onward, and make for Mull of Galloway and beyond it. After this we notice more miscellaneous cargoes. If again, we look down the entries in the next column headed 'Nature of casualty and whether total loss or partial damage,' we are surprised at the constant recurrence of the word 'total,' which appears to predominate remarkably, and to lead to the conclusion, that when a collier, either with coals or in ballast, does meet with a casualty, the case is at once hopeless and the ship speedily founders or is stranded. The wrecks returned as 'partial' are conspicuously inferior in number to those which were total. Another table distinguishes the wrecks and casualties ac-

cording to the direction and force of the wind at the time, and brings out the result that the greater portion of the casualties take place with the force of the wind at and under eight, equivalent to 'fresh gale;' that is under conditions in which any ship properly manned and really seaworthy should be well able to keep the sea and save herself.

The subject of collisions demands particular attention, for they are fearfully on the increase. Dividing the sixty years of the current century into three equal periods, we learn upon the authority of a Return furnished to the Lords of the Judicial Committee of Privy Council in a case of appeal, that in the first twenty years of this century the number of collision cases heard in the Court of Admiralty was 112; in the second twenty years, 153; and in the last twenty years, ending 15th December, 1860, the number was 2216. But great as is this number of suits we have reason to believe it is much below the actual number of collisions, for, as we read the results of a table in the official Abstract of Returns published in 1861, the total reported collisions for only half the above period, extending from 1850 to 1860 inclusive, were as many as 2241. Furthermore, the Abstract of the Returns published in 1861 reveals to us upon official authority the striking fact, that from 1855 to the present time collisions have *trebled* the number reported in previous years. For the five years ended 1854, the annual average number of collisions reported was 91, while for the five years ended 1859 the annual average number reported was 298; the number in the one year 1859 alone being 349, and in the year 1860 it was 298. The Abstract of Returns has some brief prefatory observations, in which reference is made to these facts, and the increase in collisions is attributed to the vigilance and fuller means of the reporters of such casualties. 'The great increase is,' according to this authority, 'in all probability due to the increased number of *reports* rather than to any great increase in the number of *collisions*.' This may be the case; but even now only a small proportion of the casualties that occur are ever heard of in a court of law; and the total number of these accidents is extraordinarily great. Yet considerable efforts have been made by the Board of Trade, the Admiralty, and by the Courts of competent jurisdiction to remedy this frightful evil. The law now requires vessels to carry lights, and especially red and green lights on their port and starboard quarters respectively, so that the colour of the light seen indicates in the dark the course of the vessel. The law also compels all vessels

finding themselves in danger of collision to port their helms, though it is doubtful whether this inflexible rule does not tend to cause as many collisions as it prevents, by interfering with the discretion of the pilot. There are, no doubt, cases in which the proper and seamanlike course is to starboard the helm, though the law requires that it be ported, as there are cases in driving in which the rule of the road cannot be adhered to. But notwithstanding all these precautions, it cannot be denied that the increased number and rapidity of maritime communications, the multitude of steamers running with prodigious speed, and we must add, the recklessness of seafaring men, who know their losses are covered by the insurance, have increased the number of collisions to a lamentable and disgraceful extent.

Any return of wrecks and casualties must of necessity be a melancholy document, but this melancholy character is in part alleviated by a page in the returns of 1861, which specifies the sums of money paid out of the Mercantile Marine Fund towards saving life from shipwreck. It also distinguishes payments to crews of Life Boats, and rewards and gratuities to fishermen and others, as well as sums paid for the maintenance of mortar and rocket apparatus. By an alteration in the law made in 1854, salvage for life is paid in priority to all other claims for salvage, and the Board of Trade is empowered to grant remuneration out of the Mercantile Marine Fund to persons saving life, where such salvage is insufficient. It is likewise empowered to grant sums for establishing and maintaining life-boats, with the necessary crews and equipments, on the coasts of the United Kingdom. About 4000*l.* a-year is paid in these rewards and a list is published of the persons to whom they have been granted for gallant services in saving life from shipwreck during the year 1860. This record, which, with appropriate details, extends over several pages, is a noble memorial of gallant, though sometimes obscure, services rendered on many a wintry night and many a rocky shore in the hour of danger; even in its concise notices of the 'nature of services rendered,' stripped as they are of all but the brief sentences that record them, we discern the high impulse of sympathy leading to dauntless hardihood in the hour of a fellow-creature's mortal peril.

The first name is that of a foreigner, Mons. Dezert, who received a gold medal for rendering assistance at great personal risk, to the 'Harriett,' which in 1847 got aground in the Bay of Yoff, Senegal, where she was attacked by armed natives, who would certainly have destroyed crew and passengers

had not Mons. Dezert rescued them. Then follows the manly act of G. F. Brown, who in 1858 rescued one hundred and thirteen men, forty-four women, and twenty-eight children, together with the whole crew, from a burning ship, the 'Eastern City;' and this by means of boats when a high sea was running. Not a single loss occurred, and all the saved persons were landed at Table Bay. There is something quite inspiring in reading these records of ready help, or of ultimate rescue from prolonged suffering, and one or two of the instances might afford the groundwork for an interesting tale. What, for example, can be more romantic than these facts connected with a ship which seems to have been appropriately named, as if by anticipation, the 'Romance of the Sea'? She was wrecked in 1860, to the east of Port Mahada on the coast of Africa, and out of her crew of nine persons seven perished. The forlorn survivors came upon an Arab tent, where they got food and shelter for the night; but in the morning the Arabs robbed them of part of their clothes and then proceeded to plunder the wreck. The two unhappy men now wandered about for four days, subsisting on grass, roots, and rain water, when they fortunately fell in with Illah Wahid, who took them to his tent, and fed and clothed them. As their weakness and their bruises rendered it impossible for them to walk to Alexandria, he pledged his gun to hire a camel for them for six days in order that they might accomplish their object. The worthy Illah Wahid received 10*l.* from the British Government as a reward.

One of the most striking recent instances of service rendered was in the case of the British ship 'Connaught,' which during a voyage from St. John's, Newfoundland, to Boston, sprung a leak on October 7th, 1860. The leak increasing, the fires were extinguished and the vessel became unmanageable. A fire then broke out on board and spread rapidly. Signals of distress were hoisted and seen by the crew of the 'Minna Schiffer,' a North-American vessel with only seven hands on board. These bore bravely down to render aid to the 'Connaught,' the boats of which were launched with great difficulty, and about 200 of her passengers were placed aboard the American vessel. Night came on and the latter ship was run close to the 'Connaught,' and made fast to her by a hawser, when the remainder of her passengers and crew were safely transferred. No less a number than five hundred and ninety persons were thus delivered from the burning ship, and the 'Minna Schiffer,' it is said, put back to Boston and landed the rescued ones on the 10th of October.

There are other instances of personal bravery where smaller numbers of persons were endangered, but where the heroism displayed was none the less and sometimes even greater. The publication of these examples, though in so condensed a form, is highly interesting, and we believe that those who reside on dangerous coasts could add considerably to their number; indeed the journals of the day occasionally record individual instances of self-devotion, which, if collected and added to the list alluded to, would illustrate humanity in some of its most admirable aspects, and prove that an experience of the dangers of sea-going life nurtures the strongest fellow-feeling, the deepest sympathies, and the promptest execution of heroic impulses towards all who are in like manner exposed to the perils of the ocean.

The most extended display of this virtue is seen in the records of that valuable Society, the National Life-boat Institution. The Committee of this Institution have, since its establishment in the year 1824, granted honorary and pecuniary rewards to persons who have rescued lives from shipwreck; and it is very encouraging to glance down the list of the number of lives saved in each year, and to observe how that number increases from 124 in the first year, to 218 in the second, until it reached its maximum of 773 lives saved in the year 1852. The total number of lives saved from the year 1824 to the year 1860 inclusive, amounted to 11,856. There is every reason to believe that the prompt and liberal rewards which this Society has bestowed, has tended to foster that spirit of emulation in affording assistance which is now so conspicuous on occasions of shipwreck; and it is very much to the honour of the supporters and officers of this Institution that since its formation it has expended the sum of 50,370*l.* on life-boat establishments, and has voted 82 gold medals and 666 silver medals for distinguished services in saving life, besides pecuniary awards, amounting together to 14,016*l.* Scarcely any philanthropic society presents stronger claims than this one to general support, and all who will glance over its Annual Reports will be gratified by noting its success, and also some occasional circumstances of peculiar interest.\*

\* Even literary pastime has been made to contribute to the Institution's funds; and Lord Bury and his fellow-passengers, returning in the 'Asia' from the United States, presented 21*l.* as the profits of an amateur magazine which they had started to relieve the tedium of the voyage. While, at the other end of the social scale, the journeymen sawyers and boat-builders in the employ of Messrs. For-

In one of these Reports the Committee say, 'Great difficulty is at present experienced in manning her Majesty's ships with able seamen. Now in seven years 5220 valuable lives, or nearly 800 annually, mostly seamen, have perished from shipwreck upon our coast; and that very large number would unquestionably have been nearly doubled had not strenuous and brave exertions have been made to rescue shipwrecked persons.' By so much, then, would prevention be not only better, but far more economical, than cure. How urgent is the call for life-boats may be inferred from the fact that it is not an uncommon occurrence for a single gale to strew our coasts with wrecks. In the gale of 25th September, 1851, for instance, as many as 117 vessels were wrecked, and in the months of January and February, 1860, there were respectively 206 and 137 wrecks. At present the number of boats under the management of the Life-boat Institution is 120, nearly the whole of which are comparatively new; while 63 are under other management; in all, 183 life-boats are stationed on the coasts of the United Kingdom. For mortar and rocket apparatus there are 233 stations worked by the Coast Guard; and the expense of maintaining these is 2456*l.*, paid by the Board of Trade, which has also paid 2486*l.* during 1860, to the National Life-boat Institution; and thus, on the whole, the Board of Trade has expended in 1860, for all objects connected with saving and endeavouring to save human life, the sum of 5861*l.* As the fruit of this provision of auxiliaries, during the last six years (from 1855 to 1860), as many as 8205 lives have been saved on our coasts by assistance rendered from the shore. To take the last two years alone and separately: during 1860, the National Life-boat Institution has been instrumental in saving 210 lives from 34 shipwrecks, and its life-boats have gone off on 46 other occasions to vessels in apparent danger and which have shown signals of distress, but happily have ultimately avoided shipwreck and with their crews sailed out of peril. Moreover while attempting to save the lives of others not a single life has been lost amongst those who manned the life-boats. During the past year, 1861, the life-boats of the Institution have borne their part in rescuing the crews of 46 vessels, and have thus saved in all 275 persons, 78 of whom were rescued while a destructive gale blew on the 9th and 10th of February. Nineteen lives were saved by a life-boat, the cost of which was pre-

rest, of Limehouse, subscribed 30*l.* towards life-boats.



sented as a thank-offering from a lady whose life was saved from a watery grave. It is gratifying to find that in the past year as many as fourteen life-boats have been presented by philanthropic individuals to this Institution. Why should not many amongst the wealthy have the honour of providing life-boats to bear their names, and to carry aid to their fellow-men in the hour of alarm and despair? The total number of lives saved by all means in 1860, as gathered from the official returns of the Board of Trade, is as subjoined :

By life-boats . . . . .	326
By rocket and mortar apparatus . . . . .	408
By ship's own boats, shore boats, steamers, &c. . . . .	2,949
By exertions of individuals . . . . .	14
<b>Total . . . . .</b>	<b>3,697</b>

The lives saved by the use of life-boats have in all cases been rescued in circumstances of extreme peril, and where they could have been saved by no other means; and while we on the one hand lament the loss of 536 lives in the one year 1860, we must on the other hand place these figures against the 3,697 lives rescued in the same year, and then we shall see the rapid advance of the means of deliverance upon the circumstances of danger. It will be fortunate indeed if the appliances for rescue become every year more numerous and more perfectly managed, while the loss of life diminishes in like proportion. Casualties and collisions we must expect; increasing navigation and crowded channels, with severe marine competition and undiminished carelessness in individuals, must narrow our expectation of a speedy lessening of fatal catastrophes; but there is hardly any limit to methods and means of prevention and deliverance. By these benevolence and science and naval skill can work unhindered, and can combine to mature and complete every auxiliary to rescue, so as to be in entire readiness for the storm and the gale; the signal of distress and the rocket appealing not in vain for help to all who may be on shore and within reach.

\* Miss Burdett Coutts has set a noble example of this kind, having, as we read, intimated to the National Life-boat Institution her intention to present the cost (about 200*l.*) of the new life-boat which that Society is about to establish at Plymouth. The residents have subscribed towards a substantial boat-house and the future maintenance of the station. Miss Coutts had previously defrayed the cost of three life-boats. Two ladies, also, have paid for a life-boat at Llandudno, North Wales, and have named it the *Sister's Memorial*, in memory of a deceased sister.

Several arrangements yet remain to be made for the improvement of these preventives and auxiliaries. A standard life-boat for ships is necessary in the first place; and it must be one which shall insure general acceptance.

The Committee of the National Life-boat Institution have spoken very strongly upon this point, and observe:—

‘Our proposition is, that her Majesty’s Board of Trade, into whose protective care (by the Act of 1854) the hapless victims of shipwreck have been especially consigned, out of the large sums at their disposal gathered from shipping, and forming the Mercantile Marine Fund, should set apart, say 1000*l.* for this important work—a work, which if we look to the prospective benefit of humanity through future time, of such an important engine for saving life, would be cheaply accomplished at a cost of 50,000*l.*’

They propose that pecuniary prizes should be offered for the first, second, third or fourth best ships’ life-boats of full size, the whole of which should be submitted to tests of efficiency at one and the same time and place under the direction of competent judges. On another occasion they say:—

‘As regards emigrant ships and all vessels expressly fitted up as passenger ships, whose trade is in human beings, and whose profits as it were are coined out of them, they should be required, under the heaviest penalties, to be provided with the most perfect description of life-boats, equivalent to the full number of persons they are entitled to carry.’

And again:—

‘We believe it to be most essential, in order to prevent the clause that provides for them becoming an absolute nullity, that the exact character and mode of fitting of every class of life-boat shall be so clearly defined that there may be no evading it, and that the rubbish often denominated at present ships’ life-boats may soon be banished from the decks and sides of our merchant vessels to which they are now only a disgrace.’

Some weighty and detailed recommendations of a like character were made in 1859, by the same advisers, amongst which is the following:—

‘The boats of every passenger ship should be specially and carefully inspected and reported on by the Government Inspector previous to each voyage. At present the inspection of ships’ life-boats is of no service, as there is no fixed standard, and it is notorious that the generality of those in passenger ships, and nearly all or quite those in our coast passenger steamers, are a mere sham, unentitled to the name of life-boats.’

We prefer to use these words rather than our own, as they may be supposed to derive

some weight when coming from the Committee of an Institution which contains several eminent naval names, and is under royal patronage. If vice-admirals, rear-admirals, and captains, together with several official persons, can commit themselves to the verity of these affirmations, then it is high time that the 'mere shams' for life-boats to which thousands of persons would look for deliverance in the hour of shipwreck, should be publicly stigmatised and immediately replaced by efficient and trustworthy boats.

The boats themselves may be good and seaworthy, but another not uncommon deficiency is that there is not boat-room enough for the crew and all the passengers. As the latter vary in number in different voyages, a *sine quâ non* to every voyage should be adequate life-boat accommodation. It is generally assumed that sufficient boatage is invariably provided, but careful examination would prove the contrary in some instances. As the law now stands, the Merchant Shipping Act of 1854, conjointly with the Passengers Act of 1852, constitute the whole law relating to the business of our merchant shipping, and with the exception of emigrant ships, which fall under the Passengers Act, there is no clause in the Merchant Shipping Act defining the size or character of the life-boats to be carried. This very important point is therefore left to be settled by the shipowners, who may be more ruled by considerations of cost than of character and sufficiency. If it be not well known to all on board that there is an ample supply of boat room for them, when an accident takes place an inevitable panic\*

\* In the instance of the terrible fate which overtook the emigrant ship 'Austria,' one of the Hamburg line of screw packets, which sailed from Southampton on the 4th September, 1859, for New York, with 528 passengers on board, it happened that although she was considered to be most complete in her supply of boats, life-buoys, and other such appliances, nevertheless there was not in reality sufficient boat accommodation for all on board; and that a panic prevailed, which was the chief cause of the melancholy loss of 471 lives out of the 528. The details of this destructive calamity are as admonitory as they are distressing. This was a ship which had been launched in the Clyde only a year before, almost entirely constructed of iron, with machinery of the latest and most approved character, and provided with four of Francis's metallic life-boats. She was divided into ten water-tight compartments, so that the safety of her passengers would appear to have been adequately provided for. Nevertheless she was set on fire, and the greater number of her passengers were burnt or drowned. But why not have a superfluity of life-boatage, rather than an actually inadequate amount? Why not have more than enough, in order to allay fear and prevent sudden panic? Panic prevents escape, and panic impedes the lowering and use of the boats that are on board.

will ensue, which prevents the proper use of the means really at hand. Nor does there seem to be any good ground for exempting ships that do not carry more than ten passengers, from the obligation of carrying any life-boat, such being the limitation in the Merchant Shipping Act. Certainly the proper principle of all such legal provisions is that there should be life-boat accommodation for every human being embarking or sailing under the British flag.

Whilst the saving of human life is the principal motive for exertions and precautions, yet the preservation of property may well assume a secondary importance, especially when its destruction is so great. What the total losses occasioned by wrecks and foundering of British shipping in all seas may be, it might be curious to conjecture, and we see that it was estimated (probably too highly) in a Parliamentary Report on shipwrecks in 1836, to have amounted on an average of six years to three millions sterling per annum. An approximation to the recent annual losses from wrecks and casualties on our own coasts is arrived at from information furnished by the officers of the ships at the time of casualty, and these are thus stated:—

Losses in 1857 reported as amounting to £2519,801				
"	1855	"	"	435,656
"	1859	"	"	750,121
"	1860	"	"	608,065

The principal portion of these annual amounts is covered by insurance; but while this covers the loss to the owners of the vessels it is needless to say that the nation ultimately suffers for it, and that its burdens are increased by the number of widows and orphans of drowned men whom it may be called upon to support. *An annual loss of more than half a million of money* may well arouse us, even upon the comparatively low ground of our pecuniary interests.

It must be admitted that there are fertile causes of shipwreck which are unconnected with stress of weather and storms, or rocks, or sandbanks, and which can scarcely be reached by any public enactment or penalty. Unseaworthiness is a principal one amongst these causes. Then follow deficiency of sails, cables, and anchors, and good charts; incompetent and intemperate masters, and unhappily, fraud and dark treachery combine with inconsiderate marine insurances to swell the number of casualties at sea. As to unseaworthiness, in 1858, twenty-nine vessels, and in 1860, no less than thirty-nine, were lost from this most prolific cause of accident. In the latter year also, twenty-one ships were wrecked from neglect to heave the lead; five from defective com-

passes; thirty-five from general negligence and absence of caution, and two from proved intemperance in their managers at the time.

These are regarded as minor causes of calamity, but when the aggregate of losses due to them is summed up, especially through a series of years, they will be found to assume a fatal importance. In cases of this nature, inquiries are now held by an officer under the Board of Trade, and the certificates of masters or mates found guilty of misconduct are cancelled or suspended.

Hitherto we have been engaged in considering calamities at sea, and the means of deliverance from vessels while wrecking or when wrecked. We now turn to the preventives of such calamities at least on our own coasts; and foremost among these are the lights, buoys, and beacons, which compose or ought to compose a chain of admonitory signals of danger around our seagirt isles. To inquire into the actual condition and efficiency of these a Royal Commission was appointed on the 8th of December, 1858\*, and the Report of the Commissioners, together with ample evidence and even superabundant details, now lies before us. It is quite impracticable for any man who has not the calm quietude and the noiseless leisure of a lighthouse keeper, thoroughly to master these seven or eight hundred closely printed pages. We shall, however, bring such labours in this uninviting field before our readers as may put them in possession of the leading points, and we shall make such animadversions upon the Report and its recommendations as our judgment prompts, and our information warrants.

The mode of obtaining evidence was unusual in such inquiries, for it consisted of a large circulation of printed questions, most of the answers to which have been classified and published in detail, with some desirable exceptions on account of bulk. Although this form possesses many obvious advantages, yet it is hardly entitled to all the praise which the Commissioners claim for it; and it is marked by one perhaps unavoidable defect, viz. the absence of returns in many instances, there being no means of compelling replies from those who were indisposed to furnish them. The value of evidence depends not so much upon the number of witnesses as upon their knowledge, judgment, and accuracy, and these qualities can only be tested by oral examination.

\* The Commissioners were—Rear-Admiral Hamilton, chairman, Captain A. P. Ryder, J. H. Gladstone, Esq., Duncan Dunbar, Esq., and S. R. Graves, Esq., their secretary being J. F. Campbell, Esq.

Those who have worked as Government Commissioners by both methods are well acquainted with the imperfection of merely written replies to printed questions.

The number and nature of the lights now existing in the United Kingdom is shown in the annexed table:—

Country.	Lights on Shore.			Floating Lights.	Total.
	General Authority.	Local Authority.	Total.		
England .	82	89	171	41	212
Scotland .	46	67	113	1	114
Ireland .	69	4	73	5	78
Total .	197	160	357	47	404

The first question that arises is the sufficiency of this lightage. The Commissioners refer to an index map showing the position of our lighthouses, and affirm that the number is 'sometimes *insufficient*, because vessels might be within a very short distance of some parts of the coast, and beyond the estimated range of any lighthouse even in clear weather; for instance, as the Great Orme's Head on the approach to Liverpool.' A glance at the replies to the question, 'Do you think that the coast of the United Kingdom, or the part or parts of them which you have named above, are well lighted?' makes it manifest that a considerable majority of the persons applied to return an affirmative answer. Indeed, one witness says: 'I have long been of opinion that we have too many lights on the coast, and the consequence is an increase of collisions and neglect of the lead, with more shipwrecks; but without this increase of light steamers could not run in and out of ports at night.' Upon the whole, the general testimony is favourable, yet pointing to several improvements and conditions.

The Report, however, states:—'The West coast of Scotland and Ireland are still insufficiently illuminated; and the Channel Islands lying near the track of ships bound up channel, and surrounded by rapid tides, have been left in a state of culpable darkness, although a light is now being erected on the Hanois Rocks on the west coast of Guernsey.' Here the animus of the Commissioners appears rather suspiciously; for they do not mention the facts, that eighteen lighthouses are either building or built, in order to complete the lighting of the west coast of Scotland; that since 1854, and the establishment of the Mercantile Marine Fund, a much larger sum than previously has been appropriated to the construction of lighthouses in Scotland, and that in Ireland

several lighthouses have been erected or undertaken on the west coast, since 1854, which will answer all absolute requirements. At all events, previous insufficiency on these coasts have been gradually supplied or is in process of being supplied, and it would have been but fair to allude to this improvement.

In Lord Clarence Paget's speech of April 1858, from which this Commission may be said to have sprung, these words occur: 'It would be his duty to point out that this great maritime country, which had been the pioneer of free and unrestricted intercourse among nations, was, he regretted to say, *the lowest among the nations as regards the lighting and buoying the coasts.*' Let us at once despatch the question of comparative *buoyage* for the present, by citing on the other side the best testimony that could be adduced, viz. that given by an eminent French engineer sent as Commissioner to this country to report to the Department of *Ponts et Chaussées*:

'The English organisation *leaves almost nothing to be wished for*; and it will be actually difficult to see buoys maintained with more care, and preserved in a more perfect order, than those of the Trinity House Corporation. Taking the Thames, for example, which alone numbers from its mouth up to London nearly seventy buoys, the number of different characters assigned to these buoys does not exceed seventeen; nevertheless, for the twenty-two different channels by which pilots can enter the mouth of the river, the combinations employed are so well distributed, that two buoys exhibiting similar characters are never found in the neighbourhood of each other.'

To what M. Degrand has thus stated, may be added the testimony of Captain Sullivan, in evidence given to a Select Committee on Merchant Shipping, in 1860:—

'If we take the Thames, for instance, which is probably the most intricate navigation of our coasts, it is now so lighted and buoyed that a stranger with a chart in his hand, if he was at all capable of navigating his vessel, could bring her in and out of any one of the channels. It is literally marked like a roadway, by posts.'

The Royal Commissioners themselves put the Secretary of the Admiralty out of court when they admit,—

'That the coasts of the United Kingdom are better supplied with buoys than any foreign coasts, is borne out by the almost unanimous opinions expressed by 488 persons who follow the sea.'

And again:—

'The buoys in foreign countries do not appear equal to those of the British Isles, either in size or general efficiency; but the adoption of a na-

tional system of buoyage, as in France, is evidently an advantage.'

Directing our attention at present more particularly to the subject of lighthouses, we may advert in the first place to the question of comparative lightage between France and England as raised by Lord Clarence's assertion. The Royal Commissioners say:—

'It will be observed as respects *number and position* of lights that the British coasts are *not* so well guarded as the French, for the lights are purposely so placed on the coasts of France as to "cross their fire." This may be tested by comparing the proportion between the number of lights and the amount of coast line in England, Scotland, and Ireland, with the proportion between the number of lights and the coast line in France.'

The annexed table is then given:—

Country.	No. of Lighthouses on shore.	Coast Line in Nautical Miles.	Proportion.
			Miles.
England . .	171	2,406	1 for 14.0
Scotland . .	118	4,469	1 " 39.5
Ireland . .	73	2,518	1 " 34.5
France . .	224	2,768	1 " 12.3

And it is added:—

'Hence it appears that the lighthouses in France are more than three times as numerous compared with the amount of coast, as in Scotland; but a considerable allowance must be made for the very large amount of mileage afforded by the Scottish islands and the bays on the Irish coast, which do not require a commensurate amount of lighting, as a light on an island, or on one side of a channel, will often obviate the necessity of a light on the mainland, or on the other side. The lights in France appear to be nearly three times as numerous, comparatively speaking, as those in Ireland; but if to the 73 Irish lighthouses be added the 5 floating lights, the discrepancy is somewhat reduced. In England, too, there seems at first sight to be a somewhat smaller provision made for illuminating the coasts than in France; yet if the 41 English floating lights be added to the 171 lighthouses, as, indeed, justice requires, England will be found to provide a light for every 11.37 nautical miles of coast, while France furnishes one for only every 12.3 miles.'

Thus do the Commissioners themselves refute the strange assertion that this great maritime country is the lowest among the nations as regards the lighting of the coasts, an assertion still more completely refuted by this further observation from the Report: 'The coasts of the United Kingdom are better guarded than those of Holland or Norway, or perhaps any other country, excepting France.' But why except France, when it has just been allowed that the coasts of England have relatively a greater number

of lights than the coasts of France? Thus it appears that England, instead of standing lowest among the nations as regards lighting, should rather be said to stand foremost, if the mode of comparison be worthy of confidence. We do not, however, see that the comparison of total lengths of line of coast is much to the purpose, since considerable portions may not require much lighting, and may consist of mere inlets or deep bays where lights would be needless. The only serviceable comparison would be between such distances as a vessel would pass in sailing.

So far as to the sufficiency of our lights in number. The quality, and therefore the efficiency, of these lights is a topic of much importance, and resolves itself into the following considerations:—1. The character of the source of light; 2. The character of the apparatus by which the light is directed to where it is needed; 3. The adaptation of the source of light and the optical apparatus to one another, with a view to the requirements of the locality; and 4. The distinction of one light from another. Without following the Commissioners into the minutæ of these and other similar topics, we may state some results of a satisfactory character. Looking to the answers of those who were asked, 'Do you think the coasts of the United Kingdom as well lighted as any of the foreign coasts?' 519 out of 586 respondents believe our coasts to be as well lighted as any others with which they are acquainted; while in reply to another request, viz.: 'If you think that the coasts of the United Kingdom are not so well lighted as those of any other country or countries, name those countries in the order in which you prefer their lights?' Out of 311 respondents, 200 express their preference for the British lights, and only 33 prefer those of any other country. 'Nor,' adds the Report, 'is this due to any patriotic prejudice in favour of England; for of the 34 masters of foreign vessels who have answered the question, 24 think England as well lighted as any other country they know; one is doubtful; but not one foreigner prefers the lighting of any foreign shore.' Additional testimony too is given in our favour in the replies furnished to this question: 'What British and what foreign light have you usually seen furthest off, and which of the two has been usually visible at the greatest distance?' No less than 579 witnesses have mentioned 25 British lighthouses as being those which they have usually seen furthest off. Of these observers some, having made 184 direct comparisons with the foreign lights which they have commonly seen furthest off, reply in 112 instances that

they are in favour of British lights, and in 72 that they favoured foreign lights, thus giving us a majority of 40 in 184 comparisons of the two. It is no slight testimony to the quality of our lights that the greater number of the mariners who impartially test them and profit by them, consider them to be at least equal to all others in the world, and that they rank those of France second in order.

Considerable attention has been devoted by the Commissioners, and in particular by their Chairman, to the present system of control and management of our lightage and buoyage in conformity with their instructions, and even a little beyond. It is impracticable for us to follow them into details at any length, but we may offer a few observations upon leading topics. The several authorities mentioned in the Merchant Shipping Act (17 & 18 Vict. c. 104) are these: 1st. The Queen in Council; 2nd. The Committee of the Privy Council for Trade; 3rd. The Trinity House; 4th. The two other General Lighthouse Authorities, namely, the Commissioners of Northern Lighthouses for Scotland, and the Port of Dublin Corporation, or Ballast Board for Ireland; 5th. Local Authorities, of which there are above one hundred and seventy. The Report enters into and explains and illustrates the faults of the present system of control, and the result of the Commissioners' investigations is thus stated. 'As matters now stand, the whole management of the lighthouse service appears to be impeded by the opposing action of three separate governing bodies; and it does not clearly appear what advantage is gained to counterbalance the delay which results from this complicated system.' But whilst the complication of this system must be admitted, it is not exactly fair to show merely its disadvantages. It should also have been stated that the benefits of the changes of control have been displayed in reductions to an extent of sixty per cent., in equalisation of charges, and in the building of lighthouses where, as in Scotland, local funds would have been inadequate.

As respects the Trinity House, it is a very ancient corporation, the germ of which existed as early as the reign of Henry VII. and whose first light was erected in 1680. In its present constitution it is composed of the Master, deputy-master, and elder and younger brethren. The elder brethren are divided into honorary and acting members, the former of whom, together with the Master, receive no remuneration. The late lamented Prince Consort, with that cordial and enlightened interest which he took in the public welfare, held the office of Master, and

occasionally presided at the Board, where he made himself acquainted with the question in all its details. The acting members are retired masters of the merchant service, except three, who are naval officers. They are recruited from the younger brethren, the majority of whom are masters and mates in the merchant sea service. A few are naval officers, and the corporation is a self-electing body. The light dues are the principal source of its revenues, and when a Parliamentary Committee was appointed in 1822, the Trinity House and private individuals were maintaining lights and levying dues on passing ships British and Foreign; the Trinity House applying their funds in part to support charitable institutions, the private individuals appropriating the surplus of the dues, to their own uses as private property. Another Parliamentary Committee in 1834, dwelt strongly on the importance of the service and on the impropriety of levying dues on shipping for the benefit of individuals, and recommended that all public general lights should be placed under one Board, resident in London, and conducted under one system of management, and that the Trinity House should have the management of all general public lights in the kingdom. A third Parliamentary Committee was appointed in 1845, to consider the lighthouse question, and their Report states that the lights of the United Kingdom were in an efficient state, and again recommends that there should be one central authority, viz. the Trinity House, of which board, one third of the members should be nominated by the Crown. It would appear that the portion of the Merchant Shipping Act which relates to lighthouses was the result of this Committee. Subsequently by the Merchant Shipping Act of 1854, under section 389, the Trinity House has the superintendence and management of all lighthouses, floating lights, buoys, and beacons in England, Wales, the Channel Islands, Gibraltar, and Heligoland, except those which are under local authorities.

The Board of Trade may, on complaints of inefficiency (though there have seldom been any), authorise persons to inspect all lighthouses, buoys, &c., under the general lighthouse authorities, and may at all times demand from them returns, explanations, &c. Those actually sought for have specially referred to expenditure. The Commissioners enter at length into the powers and action of the Board of Trade, and give instances which are not always correctly stated or fully understood. They conclude thus: 'The governing authority has in fact become vested in the Board of Trade, though no provision is made by the Act (Merchant Ship-

ping Act) to enable that department to judge more accurately of such matters than the lighthouse authorities who are controlled, and the Admiralty surveying officers, whose local knowledge has been disregarded. If the governing power is really vested in the Board of Trade, and if that department is so constituted as to be competent to conduct the service, the other authorities are superfluous.'

The Commissioners of Northern Lighthouses are a body consisting chiefly of gentlemen of the legal profession, and are in some instances subject to the control of the Trinity House and the ultimate control of the Board of Trade. They have the management of lights, buoys, and beacons, in Scotland and in the Isle of Man, except those which are under local authorities. In Ireland the Ballast Board exercise a similar authority, and form a body whose acting members are merchants, bank directors, governors, magistrates, railway directors, &c., including a retired naval officer. 'In short,' say the Commissioners, 'the government of lighthouses in the United Kingdom, their management and construction, are all confided to bodies of gentlemen of various employments, none of which necessarily afford them an opportunity of acquiring a knowledge of those branches of science which bear upon lighthouse illumination.'

No unbiassed reader would attempt to defend the complication and confused action of the present system of control. Indeed, it requires no small patience to trace it out and to attribute the due share of authority to each power.\* When it is compared with the more direct and simple action of other countries, in nearly all of which lighthouse service is subordinated to a Ministry or Department of Public Works, it suffers by the contrast to such an extent as to compel the admission that we might have made better arrangements if the work were now to be performed anew. But there are some considerations which should not be lost

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\* The chairman of this Commission has presented this complication in a grotesque aspect when he observes, 'It is difficult to discover the necessity for that cumbersome system which now exists under the two acts, the "Merchant Shipping Amendment Act, 1855," and "Merchant Shipping Act, 1854," viz. a *single government* (the Board of Trade) for lighthouses in the British possessions abroad, a *double government* for the lighthouses under the Trinity House, a *triangular government* for the Scotch lighthouses and for local lights in England, and a *quadrilateral government* for the Irish lighthouses and for local lights in Scotland and Ireland.' (Report, p. 48.) Mr. Farrer, also, who is secretary of the Marine Department of the Board of Trade, remarks, 'Whilst I am quite alive to the historical and other reasons for the present system, it involves a good deal of circumlocution and consequent delay.'

sight of by way of explanation. As the Commissioners allow, 'The English lights have been steadily and gradually increasing in number during the last two centuries and a half, additional lights having been placed from time to time, wherever the interests of commerce demanded, and a sufficient pressure was existent; while on the contrary, the French lights were very few till 1825, when a grand comprehensive plan was undertaken of erecting a large number of additional lights, on what were considered the best positions, and of remodelling the whole system.' Thus with all our disadvantage of complicated or inefficient control, we have gradually advanced in this service.

On questions of economy there can be as little doubt as on questions of efficiency, that a complicated system of government and management by three general lighthouse authorities, must entail a larger expenditure than a simple and single government, and this expenditure is also increased by additional outlay for clerical assistance for correspondence in reference to superior boards. The Commissioners have a strong case here, and they put it strongly, for they have caused to be drawn up a table of comparative expenditures of the three general authorities, by which it appears that the cost of management by the Trinity House, which is unquestionably an expensive establishment, is relatively twice as great as that of the Ballast Board in Ireland, which itself is somewhat more costly than the Northern Commission.

As the result and practical issue of their long and laboriously conducted investigation, the Commissioners propose an entire change of the system of management and control.

'The evils,' say they, 'of a double, triple, or quadruple government, the anomalies arising from such a multiplicity of systems, and the want of certain necessary elements in all the managing Boards, became more and more apparent as our inquiry advanced. Yet so complicated was the question, and so great are the interests involved, that it has demanded long and careful consideration on the part of your Commissioners before deciding on the nature of the change they would recommend. By a sort of exhaustive process a scheme of government has been arrived at. . . . We therefore recommend that the government and management of the lights, buoys, and beacons of the United Kingdom, and of certain lighthouses in the colonies, be vested in a new central authority, to be denominated the Trinity Commissioners for Lights, and that the expenditure of such commissioners be brought directly under the control of the House of Commons by an annual submission of their estimates, through the Board of Trade or the Board of Admiralty, as may be deemed best; and that when once the esti-

mates may have been approved of by Parliament, the expenditure of the funds voted be entrusted to the sole discretion of the Trinity Commissioners under the recognised system of imprest and audit.'

It would naturally occur to any unbiassed reader of these observations to inquire whether it would not be better to improve, enlarge, and adapt the existing machinery, than to take the whole to pieces, and to set up another and untried machinery of doubtful action and great apparent liability to disarrangement and friction of parts? Undoubtedly simplification and directness of power are often wanting and very desirable in the present arrangements; and it is quite possible to point out much of what may be termed rotatory processes, as in the correspondence of the Lighthouse Boards and the Board of Trade about lighthouse arrangements.\* Nevertheless these defects may perhaps be remedied without the disintegration of an entire system. In all proposed changes in public departments, the great object should be to effect the maximum of improvement by the minimum of change, whereas it might almost be said that the present Commissioners would effect the minimum of improvement by the maximum of change.

The inquiry whence the funds necessary to defray lighthouse expenses are to be derived is an important Parliamentary question, scarcely within the province of the Commissioners, who have however expressed their opinion in the sentence, 'whether by dues or by the simple and more economic mode of tonnage, or ultimately from imperial funds.' And again: 'A tonnage-rate, which promises more advantages, and in addition to that of simplicity, a great economy both of labour and expense in collection; and that system which has been recommended to the legislature by the four Special Committees that have been authorised to treat directly this important portion of the subject, viz. that the expense of erecting and maintaining our lighthouses should be defrayed out of the public revenues.' Much may be and has been said on the equity and expediency of the several methods of levy. From the days of Adam Smith to our own it has been pronounced a legitimate and equitable mode of raising the requisite funds for maintaining and constructing lighthouses, to levy moderate dues upon the shipping interests which are specially benefited by the advantage of such public works. Although this system may appear complicated, it is now well understood,

\* Report, p. xlix. note N.B.



and occasions little trouble, offers no opportunity for evasion, and it is said does not cost more to collect than two and a half per cent. The proposed tonnage-rate has been declared to be unequal in its operation; respecting which it has been observed by the Board of Trade: 'In proportion as the number of distinctions is increased, simplicity must be sacrificed, and no possible distinction can render the proposed system as fair as the present one.' An imperial tax will not probably appear the most equitable to many persons besides those who are connected with the shipping interests. On this plan we may simply cite the words of the present President of the Board of Trade in the House (Aug. 4th, 1859): 'As to the proposal to defray the expense of lighthouses out of the public revenue, it was a question more for the Chancellor of the Exchequer than the Board of Trade; but he doubted if the Chancellor of the Exchequer was prepared to throw so large a sum as 200,000*l.* or 300,000*l.* a year on the Consolidated Fund, or whether the House of Commons would consent to entertain the suggestion. He could not hold out any expectation that the Government would make such a proposal.' A tonnage-rate, though certainly objectionable, would be less so than throwing another burden on the already overweighed imperial fund; and it is highly probable that such a proposal as the latter would be strongly objected to by the nation at large. The popular feeling would be—let those pay who most directly profit by lightage. At the same time the whole subject is open to much argument and discussion.

While we see strong objections to the plan of the Commissioners for reconstructing the system of governing and managing lighthouse business and few grounds for its adoption, we are quite willing to accord to them commendation for the scientific information which they have brought together.\*

Although the details of lighthouse illumination are beyond our province and our limits, yet one or two prominent points may be briefly touched upon. The object of placing in a lighthouse an illuminating apparatus is, that, whether it be constructed of glass or of metal, it may bend the rays, (which would naturally proceed in straight

lines,) and illuminate a hollow sphere, so that those rays which would otherwise be thrown upon the sky, and thereby wasted, may be made to fall on points at sea where they may be clearly seen. If the light is to be a fixed one, intended to be seen all round, and from the horizon to the base of the light-tower, the upper rays emanating from an illuminating apparatus must be bent downwards so as to double the lower illumination. If it is desired to illuminate a narrow strip of the sea, extending from the horizon to the base of the lighthouse, all the rays must be bent laterally; or they may all be collected and thrown upon one or more spots of larger or less size wherever the light is needed; as in the cases of fixed lights placed at the end of narrow passages, and of revolving lights which are made visible all round by causing the lenses, reflectors, &c., to revolve about the source of light, or with it about a centre.

The two principal methods by which it is sought to throw light in the desired direction are first by silvered parabolic reflectors, which is called the Catoptric system; and, secondly, by using lenses of peculiar construction, so as to form what is termed the Dioptric or refracting system. Sometimes these two systems are combined, as in the ordinary catadioptric, and in Mr. Stevenson's beautiful holophotal arrangement. Such, in brief, are the present modes of lighthouse illumination. This service is evidently in a transition state, and comparatively modern. The Commissioners conversed with a man who was actually employed in his youth in burning coal-fires at Harwich to direct ships at sea; the last coal light—that at St. Bees—was extinguished only in 1822; the use of oil does not seem to date further back than 1730; and the silvered reflectors of the catoptric system only date from the close of last century. Fresnel constructed the first dioptric apparatus in France about forty years ago; and, in our country, lenses have only gradually displaced reflectors, while the lenticular system, as now developed, varies considerably from that first proposed, and modifications are continually suggested. It is then reasonable to expect further improvement, and manufacturers both at home and abroad have invested large sums in suitable machinery, and in improving the quality of glass\*; while inventions are under trial which pro-

\* It is to be lamented that the scientific information contained in these volumes is not rendered more generally intelligible and more readily available. Something may be effected in the latter respect by the promised Index, but it is difficult to make use of the widely scattered and thoroughly technical details, which, as they at present stand, may be regarded as decently interred, without hope of a resurrection.

\* Messrs. Chance of Birmingham deserve particular commendation for the pains they have successfully bestowed on lighthouse machinery. They have for the first time in this country made glass equal or superior to the French glass, and they are constantly introducing improvements in the adjustment of lanterns with real scientific skill.

mise far to transcend the light-producing powers of even the four-wick mechanical lamp.

That the dioptric is preferable to the catoptric system has been generally assumed; but while the Commissioners 'do not controvert this opinion, they say they have conclusive evidence that many of the catoptric lights in England are not only excellent in themselves, but exceed in efficiency the dioptric lights on its shores.' Of the 579 mariners who have answered the question, 'What British lights have you generally seen furthest off?' the greatest *distances* are mentioned with reference to the lights at Lundy Island, the Calf of Man, Flamborough Head, Beachy Head, &c., while the greatest *number* of witnesses out of the 579 mention Flamborough Head, the Lizard, Lundy, Beachy Head, the Start, &c., all of which lights (excepting the Lizard, the Lundy, and the Start) are catoptric revolving lights. It is thought, however, that the dioptric principle, owing to errors of adjustment\*, has never had a free and fair chance in the United Kingdom. In France it was adopted throughout the whole lighthouse service; it has of late been extensively adopted in that reformation of their lighthouse systems which the United States and Spain have recently effected; but in our country the old reflectors have only been replaced from time to time by the reflecting apparatus. Probably for ourselves a combination of the dioptric and catoptric principles would often be the most efficient, and such combinations exist in all countries, but especially in Scotland. As regards the dioptric lights at present in use in England and Ireland, a portion of the light produced, even in the best-made apparatus, is wasted, and great improvements are possible. To all these matters a capable optical engineer would of course direct his immediate and particular attention.

Electric lights have been proposed and considered for lighthouses. One produced between carbon points by the revolution of magnets fixed on wheels, worked by a steam-engine, has been tried with great promise of success by Professor Holmes at the South Foreland, and is being further tried at Dungeness. Another electric light has been exhibited by Professor Way, which is produced by galvanic action in a stream of mercury. Several modifications of the lime light, produced by an oxyhydrogen flame

playing upon a surface of prepared lime, and well known in lecture-rooms, have been proposed for lighthouses. The least powerful of these surpasses in brilliancy the best oil lamp, as that surpasses the open coal-fire. Should any of the above contrivances be so perfected as to make their action certain, the optical apparatus now in use, being made to suit large flames, will become unserviceable. Comparatively clumsy fittings and bars will then be removed, and optical apparatus, made to suit a very small and exceedingly brilliant source of light, one eighth of an inch long, may be finished and adjusted with all the accuracy of a telescope.

The expense of construction and maintenance is a serious question of economy. As to cost, heavy sums have no doubt been expended in the construction of lighthouses, but then some of them are triumphs of engineering. The Eddystone was the first of the towers that rose in the midst of an open sea on small isolated rocks or reefs overwashed by the waves; but it has been exceeded both in magnitude and as a trophy of overmastered difficulties, by three more recent erections, viz. the Bell Rock Lighthouse, which rises 117 feet high on the east coast of Scotland; and on the west coast by the Skerry Vore, which attains 158 feet in altitude; while in the Scilly Isles the Bishop Rock Tower rises 145 feet. The first of these marine trophy-towers cost the sum of 61,331*l.*; the second, 83,126*l.*; and the third, 36,559*l.* In the erection of the costly Skerry Vore tower, the workmen, the materials, and all the requisite stores, had to be conveyed five times the distance necessary at the Scilly Isles, and a quarry and a harbour were formed; all which distinguishing circumstances occasioned a much larger outlay. The usual lighthouses built on the mainland of England, or on rocky islands, by the Trinity House, are very much smaller erections, and often cost no more than from 3000*l.* to 5000*l.*, and rarely exceed 7500*l.*; while the average cost of a lighthouse on the mainland of Scotland, or on its rocky islands, is above 8000*l.* In Ireland the lighthouses erected, even on the mainland, have in general cost about 10,000*l.*; but this expenditure includes the illuminating apparatus.\* 'The only complaints which the Commissioners have heard respecting the cost of erecting lighthouses, have been with reference to the Scotch, and have proceeded from the Board of Trade.' And 'when the great difference in cost between them and English lighthouses designed to

\* The Commissioners found in France the same error of adjustment between the optical pieces and the lamp, which they had first remarked at home; but these errors were aggravated in England and Ireland, where the flame was low.

\* A dioptric apparatus of the first order costs from 1500*l.* to 2000*l.*

serve a similar purpose, is considered, there can be little doubt that the Scotch and Irish authorities have not paid due regard to economy, or that the English authorities, keeping economy too closely in view, have not erected edifices worthy of themselves or the nation.' But if they serve the purpose, why spend more money upon them? No one looks for a model of architecture in a light-house. Moreover, we have been assured, on the best authority, that there is nothing to justify the opinion that the construction and efficiency of the English lights are inferior in consequence of their lower cost. With reference to foreign governments, their outlay in the construction of lighthouses, making every allowance for the advantages which a more centralised system gives in such a comparison, appears to be rather greater than ours. As to the expense of maintenance, there are matters of management which, if duly attended to, will secure savings of some amount in particular lighthouses; but the larger and more important expenditure is connected with the system of management already discussed.

There are forty-seven Floating Lights in the United Kingdom, thirty-four of which are under control of the Trinity House, and seven under that of local authorities. Their number is being increased, and their efficiency depends on the same principal conditions of attention as those which relate to lightvessels, it being further essential that a floating light should remain on its station in all weathers. It has been found that these lightvessels very seldom go adrift, and that there is no instance on record in which the crew have voluntarily run from their station in bad weather. None have ever been wrecked; and it does not appear that the lights have ever been accidentally extinguished. The Commissioners affirm that it is a question whether the dioptric principle might not be more generally introduced into floating lights; but we believe it has been tried afloat and found not to answer. It does not seem to be understood that the band of light is only a few degrees wide, and that consequently if placed in a vessel it would, unless the sea were very smooth, be thrown above and below the level, to such angles as would obscure the light at every roll of the vessel. The average cost of a lightvessel when fully equipped (exclusive of stores), varies from 3622*l.* under the Trinity House in England, to 6224*l.* under the Ballast Board in Ireland. Whether at home or abroad, it is far more costly to maintain a light afloat than on shore. Wherever practicable stationary buildings should be erected, such as the screw-pile light-

houses at the mouth of the Thames and elsewhere.

Of our Buoyage we have already spoken in brief and general terms, and it is only necessary to add something of detail in this place. The number of buoys in position in the United Kingdom is about 1109, while there are 573 buoys in reserve. 'In some districts they are amply sufficient, in others there are hardly any, and in others more are wanted.' Lloyds' agents frequently speak of the want of buoys in certain localities, especially in Scotland and Ireland; and some instances of neglect have come to light, as at Limerick, where buoys have disappeared and never been replaced, though ample funds exist expressly for the purpose. That we stand foremost in respect of buoyage as compared with foreign coasts, has already been proved by summary quotation of admissions and evidence.

The prime requisites in a buoy are conspicuousness, distinctiveness, and permanence; but the best form for a conspicuous floating body, to be permanently anchored at a particular spot, and the best method of securing it, have yet to be decided. It seems singular that the testimony of experienced persons is in favour of dark colours, for of 657 mariners, 408 state their preference for black. Some national system of buoyage should, if possible, be introduced, but risks are incurred in alterations of existing arrangements. Captain Sullivan would establish as a system of colours in buoying all new places, that black or red buoys should be on the one hand, and black and white, or red and white, on the other. If he had merely to decide of what colour one buoy should be to mark one danger, he would say the darker the buoy the better. We may add that nothing can be worse than using black and red buoys to mark the two sides of a channel. The Trinity House generally employ Can-buoys costing from 27*l.* to 36*l.*; but it also uses many of a better kind costing from 58*l.* to 130*l.*, and even 197*l.* when complete. Buoys are very liable to accidents, and therefore often demand repairs; their especial mischance being that of being fouled or run down by ships.

Of Beacons, the term being applied only to structures of some magnitude, there are in England 74; in the Channel Islands, 19; in Scotland, 115; and in Ireland, 53. In some places they appear to be fully sufficient, in others rather deficient. Our beaconage, like our buoyage, is on no uniform system of colour, or construction, or form, and often nothing but local knowledge enables a mariner to decide his position by the beacons alone. Generally, our beacon-

age admits of much improvement in respect of the number of beacons, their quality, and efficiency. They commonly cost nothing for maintenance; but the expense of their construction varies with the character of the beacon itself, which may be either such an one as that on the Wolf Rock, off the Land's End, which cost 11,298*l.*, or a mere pole painted white, with a basket on its top, like that at the entrance of Lymington Creek.

The feeling of all who read what we have selected and corrected from these volumes, and still more of those who may have the patience and perseverance to look carefully into the volumes themselves, will, we think, in the first instance, be one of satisfaction that, with all the sifting and searching inquiries of these Commissioners, so few gross abuses have been brought to light, and that on the whole there exists a tolerably efficient and adequate system of lightage, buoyage, and beaconage, upon our coasts. We can confidently abide a comparison with foreign countries, and we have good ground for anticipating improvements. Many minor matters are susceptible of amendment and should receive it; manifold details demand scientific consideration; economy must be studied in some quarters, while it is already diligently practised in others; instances of past wasteful expenditure can be pointed out, and should never recur; and where experience has shown the folly of certain modes of procedure, such experience, as in most other cases, has been dearly purchased. But so has the voluminous information before us.

The immense mass of details which the Commission has accumulated and published, lies open to the objection brought against certain lighthouses, that while the structures are imposing, a plainer and less costly building would have sufficed. Some thousands of pounds, probably, have been expended in the production of these volumes, which would have been far more usefully expended in erecting an additional lighthouse in a desolate locality. That would, at least, have sent forth welcome rays to watchful mariners long after these ponderous folios have gone the hidden way of all such unreadable literature.

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ART. VII.—1. *The City of the Saints and across the Rocky Mountains to California.* By RICHARD F. BURTON; Author of 'A Pilgrimage to El Medinah and Meccah.' London: 1861.

2. *Voyage au Pays des Mormons.* By JULES RÉMY Paris: 1860.

3. *A Journey to Great Salt Lake City.* By JULES RÉMY, and JULIUS BRENCHELEY, M.A.; with an Introduction on the Religious Movement in the United States. By JULES RÉMY. London: 1861.

THE singular colony which has been established since the year 1847, in the remote solitudes of North America on a political basis the very converse of republican institutions, and with eccentric manners repugnant to the social ethics of all western civilisation, has been lately visited by two travellers very competent to observe and depict its organisation and its progress. We have before us the result of their experience in the sumptuous volumes of M. Rémy, and the less artistic but more genial work of Captain Burton. Our countryman sought and found on that lofty and salubrious plateau, where the air itself is a sensual enjoyment, the restoration of those vital forces which he had so lavishly expended in tropical regions, where the climate is as murderous as the people, and where we purchase the advance of geographical science by the sacrifice of some of our noblest sons. M. Rémy appears to be equally an enthusiast in botanical and religious physiology; his reputation for science is already very high, and this work will secure him no mean place among the speculative moralists of his country.

We will not do either of our authors the dubious service of analysing the journeys by which each of them reached the object of their expedition, but will recommend them to readers of travel, as abounding in animated description and all kinds of collateral knowledge. The 'Flora' of the American desert is studiously exhibited by M. Rémy, and the geology of Captain Burton has the rare merit of being at once accurate and comprehensible by the ordinary student. M. Rémy's portraiture of the character of the various companies that chance threw in his way has almost the interest of a novel; and Captain Burton's careful ethnology of the expiring Indian races is illustrated, not only by linguistic details, but by the representation of an elaborate system of pantomime, which would make the fortune of a ballet-master, and might even improve the mimetic language in use in the asylums of the 'children of silence.'

It was an appropriate design on the part of the English Hadjee to visit the Mormon city. It may not have required that wonderful endurance of physical hardships,

which in Captain Burton is combined with so much sensitiveness of character and delicacy of perception, to accomplish this journey, any more than his varied knowledge and literary requirements were needed to describe the common manners and unlettered life of this bastard result of American civilisation; but there is enough of analogy between the novel notions and revived customs of the people of Utah, and the ideas and institutions of that elder world, with which he is so familiar, to make the comparison interesting to himself and to others. The comfortless mail-car jolting over rocks and floundering through marshes, with the filthy verminous stations and half-cooked food, was a poor exchange for the quiet dignity of eastern travel, the long trail of the varied caravan, and the certain rest of the tented home. The Indians too, who a few years ago were an object of much poetic interest, have now fallen into that wretched border-life in which civilisation verges on savagery and abstracts the lesser virtues without conferring the greater, and they inspired our pilgrim with such unmitigated disgust, that he is ready to rend from them every fragment of their traditional romance, to suggest that their Great Spirit and ghostly hunting grounds are nothing more than the distorted fragments of old missionary teaching, and to reduce them to the level of the representations which that *kleine ungenannte*, the German child of the prairies has so hideously scrawled, and the Abbé Domenech, with his imperial patrons, has so astonishingly credited.\* But in other respects this expedition must have been as interesting as many he had undertaken, and as it has enabled him, with restored health, to renew, in the capacity of her Majesty's Consul at Fernando Po, those researches, to which both geography and science are already so deeply indebted, we rejoice that he has made this addition to his manifold experiences of the manners and the minds of men.

While Captain Burton's style ambles along like a well-trained horse with the bridle loose upon his neck, but sometimes stumbles for want of care in his rider, and the manner of M. Rémy may seem either solid or ponderous, as the inclinations of the

reader may be light or serious, we must not forget that a Frenchman writes on American subjects from a vantage-ground denied to Englishmen. The identity of language goes far to disqualify us from forming a rapid and impartial judgment on social conditions on the other side of the Atlantic; and it is through foreigners, such as M. de Tocqueville and Miss Bremer, that we have been able to form our best judgments of American modes of thought and principles of action. In the first place, *la vulgarité ne se traduit pas*, and those discrepancies of language, those varieties of tone, those oddities of expression which might render the first American orators unwelcome to the British House of Commons, although they are for the most part elder forms of English speech, almost disappear under the veil of a foreign tongue. Again it is next to impossible for an Englishman to approach any American institutions without some disturbing associations and instinctive prejudice. We are always referring them to our class-differences and controversies at home, with which they have often no real relation whatever, and drawing inferences wholly untrue. To the Frenchman America is not another England 'seen through a microscope, in a state of magnification,' but a new country full of interesting and suggestive materials. It is thus that M. Rémy's prefatory essay on the religious development of the American mind, illustrated by the characters of Emerson, Channing, and Joseph Smith, as types of the Pantheistic, Rationalist, and Mystic schools of thought, is executed with a breadth of impartiality that with us would imply indifference, and with an earnestness of purpose which with him presupposes no fixed idea. When among the Mormons, he calmly discusses the question of Polygamy, without Christian prepossession or Oriental favour, and pronounces against it on grounds of moral and social expediency to which we shall hereafter refer. He regards Joseph Smith as a thorough religious impostor, but does not assume that character to be inconsistent with elevation of mind or private virtue; he has no inclination towards the artificial order and repressive police of the Mormon society, but he quietly analyses its constitution and effects, as he would a Phalanstère or a religious Order. Captain Burton, on the contrary, makes no attempt to conceal his satisfaction at coming into contact with the fragments of much familiar Eastern life in the midst of what to him is the 'abomination of civilisation.' Agreeing, probably, with the emphatic Southerner who said the other day, that 'if that accursed "May Flower" had only come to grief,

\* We believe that the Abbé still persists in the authenticity of his exhibition of Indian pictography, but owns that the introduction of ill-spelt modern German words into an archaic document is somewhat perplexing. The French Government have, however, altogether withdrawn the work from circulation; and happy is the bibliophile who has secured it a place in his library beside the 'Sicilian Code,' the 'Ireland MSS,' and the 'Letters of Tasso.'

America might have been a great and happy nation,' he delights in the extravagant contrast which Mormonism presents to American institutions and sentiments, and will not permit that influence to be altogether a delusion which has trampled down the factitious pretensions of vulgar liberty, and restored some portion of the North-western World, however small, to his favourite relations of privilege and servitude.

It was in 1829 that Mr. Southey in his 'Colloquies on the Progress and Prospects of Society,' published that anticipation of some religious portent in America, which has been so remarkably verified. He stated his belief that another 'Old Man of the Mountain' would there find dupes and followers without difficulty; that the next Aaron Burr who strove to carve himself out a kingdom, would discern that fanaticism is the most effective weapon with which ambition can arm itself, and that the point on the world's surface where another Mohammed might most reasonably be expected to arise, would be 'that part of the Anglo-American Union into which the older States continually discharge the restless portion of their population, leaving laws and Gospel to overtake it as they may.' There are assuredly few more successful examples of prophecy, and we are not surprised that any one should adopt and enlarge the main idea of it, and find where he can such similitudes and analogies. For our part, we see in Mormonism much rather a perverse and unnatural reproduction of Judaism than any reflection however remote of Islam. It is as if the course of Christianity had turned back into the muddiest waters of Talmudic superstition.

It would be superfluous to recapitulate that early history which has already been almost transmuted into fable. The Methodist revivals and Baptist enthusiasms which were the cradle of the Mormon faith, are forgotten in the audacious doctrines and startling assumptions of the New Religion. Joseph Smith, the disreputable loafer of thirty years ago, who was shot down like a mad-dog, has passed into a mythical personage, holding much the same relation to the belief of his thousands of mankind as Buddha does to his millions. The sacred book, with all its grotesque nonsense of 'gold plates' and 'stone spectacles,' is now practically as little regarded as if the orthodox agreed to its mundane origin in the manuscript of an unreadable romance, and its authority is transferred to a continuous efflux of Divine Inspiration in the ministers of an infallible Church. The very name of Mormon is formally abandoned, and a designation official-

ly adopted claiming a supernatural superiority to the ordinary conditions of humanity. The claim of the Central State to impose national obligations and civic rights upon these unwilling subjects has had scarce better success than the democratic persecution which hunted the believers from settlement to settlement into the fastnesses of the rocky wilderness; and now the American citizen walks as a permitted Gentile in the streets of Deseret, where the Federal flag may soon wave no more.

For, whatever be the issue of the struggle for Secession in the South, an independent Power already confronts the traveller on the great highway from East to West; and, whatever be the ultimate destiny of the African race in the New World, the privilege of its white inhabitants to enslave themselves has been effectually determined. Many writers have described the arrested Temple of Nauvoo as the only notable ruin in the United States; yet now, while internal war is carrying desolation through city and through hamlet, the public edifices and private homes of Utah are daily multiplied and fresh troops of disciples extend the ramifications of the parent colony. The tide of the surplus population of Europe is already diverted from the troubled West, but the well-ordered ships and caravans of the Mormon Emigration continue to transport and conduct the converts across the distracted regions, which many of the simpler sort are said not even to associate with any geographical locality, to a haven of productive industry and spiritual rest.

It is therefore no merely dilettanti interest that attaches to the present moral and political condition of the Mormon community. But neither of these aspects can be studied without a consideration of the Religion; and the inherent difficulty of analysing any largely extended superstition is increased by the comprehensive eclecticism, which, as M. Rémy justly remarks, is the characteristic most difficult to reconcile with the intellectual mediocrity of its founder. When a system claims to be essentially progressive, and aspires to combine all existing religions in a single faith, who shall define its doctrines or terms of communion at any particular moment of its development? The written record is already practically worthless, and when Captain Burton asked a certain Elder Stenhouse, whom he seems to have much esteemed, what was supposed to have become of the golden plates, the Mormon 'Tables of the law,' which were popularly said to have been removed by an angel after they had done their work,—the Elder replied, that he

knew nothing about it, but that his belief was independent of all such accidents, which did not in the least affect the essence of the Religion. To believe in Joseph and his successors—to reverence the Book of Mormon, the Book of Doctrines and Covenants, and the Christian Bible—to pay tithes—to be baptized for the remission of sins, and to submit to the autocracy of the President,—this is all that is required of the orthodox. Within this range doctrine seems wholly free. Nor does religious philosophy seem to be more trammelled. The fanciful metaphysics of Orson Pratt, though he is styled among themselves ‘the gauge of philosophy,’ and by Captain Burton, ‘the Usman of the New Faith,’ carry with them little more authority than the subtleties of the schoolmen with relation to the Roman Catholic Creed. Indeed, he is accused of having intruded human learning into a scheme whose essence is the utter abrogation of the individual will.

Nevertheless, some polytheistic materialism appears to be accepted as the philosophic form agreeable to the Mormon revelation. The German mystic who taught that the Deity did not exist, but was continually ‘becoming,’ and therefore would probably ‘be’ some day, diverged little more from accepted theology than did this professedly Christian Prophet, who has dethroned the Godhead not only from eternity but from spiritual life, and anthropomorphised alike the first and second persons of the Trinity. It is difficult even to delineate the mythology that springs from such a basis of thought in the rude fancies of ignorant men, without shocking the most solemn associations and producing an impression of wilful profanity. Under the theory that human spirits are co-equal with the Divine, and only differ from the Highest in the gifts and powers they possess and in the transient tabernacles in which they dwell, all the limitations of reason and judgment disappear, and no moral enormity is improbable. The Holy Spirit is no longer the subduing and chastening power, sanctifying the will of man, but an accessory to his pride and the instrument of his influence, at once exciting him to spiritual anarchy and justifying a strong political hierarchy to control its disorders.

Captain Burton, indeed, would wish us to believe that, not being Mormons ourselves, we can see nothing but the externals of the religion, and that he himself, although he has associated with Saints of every class from the Head of the Church down to the field-hand and has had facilities of communication denied to official or private Americans, yet, being unfortunately a Gentile, can

teach little more. M. Rémy, indeed, has given an elaborate detail of the ceremonies of initiation that take place in the ‘Endowment Hall,’ as the chief public edifice is denominated; but as he could not have been either an actor or a spectator, the whole may be rather a mystification than a mystery. There are undoubtedly both sacred and social meetings from which all but the brethren are rigidly excluded, and also more secret and select societies of persons who seem bound together by especial ties; but it does not follow that these are either councils of ineffable wisdom and divine illumination or scenes of licentious orgies, bloody denunciation, human sacrifice.

We can perceive nothing in Mormonism indicative either of an inner spiritual life, or of the esoteric scepticism of which religious mysteries have been the veil. In no recognised form of belief that we know of has there been a more open avowal both of means and ends. Where the retributive power which Captain Burton aptly personifies as ‘that wild huntress the Themis of the Rocky Mountains,’ can shoot down objects of criminal suspicion in the open streets, with full public approbation, there is no need of any awful *Vehm-Gericht*; nor is there much probability of secret licentiousness where Brigham Young can hold his unlimited *hareem* and build a college for the education of his progeny. Neither does there seem to be any place for the aberrations of mysticism or the delusions of the passions in a religion which is by its very dogmas concentrated on material interests and immediate satisfaction, and in which the highest abstractions are degraded into sensual realities, making fancy base and poetry impossible. The rites which are concealed from the unbeliever or the neophyte are probably of a Masonic character; and we have been informed by members of that world-wide association, that they have found among their Mormon brethren a singular commixture of novel theology with their familiar ceremonies and symbols.

Neither of our writers affords us much assistance in solving the problem of the personal character of Joseph Smith. It seems uncertain whether he was even the author of the New Religion, and did not adopt certain fantastic doctrines of an offshoot of the Baptist Church, of which Sidney Rigdon, a man of remarkable eloquence, and subject to the strange phenomena of spiritual epilepsy and epigastric speech, was the chief apostle. Holding enthusiastically to the literal interpretation of the prophecies, Rigdon taught that the long-lost tribes



of Israel were about to be restored, and professed to discover the history of their identity with the Indians of North America, in the book of Mormon, of which Joseph Smith had become, somehow or other, the proprietor. But this connexion having been once established, the prospects of the Indian Hebrews rapidly lost their interest, and 'The Book' became nothing more than the starting point of a new dispensation. Many persons must still be living who could recount the details of Smith's daily life, and throw at least some light on the sources and nature of his influence over other men. But all descriptions that we have yet seen are of the vaguest generality, with the exception of the pathetic history of his last days given by his fellow-sufferer, John Taylor, and inserted as an appendix to Captain Burton's work. There is no limit to the contemptuous abuse of his enemies, and he was at no time a prophet in his own country. In a public inquisition which took place at Manchester in 1833, the family of Smiths were attested to be notorious for 'indolence, foolery, and falsehood,' and 'their whole object in life to live without work.' Joseph is stated to have had a crazy fancy for treasure-seeking, that may have mixed itself up with the alleged biblical discovery, which Mr. Hale, his own father-in-law, declared to have been 'got up for speculation, and in order that the fabricators might live upon the spoils of the credulous.' Indeed, a combination of profit and faith runs through the whole of Smith's religious system, and exhibits itself in forms which, while they have a curious analogy to the American character, will be either ludicrous or offensive, as they happen to be regarded by European minds. Thus he entitled himself in one edition of the 'Book,' 'President, seer, translator, prophet, apostle, and elder of the church of Latter Day Saints throughout the earth, dealer in town lots, temples, merchandise, bank stock, and prairie lands, retailer of books, stationery, cap, letter, fool, and wrapping paper, and general of Nauvoo militia.' Thus the Great Temple was built for 'the glory of God, for all the kings of the earth to take refuge in,' and 'guaranteed to pay five per cent. to all the shareholders' in the edifice. In the same way banking and other speculations, many of them unfortunate, added considerably to the troubles of the community in various settlements; and thus, too, the main object in coining money at Deseret has been professed to be the desire of fulfilling the founder's prophecy, 'that one day his notes would be up to par.' An advocate might undoubtedly plead that these are no more than rough

expressions of the intelligent industry which is the main characteristic of the practical Mormon life, and a Transatlantic interpretation of the old maxim, *ora et labora*. But in any estimate of personal individuality, it is hard to bring together gainful astuteness and enthusiastic devotion. Undeniable facts, however, stand out in favour of Smith's honesty and fair dealing. Placed upon his trial for various charges, some forty times, before various tribunals which could have no interest in treating him with favour, or even with mercy, he was uniformly acquitted; and it was under the guardianship of the recognised authorities that he was foully murdered. He never seems to have revenged any personal injury, nor to have shrunk from braving the malice of savage enemies or treacherous friends. He was most affectionate in his family relations, in a country where those ties are not usually strong, playful with children, and gentle to all men. Whatever rant or bluster there may be in his sermons, there is no sign of them in his actions, as far as they have been reported, not even in the last crisis of his existence. The dying hours of brave Martin Luther were troubled with sore depression at the difficulties and tumults he had brought upon the world: true Edward Irving, awaiting his dissolution, wrote of 'the awfully perilous place into which he had been thrust,' and 'of abhorrence that he should have been found in such deceivableness, and been so fearfully deceived.\*' But Doctor Bernhisel, an eye-witness of Joseph's death, states that he 'looked him full in the face, as solemn as eternity, and said, "I am going as a lamb to the slaughter, but I am calm as a summer morning; I have a conscience void of offence towards God and man."' Yet Captain Burton wisely remarks, that while great 'events can scarcely be brought about by mere imposture, whose very nature is feebleness, it is impossible to ignore the dear delights of fraud and deception, the hourly pleasure taken by some minds in finessing through life, in concealing their real selves from the eyes of others, and in playing a part till by habit it becomes a nature.' Something of this character has been given, by his last biographer, to the great Arabian, in the mission to Mecca the self-believing prophet—in that of Medinah, the conscious master of men. But in no part of Smith's career can we trace any change of disposition or of thought. It is all confused, and unamenable to any standard of conduct or opinion. We have

\* Vide his letters in the 'Gospel Magazine' for May, 1835.

conversed with distinguished American politicians who were brought into contact with him at the time when the 'Mormon ticket' was solicited on both sides and went far to secure Mr. Polk's election; and from none could we hear anything confirmatory of Smith's moral or intellectual eminence, except from one who told us he had been present at a dinner where Smith's health was drunk as that of a person who, 'as a magistrate on the bench, as an officer in the field, as a prophet in the church, and as a gentleman at the head of his own table, had few equals and no superior.' On the other hand, we are bound to state that these same observers describe him as a man of great simplicity of demeanour, without the least affectation in his costume, or of ostentation in his mode of living; and they demur to the portrait affixed to M. Rémy's volume, as too smart and formal, and wanting in the shrewd simplicity that struck them in the original, and which reminded them of the old coach-drivers of the country before the introduction of railways.

Is it not probable that the secret, not only of the power of the Chief, but of the successes and persecutions of the system itself, is to be found in the Communistic idea which of late years has taken so strong a hold of the popular imagination in various portions of the world? By the side of the extension of political freedom and the assertion of personal rights, there has sprung up a sense of the loneliness and helplessness of the individual man, an avoidance of responsibility, and a yearning for some dominant will which could be submitted to without humiliation or dishonour. This sentiment, which in Europe took the various shapes of socialistic theories, from Fourier's reconstruction of the universe, to Louis Blanc's organisation of labour, and which was quenched for a time in the blood of the battle of June in Paris streets, has found in Mormonism the system most consonant to American thought and American institutions. Republicanism can submit without degradation to supernatural influences, and religious brotherhood finds nothing inconsistent with equality in the strictest discipline. The advantages of a common purpose, and the comfort of a general sympathy, combine with the satisfaction of a destiny superior to the common lot of man; and the person who holds out a fair prospect of realising such hopes, need not expect to be severely scrutinised as to the grounds of his assumptions or the justice of his claim. The devotion to St. Ignatius, St. Francis, or Santa Theresa was due not only to the piety of the Christian saint, but to the organising power and the administra-

tive talents of the Founder of the Order. It was the self-sacrifice of Florence Nightingale that won the reverence of the British people, but the success of her work depended on the originality of her character and on her genius for command. Thus, when the Mormons were once a recognised community, the undoubted ability which Joseph Smith showed in keeping them together and in arranging their worldly affairs secured their loyalty quite as much as any series of Covenants or revelations of Doctrine.

It is certain that just in proportion as the new religion assumed a political colour it affected the society in the midst of which it was placed. Under a government which takes no formal cognisance of the forms of opinion, and which restricts the action of the law within the narrowest bounds, democratic jealousy exhibits itself easily in popular excesses. Thus, although Mormonism avoided all interference with the rights of property, and rather extended than limited the constitution of the family, it took up an extralegal, unnational, sectional position, which gave a certain plea for persecution and lit the inflammable materials around. It was, in truth, a Secession within the State, and, like the great Secession, antagonistic to human freedom. There is no more excuse for the fierce and ruffianly treatment of the Mormons by the populace of the different localities in which they attempted to settle, than there is for any other mob-violence; but it is hardly conceivable that in any regular condition of society they could have been permitted to strike root and expand into their present importance. They owe as much to the desolation of the sage and saleratus prairies, as the Vaudois to the recesses of the Western Alps. As long as Joseph Smith and his little band of believers remained in the State of New York, they were an exclusively religious body; but, as they removed themselves into a less inhabited and wilder region, they acquired a political status and political responsibilities. At last, by a sort of cession on the part of the State of Illinois, he assumed a superior authority, setting aside the established course of law, deciding all cases by a tribunal composed of seven of his adherents, and, above all, giving refuge to criminals who had escaped from the hands of justice in other parts of the Union. The writ of the United States marshal ceased to run at Nauvoo. It was at the head of above 10,000 devotees, bound to him for life and death, and holding his commands as the words of God, that he proclaimed his candidature for the presidency of the United States in 1844. The new faith at the same time began to spread

in Europe, and one single vessel brought 800 followers from England. A migration to California was proposed and debated; the Prophet elected to remain, and in February 1844 issued his 'Views on the Powers and Policy of the United States Government.' A newspaper started to oppose him; and Smith, as mayor of Nauvoo, declared it a public nuisance, and ordered the destruction of the printing-press. The people of the neighbouring town of Carthage prepared to march on the Mormons with arms and artillery. Smith proclaimed martial law, but was persuaded to submit to the authorities; they abandoned him to the populace, and he was slain on the 27th of June.

The three years of persecution which followed this event, during a large portion of which the Mormons lived as a military encampment, inflicted fearful suffering and considerable loss of life, while it injured the more hardy portion of the community to the trials and perils of the emigration. One hundred and forty-three pioneers went out in search of a future Eden, and were followed by the advance train of 4000 souls, headed by Brigham the Seer, who arrived at the Great Salt Lake on the 24th July, 1847, the 'Independence Day' of the Saints. A small tract was at once planted with potatoes, an area of forty acres surrounded by log-houses, and a palisade of timber plucked from the ravines. What was the view that broke on the sight of the first pilgrims, and what these few short years of human industry and intelligence have effected, cannot be told better than in Captain Burton's words.

'The Sublime and the Beautiful were in present contrast. Switzerland and Italy lay side by side. The magnificent scenery of the past mountains and ravines still floated before the retina, as emerging from the gloomy depths of the Golden Pass—the mouth of Emigration Canyon is more poetically so called—we came suddenly in view of the Holy Valley of the West.

'The hour was about 6 p.m., the atmosphere was touched with a dreamy haze, as it generally is in the vicinity of the Lake, a little bank of rose-coloured clouds, edged with flames of purple and gold, floated in the upper air, whilst the mellow radiance of an American autumn, that bright interlude between the extremes of heat and cold, diffused its mild soft lustre over the face of earth.

'The sun, whose slanting rays shone full in our eyes, was setting in a flood of heavenly light behind the bold, jagged outline of "Antelope Island," which, though distant twenty miles to the north-west, hardly appeared to be ten. At its feet, and then bounding the far horizon, lay, like a band of burnished silver, the Great Salt Lake, that still innocent Dead Sea. South-westwards, also, and equally deceptive as regards distance, rose the boundary of the valley plain, the Oquirrh

Range, sharply silhouetted by a sweep of sunshine over its summits, against the depths of an evening sky, in that direction, so pure, so clear, that vision, one might fancy, could penetrate behind the curtain into regions beyond the confines of man's ken. In the brilliant reflected light, which softened off into a glow of delicate pink, we could distinguish the lines of Brigham's, Coon's, and other canyons, which water has traced through the wooded flanks of the Oquirrh down to the shadows already purpling the misty benches at their base. Three distinct and several shades, light azure, blue, and brown blue, graduated the distances, which extended at least thirty miles.

'The undulating valley-plain between us and the Oquirrh Range is 12.5 miles broad, and markedly concave, dipping in the centre like the section of a tunnel, and swelling at both edges into bench-lands, which mark the ancient bed of the Lake. In some parts the valley was green; in others, where the sun shot its oblique beams, it was of a tawny yellowish red, like the sands of the Arabian desert, with scatters of trees, where the Jordan of the West rolls its opaline wave through pasture lands of dried grass dotted with flocks and herds, and fields of ripening yellow corn. Everything bears the impress of handiwork, from the bleak benches behind to what was once a barren valley in front. Truly the Mormon prophecy had been fulfilled: already the howling wilderness—in which twelve years ago a few miserable savages, the half-naked Digger Indians, gathered their grass-seed, grasshoppers, and black crickets, to keep life and soul together, and awoke with their war-cries the echo of the mountains, and the bear, the wolf, and the fox, prowled over the site of a now populous city—"has blossomed like the rose."

Defended by sterile volcanic passes and girt by vast waterless deserts, unapproachable from any settled country, except by a dangerous march of a thousand miles on one side and six hundred on another, the Mormons might well have looked forward to a monastic existence, more secluded than the Thebaid of old, where generations might pass away, undisturbed and unprofiting by the outer world. But a few grains of gold picked up in the wilds of California altered the whole of their destiny, and transformed their solitude into the great midway station between the Missouri River and the Pacific Ocean. It is thus that these refugees from civilisation are now become the nucleus of a hybrid civilisation of their own. Their security must now depend not upon isolation but upon power, upon wealth and upon the strength to keep it. Their produce is no longer confined to the purpose of their own subsistence; and while the culture of cereals is making great progress, and the main fault of the vegetables is their excessive size, there is no limit to the supply of pasturage in the valleys, or to the growth of that marvellous food, the Bunch-grass of the hills. This latter provision of nature remains fresh and

juicy through the winter, and is followed by the flocks and herds as the snow line creeps up the hills, affording an abundant and highly flavoured nutriment even when ripened into straw. Captain Burton practically suggests the introduction of this *festuca* into this country, and the experiment of its growth on the sandy lands about Aldershot. But here its use would not be accompanied by that delicious air of the Rocky Mountains, which has the same life-sustaining property that our traveller remarked in the Somali country, where on a lime-stone-ledge, white with desolation, he found the sheep and bullocks plump as stall-fed animals.

The mail communication with the Western and Eastern States is a matter of much interest in Utah, and every feasible project of railroad or water line is eagerly discussed. Settlements and outposts, under the title of 'Stakes of Zion in the Wilderness,' are thrown out in all directions; and three long lines of juvenile cities extend as caravansaries, one along the Humboldt River to Carson Valley, the second towards the south *vid* Fillmore, and Egan's Route (the present mail road) between the two.

The continual increase of the Mormon population is supplied, not by the United States, but by emigrants from some of the most enlightened countries of Europe. The proportion of the native Anglo-American to the foreign born is said to be not one in ten. Great Britain furnishes the largest proportion by five to one: Germany few: Denmark and Switzerland a larger quota. No Catholic country contributes its contingent with the exception of a casual relay from Italy. Sweden alone has attached penalties to the profession of the religion, and checked the emigration of its people by legal means. It is a wonderful fact that out of this England of ours should go forth annually to the Salt Lake City a large body of men and women, who from the modicum of property they carry with them may be assumed to be at least of the upper rank of agriculturists or artisans, and who from the very fact of the venture which they undertake, must be persons of some energy of will and superiority of character. We have no means of knowing distinctly the immediate influences brought to bear upon them, but we have reason to believe that the arguments in use are rather of an economical than of a religious character. The persons abducted are almost universally Dissenters, and Wales supplies a larger proportion than any other part of Great Britain. We believe that little novelty in matters of faith is inculcated, and peculiarities, such as 'the plurality' in marriage, only alluded to when they become

matters of objection. In the same way the violent interpretation given to Scripture by Mormon expositors is probably revealed with much caution to the Bible-loving people of England, who would be somewhat shocked, at first to be told that St. Peter assassinated Ananias and Saphira, and that the indignant Apostles trampled Judas to death.

Any one who attends the Mormon worship in this country will remark that except for the occasional mention of the Prophet, and a certain buoyant spirit of hope and yearning towards an immediate future of blessings, there is little to distinguish it from any other earnest Nonconformist congregation. But certain practical advantages are not only held out to but realised for the Mormon emigrant, which the hard-headed Yorkshireman or Lancastrian will not be slow to appreciate. The Select Committee of the House of Commons on emigrant ships for 1854 summoned the Mormon agent and passenger-broker before it, and came to the conclusion that no ships under the provisions of the 'Passengers' Act' could be depended upon for comfort and security in the same degree as those under this administration. The ordinary emigrant is exposed to all the chances and misadventures of a heterogeneous, childish, mannerless crowd during the voyage, and to the merciless cupidity of land-sharks the moment he has touched the opposite shore. But the Mormon ship is a Family under strong and accepted discipline, with every provision for comfort, decorum, and internal peace. On his arrival in the New World the wanderer is received into a confraternity which speeds him onwards with as little hardship and anxiety as the circumstances permit, and he is passed on from friend to friend, till he reaches the promised home. The palmer of the old time could not fail to have been affected with serious wonder as he passed from his northern dwelling-place across the Mediterranean Sea to the Holy Sepulchre, and to have meditated to his dying hour on the shadeless sky, the golden sands, the hooded woman, and the turbaned Infidel. Not less marvellous must the course through the populous States and across the central desert of America seem to the British peasant or handicraftsman of our day. Conceive what must be to him that three months' march, in the frequent presence of such phenomena as Captain Burton delineates; the *mirage* of water perfect in its reflection and delusion as in Persia or Arabia; the 'False Dawn,' shimmering on the eastern horizon till the Great Bear, 'the Prairie night-clock,' grows pale, but soon verges in the returning dark, which again yields to the fiery flash

and amber radiance that ushers in the day ; and the 'Boreal Aurora' gleaming brighter than an Assyrian sunset, the long streamers intercepted and mysteriously confused by a massive stratum of black cloud, through whose narrow rifts and jagged chinks the splendours pour in floods of magic fire, now shooting out from Lucifer to Aries, now narrowed to a span, now revolving with wild rapidity, now arching the entire heavens, inspiring the familiar Indian himself with religious terrors and ancestral dreams. We will not suppose our pilgrim capable of the poetic perception which animates Captain Burton's pages, but even in an uncultured mind some such thoughts as these we transcribe might arise, and sensations, hitherto unknown, excite or oppress his spirit, on that majestic level, the 'highest steppe of the American continent,' the great Pass of the Rocky Mountains.

'A watershed is always exciting to the traveler. What shall I say of this, where, on the top-most point of American travel, you drink within a hundred yards of the waters of the Atlantic and the Pacific Oceans?—that divides the "doorways of the west wind" from the "portals of the sunrise." On the other side of yon throne of storms, within sight, did not the Sierra interpose, lie separated by a trivial space the fountain-heads that give birth to the noblest rivers of the continent, the Columbia, the Colorado, and the Yellowstone, which is to the Missouri what the Missouri is to the Mississippi;—whence the waters trend to four opposite directions: the Wind River to the north-east; to the south-east the Sweet-water and the Platte; the various branches of the Snake River to the north-west; and to the south-west the Green River, that finds its way into the Californian Gulf. It is a suggestive spot this "divortia aquarum:" it compels Memory to revive past scenes before plunging into the mysterious "Lands of the Hereafter," which lie before and beneath the feet. The Great Ferry, which steam has now bridged, the palisaded banks of the Hudson, the soft and sunny scenery of the Ohio, and the kingly course of the Upper Mississippi, the terrible beauty of Niagara, and the marvels of that chain of inland seas which winds its watery way from Ontario to Superior; the rich pasture lands of the North, the plantations of the semitropical South, and the broad cornfields of the West: finally the vast meadow land and the gloomy desert waste of sage and saleratus, of clay and *mauvaise terre*, of red butte and tawny rock; all pass before the mind in rapid array ere they are thrust into oblivion by the excitement of a new departure.'

The military organisation which accompanies each train, not only for purposes of order, but for protection against the fraud or violence of the vagrant Indians, who, penned in by the white enemies that are gradually closing upon them from east and west and, no longer able to shift their

ground with impunity, must soon be brought to final bay, cannot be without its effect. Thus then, awed by the distance of the journey and the dimensions of nature, trained to discipline by the sense of their own helplessness and the necessities of self-defence, cheerful under privations voluntarily incurred, and, in many cases, upheld by the ardour of religious confidence, the emigrants reach Deseret in a state of mind and body, the best adapted to the contented performance of remunerative toil, and in a spirit of obedience and subordination, which in their native countries and natural condition they would have denounced as slavish and degrading. These appear to us to be some of the grounds of the easy transportation of Europeans to Utah, and of the present prosperous condition of the community.

It may also owe something to the tranquil regularity of its social progress, and the absence of the speculations and hazards which have conferred a spasmodic prosperity on other similar settlements. It has attracted no large capitalists; it has been the field of no wild investments. Its green pastures have been no gambling table for the once abundant wealth of the Northern cities, nor for the desperate adventures of the needy sharper of the West. Its citizens are men of modest gains, who have resisted the temptations of the gold regions of Pike's Peak, and of the silver mines of the Nevada. Almost daily, their streets and roads are traversed by these soldiers of fortune, who are tamed into order and sobriety by the Mormon police, and sent elsewhere on their errands of profit or of plunder. Warned by the experiment of the Temple of Nauvoo, the locality destined for the great centre of Mormon worship is, or was a few months ago, only marked out by the foundations of the edifice. The buildings are monotonously plain, without the least outlay of unproductive labour; the glories of art are reserved for the greater days to come, when the proud Union shall have perished, when the sovereign State of Deseret shall be the centre, not only of the Transatlantic world, but of a regenerated and re-christianised universe.

The subject of Polygamy is so closely connected with Mormonism in the public opinion of Europe, that it will assuredly be new to many of our readers to be informed that this great divergence from the laws and customs of marriage prevalent in the Christian world does not appear to have formed any part of the original design of the founders of the religion. The Book of Doctrines and Covenants, which Captain Burton assimilates to the Talmud, the Vedanta, the Aha-

dis, and the Traditions of the Roman Catholic Church, in their relations to these separate faiths, but which is really of higher because of undisputed authority, contains in an ordinance delivered in 1841 the precise words, 'We believe that one man should have one wife, and one woman but one husband, except in case of death, when either is at liberty to marry again.' It was in the July following that Smith is said to have received from heaven his revelation of 'celestial marriage.' This document commences with the declaration that all contracts made under the prophet's seal and rule are binding for eternity, and that marriage is in accordance with this general law: it goes on to condemn all Mormons who contract Gentile alliances to an inferior position in the other world; and then argues from the example of the patriarchs that it is the duty of Emma Smith to receive all those (wives) 'that have been given unto my servant Joseph, and who are virtuous and pure before God.' It appears, however, that Emma was so far from submitting to this decree, that she not only came to high words with her husband about it, but actually burnt the original writing, as it was taken down from the prophet's mouth by William Clayton. As she apostatised after Joseph's murder, the whole revelation might have been lost to posterity had not a copy been made by Bishop Whitney, and preserved by Brigham Young, who solemnly published it, with much ceremony, to the community in August, 1852, in the tabernacle at Great Salt Lake City. 'He could not,' he said 'have proclaimed this principle a few years ago; every thing must abide its time, but I am now ready to proclaim it,' and he did so with much mystical circumlocution, ending with the marvellous inference, 'that without the doctrine this revelation makes known to us, no man could raise himself high enough to become a god.' From that time forth the plurality of wives has taken its place among Mormon institutions, without dispute or contradiction. In the census of 1858, there were residing at Utah, 387 families containing 7 or more wives; 730 containing 5; 1100 containing 4; and 1400 with more than 1 and less than 4. We should be glad of some information as to the number of those who feel with the Eastern Poet, that although

'His wives may number four,  
He will best consult his reason,  
Best secure his home from treason,  
Who takes one and wants no more.'

But there are some peculiarities in the polygamy of Utah which may tend to spread

the custom more generally throughout the community than prevails at the present time in any portion of the Eastern world. There is the especial religious duty of producing as abundant a progeny as possible and the correlative spiritual advantage to the male parent; there is the distinct and immediate profit of the labour of a large family in a new country, in which children are wealth; and there is the economy and comfort of the unpaid services of a feminine household, in a society where domestic labour could only be secured at an extravagant rate, and where slavery, though permitted by law, is conformable neither to the climate nor the manners of the place.

There can be no object in misrepresenting the polygamic institutions of the Mormons; and, however different may be our conclusions, we are not less interested in the favourable testimony of Capt. Burton than in the philosophic condemnation of M. Rémy. The former always loves to present himself in the light of an Oriental judging foreign manners, and it is amusing to see how, though he quite approves of the polygamy of one portion of society, he is by no means satisfied with the enforced abstinence of the other. Indeed he anticipates, if the disruption of the Great Republic shall become a *fait accompli* and Deseret a free sovereign and independent State, that not only will the regions of the Great Salt Lake be as exclusive as Northern China or Eastern Thibet, but that the Puritan Republic will re-establish the sanguinary morality of the Pilgrim Fathers and the intolerable virtues of the Ironsides. In truth, whatever plea for license there may have been in the minds of the leaders who promoted this wide deviation from the legalities and proprieties of modern life, it would be unjust to impute any thing like general immorality to the present condition of the society, or to believe that the precise and almost gloomy respectability which there prevails is a cover for profligacy in either sex. That women not native but transported from the populations of the United States, of England, and of Germany, fall into this novel mode of existence without reluctance, adapt themselves to the works and ways of the polygamic home with facility, and contrive to live with their sister-wives with at least as little disturbance as troubles the ordinary intercourse of a large European family, is attested, not only by our travellers but by other competent witnesses.\* The maternal instinct itself

\* Vide Chaudless's Visit to Salt Lake. London, 1857.

is said to bend under the new dispensation, and the children generally to grow up without exciting heart-burnings or jealousies. Though we may be unwilling to admit that Mormonism recognises as a truth what Mohammedism rejects as a calumny—the soullessness of women, yet it is certain that every encouragement is given to the notion that the condition of the female after death mainly depends, in some mysterious way, on her relations with the superior sex while on earth. She may not exactly believe that every old maid is doomed to annihilation, but her hopes of future exaltation and happiness are inseparably connected with the faithful discharge of her conjugal duties and the functions of maternity. It is thus that the spirit of resignation, which at once ennobles and depresses the feminine character, reconciles the Mormon wife to a fate which, while it excludes her from the higher sentiments of which she may, or may not, be conscious, confers on her material advantages, both present and prospective. ‘No cross, no crown,’ said one of them, to an European objector. In vindication of the custom by female Mormons, the salvation of their sex from the miserable abasement, to which a certain portion is subjected in all monogamic societies, is urged with much feeling and plausible argument, and the adoption of a lower standard of life may be knowingly accepted by many under the conviction that it averts great evils and prevents cruel wrongs. To some enthusiastic minds like that of Mrs. Pratt, whose ardent apology is given *verbatim* by Captain Burton and in substance by M. Rémy, the restoration of the patriarchal world is presented as a moral millennium, and the endurance of the vulgar limitations of the Family as at once a scientific anomaly, an indecorum, and a sin.

As the doctrinal treatises and discourses on the subject mainly dwell on the ancient practice of the chosen people and the unauthorised institutions of Christian governments, it may be worth while to condense the historical facts that bear upon this question. Whatever conclusions some controversialists may have drawn from the two wives of Lamech or the countless *hareem* of Solomon, it may be assumed that the Jews, in the relation of the sexes, differed little, if at all, from other Eastern peoples; and that the care of the Mosaic, as of other Oriental legislation, was directed to the protection of the women from harsh behaviour or capricious desertion, and to the fair treatment of the offspring without reference to the mutual affection of the parents. That the man who associated with a virgin incurred the

charge of her protection and subsistence, and that the mother, by the very act of maternity, assumed the lesser dignity of the wife, were the foundations of the domestic morals of the ancient world,—often overruled by lust and tyranny, but, nevertheless, on the whole, the guiding principles of the social life. Where those rules were adhered to, polygamy could never be general, for the use of it implied wealth and power. It was, as it is now in those countries, the privilege of the rich and of the free. By the customary law of the Jews, the high-priest was limited to one wife, (as was continued by Apostolic injunction to the Christian bishop), the ordinary Hebrew to four wives (as was afterwards recommended by Mohammad to his followers), and the king to eighteen; but it is doubtful whether these restrictions were felt as of serious obligation. The supposition that at the time of the coming of our Lord the general custom had fallen into desuetude in consequence of the prohibition by Roman manners, if not by Roman laws, is entirely gratuitous. There was assuredly nothing in the Roman dominion so consonant to the Hebrew character and polity as to make them adopt any Roman habits and ideas that were not forcibly imposed. The most obstinate and conservative of races was little likely to be affected by a purer, if an alien, example: And it is also improbable that the ruling power should have any desire to extend to the conquered provinces an order of thought which was fast fading away among themselves. The almost sacramental Sabine ceremony of the *Conferreatio*, (of which we still retain a relic in our ‘bridecake’) was rapidly becoming confined to the use of the Pagan priesthood; the wife was daily ceasing to regard her husband as *amicum, tutorem, patrem*; the dignity and privilege of the *materfamilias* had declined to the position of *uxor tantummodo*; the married Antony had openly espoused Cleopatra, and the *quotidiana repudia* of Mæcenæ only shocked the stoic Seneca. Such were not the governors who were likely to act as missionaries of a closer and more controlling morality among their subjects. Indeed, if there had been any influence of this kind, Josephus could not have distinctly called polygamy ‘the custom of his country.’ So far were the Hebrews from abandoning their ancestral usage, that it endured after the Dispersion, although naturally affected by the depression of their social position, and by the laws and customs of the nations among whom they were located. In the eleventh century, Rabbi Gerson, in con-



nexion with other Jewish doctors in the North of France and Germany, prohibited marrying more than one wife under pain of excommunication, and this was afterwards accepted by most European synagogues. Nevertheless, both in Italy and in Germany, there seems to have existed the permission to take a second wife, where the first was hopelessly barren, and Papal dispensations to this effect are recorded to have been given in the dominions of the Holy See, as late as the seventeenth century\*; while in Sicily, where the Saracenic traditions might still linger, the author of the 'Ebraismo della Sicilia,' writing in 1748, attributes the rapid increase of the Jewish population to the enforced early marriages, and the habitual practice of polygamy.† It is in entire accordance with the spirit of early Christianity that the Scriptures should contain no express condemnation of a plurality of wives. Marriage was then a civil rite, and with the civil polity the teachers of the faith directly interfered no more than to demand liberty for truth. If the profession of Christianity had been accompanied with the compulsory disruption of the Oriental home, not only would the conversion of the wealthier classes have been seriously impeded, but an element of disorder and hardship to the weaker portion of the community would have been introduced, at variance with the first condition of Christian progress.‡ Among those to whom the Gospel was originally preached, there were, probably, very few in a social position to be affected by any injunction on the subject; and afterwards the settlement of the question was left to that Roman law which exercised so strong a posthumous influence over the organisation of mankind, to those German manners which the classic historian and satirist have alike combined to honour, and to the silent but absolute operation of a religion, based on two sentiments, with which no system of polygamy seems to be compatible—freedom and love.

The authorities of the first centuries of the Church on this matter are just what might be anticipated. No council denounces it as a sin, but the Apostolic limitation of the bishop's household is soon applied to the

whole ministry; and in the Western Church penalties came to be attached to the practice of polygamy by professing Christians. St. Jerome, who is accused by our Reformers of thinking too exclusively of 'victuals and virginity,' will not undertake to declare a polygamist in mortal sin\*; and the language of St. Augustine is precise: 'Quando mos erat plures habere uxores, crimen non erat; nunc propterea crimen est, quia mos non est.'† The imperial decrees of 393 A.D., forbidding polygamy throughout the empire, were a sign of the preponderance of the Western feeling, which could not maintain itself; for the Emperor Valentinian, within thirty years, and with no resistance that we know of on the part of the Christian Church, restored the liberty of marriage according to the several customs and religions of the inhabitants of the Roman world. Even in later days, when the opinions of the Christian peoples might have been supposed to be well affirmed, the Merovingian kings took as many wives simultaneously as suited their passions or their politics, and Charlemagne, the eminently Christian Emperor, paraded as large a *hareem* as an Oriental Sultan would have decorously concealed. It may have been in presence of such disorders that that development of the doctrine and discipline of the Roman Catholic Church took place, which ended in marriage being taken out of the category of personal contracts, and, according to the character of the participants, crowned as a sacrament or branded as a sin. It is therefore among the dissidents from the Church of Rome that, in modern times, we must look for any assertion of the lawfulness of polygamy. And these are of two classes: the casuists, who conceive that the practice might be permitted in exceptional cases of individual temperament or state-necessity, such as might be subjects of especial dispensation in the Roman Church, and the moralists, who, without regarding it as an absolute good, still look on it as a preservative from the miseries and disgraces incident to the illicit intercourse of the sexes, in countries where marriage is restricted and men are licentious. To the former belong the German Reformers, who sanctioned the bigamy of the Landgrave of Hesse, and to the latter the Saxon Lyserus (author of 'Polygamia Triumphatrix,' under the name of Theophilus Aletheus), Bishops Berkeley and Burnet, and the amiable author of 'Thelyphthora.' The

\* Vide 'Historia degli riti Hebraici,' by Leo Mutinensis, 1657, cited by Selden in his 'Uxor Hebraica.'

† P. 20. By Giovanni di Giovanni: 'Inquisitor Reale della suprema Inquisizione de Sicilia.'

‡ This difficulty has been deeply felt by many of our missionaries in polygamous countries. One of our most esteemed bishops in South Africa has lately resolved not to require from his converts this severe test of their sincerity, and the result has been most beneficial.

\* Vide his epistle to Pammachius, in which he writes 'non damno polygamos.'

† Contra Faustum, lib. 22.

Dialogue in which Ochinus\* represents himself as the advocate of the orthodox opinions, and contrives to be driven out of them by the weakness of his own arguments, gives a fair notion of the feelings of the continental Reformers, and the concise 'Answer' of Burnet illustrates the views of the most liberal school of English churchmen. That prelate's concluding words, that 'he can see nothing so strong against polygamy as to balance the great and visible imminent hazards that hang over so many thousands, if it be not allowed,' are the text of Mr. Madan's elaborate treatise 'Thelyphthora,' written in the dreary *Italicized* style of the controversy of his age, redeemed however by a philanthropic fervour that forbids any impression of intentional paradox. The polygamy for which he argues is intended to be in a great degree restrictive and penal, giving to the act of seduction all the responsibilities of marriage, and thereby, as he believes, securing to women immunity at once from vice and from punishment. 'The Blessings of Polygamy displayed,' by Richard Hill, a sharply written answer on the practical question of the balance of social evils, apparently went further to close the discussion than the Scriptural objections with which the reverend writer was assailed, and which turned on many points of doubtful interpretation. A certain Comte de Rantzow revived the argument in Russia in 1784, on general grounds, and makes the assertion, which we have not been able to verify, that Frederic, King of Sweden, had lately proposed to the States of his kingdom to permit a plurality of wives in his dominions, and that the project had been accepted by the two Lower but rejected by the two Upper Houses of the Legislature. The story is not very probable, as by the Swedish law bigamy was punished with extreme severity, but, if it is a fact, it is analogous to the fate of the law of divorce in France, which, having three times passed the Chamber of Deputies, after 1830, was as often rejected by the Chamber of Peers, and has never since been introduced.

This sketch, slight as it is, of the position of the Christian world in reference to polygamy, is sufficient to show that its adoption by the Mormon hierarchy rests on no other historical basis or social analogy than the alleged conformity to the patriarchal rule of life. But there is this essential difference in the cases; that whereas the Hebrew progen-

itors and their race maintained the same idea of the Family that prevailed among all other nations with which they came in contact, Mormonism has artificially introduced a new element into the progressive life of the world, which is entirely contrary to the laws, the manners, and the morals of all Christian races. It may bring with it certain immediate economical advantages and mitigate the discomforts of a democratic society, but it does this by an institution which, whatever pleasant name may be given it, is really nothing more or less than 'household slavery.' The slave is not necessarily either unhappy or degraded; but the slave-owner is the real sufferer, in morals and in sentiment. And thus, whatever may be the apathetic peace and numbed contentedness of the Mormon women, the head of the household and the children will be the true victims. We knew a young English traveller of high birth, who was most kindly tended in a dangerous illness by one of these families, in which there was apparently nothing to offend the moral sense. He asked one of his nurses if she regretted anything in the Old World she had left? 'Only one thing,' she whispered—'love. There are many good things here, but there is no love.'

We do not know why both M. Rémy and Captain Burton have adopted the word 'polygyny.' We do not suppose they wish to avoid 'polygamy' in its Canon-law sense of successive marriages, but that they wish to state the practice in as broad a sense as possible. The word, moreover, is not correctly used; for the Mormon custom is strictly limited to the formal marriage, and that under the double sanction of the assent of the patriarch and the consent of the first wife. In the ceremony of the second marriage, the first wife formally presents her future colleague to the husband. There are already many permitted deviations from, and modifications of, the strict ordinance; but this, at least, is the law of the Mormon Church. 'Polygyny' is properly opposed to 'polyandry,' that habit which was supposed to belong exclusively to such savages as the ancient Britons or the present inhabitants of the Malabar coast, until M. Emile de Girardin took up the subject in his 'Liberté dans le Mariage par l'égalité des enfants devant la Mère,' and showed, to his own satisfaction if not that of others, that it is the only social principle which secures the dignity of the woman, and concentrates in her personality the clearest rights of property and the surest claim of succession. We are not aware why this ingenious writer has withdrawn from circulation a book not more paradoxical or subversive than many others.

\* 'De Polygamia,' formally answered by Beza, translated 'A Dialogue of Polygamy.' London, 1657.

that live their day in France, and surpassing most of them in the vigour of its extravagance and the curiosity of its learning.

Mormon Polygamy will probably endure as long as Mormon rule, but will not survive it a day. It is the creation of priestly despotism, and will fall with it. The weakest believer in the progress of mankind can show no examples of the permanence of a system founded on a descent in the standard of morality deliberately adopted, and the result, not of passion, but of perverted reason. It was the saying of the man who has left the saddest fame of all notable men, 'that the mind of man, like the globe it inhabits, is ever one half in darkness, while the other half is exulting in the light:' but a society that accepts the abnegation of the higher elements of humanity, will soon be reduced entirely to the lower, or be absorbed into some other form. Already Brigham Young is compelled to preach against knowledge and literature, and Captain Burton allows that a large number of the younger and more enterprising men leave the colony for a larger and freer sphere of action. It is easy to conceive that the merits of a delightful climate, of well-remunerated labour, of domestic repose, of freedom from anxiety, of personal safety, must rather be appreciated by the overworn sons and daughters of the Old World, than by those who grow up as children in this mountain-bound asylum, and who only know by hearsay of the large tumultuous world beyond. With the rough pleasures and adventurous gains of San Francisco within a few weeks' journey, and a continual stream of emigrants passing from East to West, it cannot be in human nature to endure very long this penal severity of ecclesiastical and civil discipline. Either the Mormon sovereign must become sufficiently powerful, like the Sultan of Darfur, to ward off from the sacred territory the foot of every Gentile intruder, or else the growth of emigration on either side will gradually press closer, and destroy by assimilation these casual institutions, which now have so much factitious interest. The supreme authority must soon pass to some one who has no traditions of the sufferings of the Exodus or of association with the Prophet to exalt or conceal his human imperfections; and there does not seem to be any one designated who is likely to fill the post with remarkable capacity. The Faithful are content that God should raise up the right man at the right time; and point to the 'painter and glazier' who is now revered 'as king or prince, pope or pontiff, never was;' who holds in his hand the life and death of some 100,000 subjects, who has fought with a few guerillas

and the sword of the Lord against the once mighty power of the United States, and made a treaty of peace with the President of the Great Republic, as if he wielded the combined forces of Europe.

At the present moment there seems to be no room in the Mormon mind for any thought or sentiment but that of exultation at the disasters that have befallen the United States. The 'Deseret News' is a continual chronicle of spiteful triumph. Brother Kimball, speaking by the dictation of the Holy Ghost, which he defines to be 'the light that is in the people,'—and in the spirit of prophecy, which he describes as being 'sure that we are in the right,'—and with an unctuous malice unhappily not unfrequent in religious strife, informs his congregation that 'he had never prayed for the destruction of this government, though he knew that dissolution, weeping, sorrow, and distress are in store for the inhabitants of the United States because of their conduct towards the people of God.' But it is in the last number of the 'Revue Contemporaine' that is to be found the fullest exposition of Mormon hopes and aspirations. In a gravely written article we are informed that the present American troubles are not only signs of the just vengeance of God, but the visible preparation for the universal ascendancy of his chosen people. The North and South will equally decline in wealth and population by means of this internecine war, till the appointed hour when the Saints shall arise in their unexhausted vigour, and marching eastward repossess the land of their fathers, rebuild the temple of Nauvoo, and establish, amid the ruins of the follies and crimes of generations, the millennial America of restored humanity. In the meantime Utah, unceasingly replenished from the populations of Europe, and affording the only possible asylum to the victims of American confusion, will stand apart, the witness and instrument of the Will of God.

It is on this pinnacle of frenzy that we leave the last of the strange enthusiasms that have disturbed and distorted the moral and intellectual progress of the higher races of mankind, not without some serious consideration that it is not alone by 'little wisdom,' but oftentimes by great falsehood, that the world is ruled.

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ART. VIII.—*The Constitutional History of England since the Accession of George III.: 1760—1860.* By THOMAS ERSKINE MAY, C. B. London: 1861. Vol. I.

THE seventy years which elapsed between the Revolution and the accession of George III. were a period of anxious probation for the new theories of government laid down by the statesmen of 1688. The earlier years of the experiment were not encouraging. An ancient monarchy founded on hereditary right, and illustrated by a succession of great names, had been suddenly set aside; and a monarchy of a new pattern, based on a sort of legal fiction, had been set up in its place. The newly erected throne was filled by a prince of great reputation, and not a stranger to the blood royal of England. But William III. was a foreigner, little acquainted with the laws, the manners, or even the language of this country. Cold and distant in address, he hardly showed any desire to conciliate the affections of his new subjects. His confidence was almost exclusively given to his Dutch followers; and the richest patronage of the Crown was lavished upon them with a disregard alike of prudence and justice. The statesmen of the Revolution he treated with reserve and distrust; while the avowed enemies of his throne soon found that they were the least odious of the domestic factions whom he regarded with a common aversion.

If the English people were slow in comprehending the idea of a first magistrate with a parliamentary title, and in appreciating the benefits of a limited monarchy, the King himself seemed equally incapable of understanding the conditions on which he had accepted the Crown, and affected to resent as an undue restriction on his prerogative the necessary restraints of a Constitutional Sovereign.\* He cared little for England, and he did not disguise his indifference. He undervalued her institutions; he disliked her manners; her climate did not suit him; all his tastes and habits were foreign; and he valued the British Crown only as a means of advancing the main if not the sole object of his public life, the humiliation of the House of Bourbon. From the King himself, a distrust of the stability of the new settlement pervaded all ranks of the people. It was extremely doubtful, indeed, whether the reputation and authority of William could maintain his throne even during the precarious duration of his own life; and it was considered all but certain that the return of the Stuarts could not be

delayed beyond the life of Anne. If the eminent qualities of the Prince of Orange and his services to the cause of religion and liberty had failed to recommend the new settlement to the confidence and regard of the people, what encouragement was there to hope that the Protestant succession could be perpetuated in the person of an obscure German Elector, who neither had, nor could have, any personal claim to the gratitude of the country? Such was the reasoning, no doubt, by which many men who were neither traitors nor cowards persuaded themselves that it would not be possible to maintain the provisions of the Act of Settlement. But Queen Anne died, and the Elector of Hanover took quiet possession of the throne. The disastrous failure of the Scotch insurrection in the following year, according to a received maxim of politics, strengthened the Government. The wise and vigilant administration of Walpole baffled the counsels of the revolutionary party both at home and abroad; but no sooner was that true English statesman driven from power, than the hopes and plans which he had suppressed for twenty-seven years once more revived, and the triumph of faction had nearly resulted in the loss of the civil and religious liberties which England had maintained through various fortunes for more than half a century. The last hopes of the Stuarts were, however, extinguished in the disaster of 1745; and the heir of that ill-starred race, sunk in sloth, brought his days to an ignominious close in a foreign land. The followers and friends of the exiled family, diminished and dispersed, finally abandoned the hope of a restoration; and though many of them retained a sentimental and theoretical allegiance to the rightful prince, the title of the reigning House was no longer practically disputed. At length the ancient loyalty of the English people, which had so long lain dormant under the rule of foreigners, was revived in all its vigour by the accession of a young prince who was so fortunate as to remind his subjects that he had been 'born and bred a Briton.'

Hallam has traced the progress of the Constitution up to this period; and Mr. May undertakes to continue and complete the history to the present time. He prefers what he terms, with reference to the title and purport of his work, 'a natural division of leading subjects' to a chronological narrative. We think he has judged rightly. A regular and consequential narrative must be preserved by the ordinary historian; but when the object is to trace the rise and progress of the peculiar laws and usages which

\* In his letters to Sir Leoline Jenkins, with reference to the succession of his father-in-law (1680), William expresses the utmost repugnance to the project of curtailing the powers of the Crown, which he thinks will draw after it the ruin of the monarchy, and prefers an Exclusion Bill. (Dalrymple's Mem. App. p. 308.)

ultimately result in that political idiosyncrasy called the constitution of a country, its history becomes subservient to the particular purpose, and should be distributed under appropriate heads. The value of such an exceptional mode of writing history depends of course on the selection of the topics and of the facts by which it is proposed to elucidate them. The great outlines of the Constitution having been traced, and in many parts completely filled up, before the accession of George III., the field remaining open to the constitutional historian is necessarily limited. Mr. May has made excellent use of his materials so far. His able and interesting work deals with every topic which serves to elucidate the constitutional history of the last century. The influence of the Crown, its prerogatives; the House of Lords and the peerage; the House of Commons and the relations which those estates severally bear to each other, are set forth with clearness and precision in the volume already published. The second volume will comprise the subsidiary and less defined, but not less attractive, branches of the subject, namely, the progress of party, of the press, and political agitation, of the Church, and civil and religious liberty. We are promised, in conclusion, a general review of our legislation, its policy and results, during the period. Mr. May's admirable *Manual of the Law and Practice of Parliament* has long been the established authority on that subject; and many of his readers will probably turn first to that part of the present work which deals with the House of Commons. The sixth and seventh chapters contain an accurate and well-proportioned sketch of the modern history of the House, comprising the best connected narrative we have seen of the question of Parliamentary Reform. We shall, however, begin at the beginning, and dwell a little on some topics suggested by the first half of Mr. May's volume.

The past century is hardly less remarkable in a constitutional view than the century which preceded the accession of George III. In 1660 monarchy was restored with the hearty and all but unanimous assent of a people, whose distaste for republican institutions has not been less decided than their love of liberty. But it was the perverse fate of the Stuarts to make loyalty and liberty incompatible; and the people, forced to make their election, declared, not without reluctance, for civil and religious freedom when the plain alternative was rebellion against their Sovereign. Indeed, most if not all of the important changes in the Constitution and laws of this country from the

Restoration to the commencement of the reign of George III. were changes made by *statesmen*, in which the people took little or no part. They looked on with indifference while the Crown was stripped of its prerogatives, and while the most solid securities were taken against any further encroachment on popular rights. They were, indeed, not immediately interested in the changes which were taking place. The power taken from the Crown passed to the Parliament, and though the greater share was absorbed by the popular branch of the Legislature, yet the Commons were more in theory than in reality the representatives of the people. The power of the Crown passed in fact into the hands of the aristocracy, and was for the most part retained by that political party whose fidelity to the settlement of 1688 remained unshaken. The rash attempt of the Tory Ministry of Queen Anne, by straining one of the most vital prerogatives of the Crown, to create a factitious majority in the Upper House of Parliament, impelled the Whigs into the opposite extreme of attempting to abolish the prerogative altogether. This they would have effected by their famous Peerage Bill, had not the sagacity of some among them perceived the fatal consequences of a measure which would have closed the doors of the House of Lords against the rising ability and ambition of the country. The existence of a close hereditary chamber side by side with a representative body periodically elected could not have been long maintained; and experience has proved that the order of nobility itself would perish if not recruited from the lower ranks. The project of limiting the peerage was abandoned never again to be revived. The guiding policy of the Whigs was the limitation of the power of the Crown. They saw that this was the only source of danger to the civil and religious liberty of the country. They thought that it was to little purpose they had exposed the country to the extreme peril of a revolution, if they suffered the reformed monarchy to retain that large undefined prerogative which rendered all the boasted guarantees of freedom insecure. They therefore guarded against embezzlement of the public money by a strict appropriation of the supplies. They provided for the independent administration of justice. They made it highly penal to levy troops within the kingdom unless by consent of Parliament; they farther determined the number of soldiers which should be employed, and provided for the payment, victualling, and discipline of the army by an annual vote. They deprived Roman

Catholics of all political privileges and of many civil rights, because they had been the partisans of arbitrary power. For these acts, with the exception of the last mentioned, which were occasional and temporary in their character, the memories of the statesmen concerned in them are held in veneration; and the laws and precedents which they made are justly held for ever sacred and inviolable as the surest guarantees for the liberties we enjoy. The revolutionary kings, though themselves the creatures of Parliament, either openly resented or submitted with sullen discontent to these successive aggressions on the power of the Crown. William III. himself, as we have observed, failed to appreciate the expediency of guarding for the future against those abuses of prerogative, which, in his opinion, justified the deposition of his predecessor, and a new settlement of the Crown. He thought that having accepted the Crown unconditionally, he was treated with injustice and ingratitude by the restrictions which were imposed upon the office. He remonstrated, he resisted, and was more than once on the point of quitting the kingdom in disgust. Anne, though without ambition or ability, never failed to show her aversion to the friends of limited monarchy, and her favour to the party which was hostile to the dispensation under which she reigned. Her successor, a rude German, past middle life, had not even qualified himself by acquiring the language of the kingdom, the throne of which he probably never expected to fill. The laws and constitutions of the country were as unintelligible to him as its language. George I. had no alternative but to support the Whigs, or abandon the throne to his rival, who was all but openly favoured by the opposite party. But he never showed the least sympathy for English freedom, and the greater part of his time was passed in his hereditary dominions. The second Prince of the House of Hanover, though he reigned for thirty-four years, was hardly less of an alien than his father. The precarious tenure of his throne compelled George II. to lean on the Whig connexion, and he was content to yield to his great minister that authority which he was himself incompetent to exercise. When Walpole fell a prey to the coalesced factions which had long been impatient of his supremacy, the King himself experienced the bitterness of parliamentary government, and the latter half of his reign was spent in impotent struggles against the great families which had arrogated the ancient power of the Crown.

At length, in 1760, George III. ascended

the throne under circumstances far more propitious than had attended the demise of the Crown for the last century. Born and educated in the country, in the bloom of youth, and with unblemished character, he succeeded to an inheritance no longer disputed. The ancient loyalty which had so long lain dormant was then revived in all its vigour. That noble sentiment, the vital breath of monarchy, can never be inspired by any but the rightful heir. Great deeds, public services, and success have commanded the admiration, the gratitude, and the devotion, but never, without hereditary claims, the loyalty, of mankind. Military enthusiasm or party feeling may have been felt for William I., for William III., for Cromwell, for Washington, for Napoleon, but not what is strictly and truly termed *loyalty*. The passion of the old cavaliers, the enthusiasm which animated the Penderells and Flora Macdonald, which killed people with grief at the execution of Charles I., and with joy at the Restoration of Charles II., are not excited by mere virtue or merit apart from the traditions of descent and inheritance, though they may be excited by these traditions without either merit or virtue in the representative of them. It was the manifestation of this feeling at the accession of George III. which proved that the people once more recognised a rightful inheritor of the Crown, and the lawful owner of their allegiance. The King was fully prepared to avail himself of an advantage which no former sovereign since the Revolution had enjoyed. His mother, a princess of a petty German House, had brought him up in high prerogative principles. His grandfather, held in thralldom by the great families, was continually pointed at as an example of an oppressed and degraded sovereign; and from his earliest years the heir-apparent was enjoined 'to be a King.' These lessons sunk deep into the slow but tenacious understanding of the prince; and when he came to the throne in his twenty-third year, his purpose was fixed, and his policy was matured. His purpose was to restore to the Crown the power of which it had been deprived, and his policy was to break up the combinations of party which were leagued against prerogative. It was not a hopeful enterprise, but if the attempt was to be made, the opportunity was favourable. Besides the spirit of loyalty which prevailed, one of the great parties in the state, hitherto divided in its allegiance, had finally abandoned the cause of the Pretender, and was prepared to give a united and unqualified adhesion to the Hanoverian succession. The

Whigs, unconscious of danger, were more intent on rivalries among themselves for the possession of the Court than on the great principles to which they owed their political fame. The people, who had recently seen the country brought to shame and almost to ruin by the selfishness and imbecility of oligarchical counsels, hoped the young King would favour their great commoner (as they loved to call the elder Pitt) who had redeemed the national honour, and whose boast it was that he had been called to power by the popular voice.

The King's business, however, was to be done neither by Whigs, Tories, nor popular leaders. New men—who owed their political existence to the King's pleasure, and who were exclusively devoted to his service—were to be placed at the head of affairs. While the Duke of Newcastle, the Duke of Bedford, and Mr. Pitt were each expecting the choice of his Majesty to be determined in his favour, the Earl of Bute was charged with the chief direction of affairs. Bute had been for many years an officer of the household, and the confidential adviser of the Princess Dowager, but had otherwise never been heard of in public life. The Ministry of the late King were not indeed immediately dismissed, but their continued tenure of office was rendered impossible. Pitt, the most formidable member of the Cabinet, was the first to be got rid of, and the most effectual means were employed. The great war by which he had raised the name and power of England to an unprecedented height was to be abruptly terminated. It was in vain the victorious Minister urged that by striking another blow, the House of Bourbon would be laid prostrate. The short-sighted envy of his colleagues supported the policy of the Court, and peace at any price was to be obtained. Pitt resigned. Newcastle was soon after forced out of office by repeated insults. Holdernesse had been already thrust out. Peace was hastily concluded; and the ground seemed to be clear for the new system, when a difficulty, which appears not to have been foreseen, presented itself in a very formidable shape. The young King, with a simplicity which is not unpleasing, had imagined that his Parliament, captivated with the revival of paternal Government, would give him a generous support; and that bribery and corruption, which were the foul instruments of party rule, would cease with that odious usurpation. The Minister, who was hardly less unsophisticated than his youthful master, had never thought of securing the support of an assembly, which, beyond party combinations, comprised nothing but a floating

element of venality. The mistake, however, was repaired with a promptitude and vigour which have never been surpassed in political action. The disparaging terms in which the war was noticed in the King's speech to the council on his accession, and the precipitate conclusion of peace at a moment when England was in a condition to dictate her own terms, had produced a deep murmur of indignation in the country. This feeling, which would have carried the votes of a modern House of Commons beyond the power of control, was not unrepresented in the unreformed Parliament of 1760. The great Whig seat-holders and proprietors, including the Duke of Newcastle who owned or influenced nearly a fourth part of the House, though they had opposed the war from enmity to Pitt, were now opposed to the peace from enmity to the Court. The Tories, though disposed to support the Crown, were not altogether content. It was absolutely necessary that a majority of the House of Commons should be secured. But none of the King's friends knew how this was to be done;—the management of the House being a craft confined to a very few persons, and those belonging to the opposite factions. There was one man pre-eminently skilled in this art, a man of great ability and address, without fear or scruple. Such a man was Henry Fox. But Fox was one of the chiefs of the Whigs. He had long been the rival of Pitt. He had many years previously held the post of Secretary of State, and been offered the lead of the House of Commons. He now held the subordinate, but lucrative office of Paymaster. It was to this man the Court applied in their extremity. Lord Shelburne undertook the negotiation. The bargain was soon concluded. The entire management of the House of Commons was to be given up to him. The whole of the secret service money was to be placed at his disposal; and his services were eventually to be rewarded with a peerage and a rich sinecure for life. On these terms Fox agreed to betray his party, and to carry the measures of the Court. He followed the plan which he had seen adopted with success by his great master in state-craft, Sir Robert Walpole. He opened an office at the Treasury for the purchase of votes, and no less than sixty thousand pounds were thus distributed in one day.\* By these means a majority was obtained, and the exultation of the Court was unbounded. 'Now, indeed!' exclaimed the Princess Dowager, 'my son is King.'

\* This is related by Bishop Watson on the authority of Lord Shelburne. (*Life of Watson*.)



The King himself now ventured openly to declare war against the Whig lords. Many of them were dismissed from public employment; others were driven by insults to resign. Every placeman who voted against the peace was instantly turned out. A host of Whig excisemen and custom-house officers were deprived of their bread. This last might seem to be a measure of wanton severity, but in truth it was one of great political importance. Most of these people had votes, and in some boroughs they were sufficiently numerous to determine the elections. It was necessary, therefore, to fill their places with nominees of the Court. But notwithstanding these vigorous proceedings, the great oligarchy was not so easily put down as the King and his mother imagined. They retained their ascendancy in the Upper House. They still commanded the majority of the House of Commons, and though that majority might be occasionally hired, its fidelity in general could be relied on by the Whigs. The King, therefore, found it necessary to dissemble and temporise. His course had been too precipitate. The rival families forgot their dissensions in a common resentment against the audacious attempt to set up an obscure lord of the bedchamber as Prime Minister of England. The Tories even thought this a little too strong. The people, too, were loud in their expressions of anger and disgust at the sudden and unmerited elevation of the Scotch courtier; but unwilling to blame their youthful Sovereign, they wreaked their rage on the Princess Mother, to whose influence they insisted in attributing this obnoxious appointment. Bute, who had no more courage than capacity, frightened at the first show of opposition, hastily retreated from the post which he had so rashly occupied. Thus, at the very moment when the King fancied that he had achieved a decisive victory over the powerful Whig lords, he found himself at their mercy. There was nobody to supply the place of Bute. Fox claimed his peerage and his sinecure, impatient to seek in private life shelter from the storm to which his treachery and apostasy had exposed him. A will less resolute than that of George III. would have shrunk from the difficulties of the enterprise he had undertaken. But his purpose was unshaken. He might be forced to take the Whigs into his service, but he was not obliged to give them his confidence. Burke in the celebrated work entitled '*Thoughts on the Causes of the present Discontents*,' published ten years after the King's accession, undertook to unravel an ingenious and subtle scheme of policy by which the Court had sought and

was seeking to supplant parliamentary government. The plan, according to Burke, had been originally conceived in Leicester House during the lifetime of the King's father. The object was 'to secure to the Court the unlimited and uncontrolled use of its own vast influence under the sole direction of its own private favours.' The first idea was to set up as Minister some person of high rank and fortune, but hitherto unknown in public life, and who should owe his elevation entirely to the pleasure of the Crown. To this personage the nation was to yield implicit submission. But this project—which was in fact the plan of a pure despotism—it seems was soon abandoned as impracticable. The next idea, and the one which was actually, according to the eloquent pamphleteer, carried into effect, was one of a far more complicated character. There were to be two cabinets: the one ostensible, executory, responsible, composed of the leaders of parties who would ordinarily fill the great offices of state; the other secret, disavowed, irresponsible, but possessed of real power. The secret junta were to thwart, intrigue against, and discredit the apparent Ministry. Parliament was to be demoralised and debauched until it should become a party to this conspiracy against the constitutional statesmen, and an accomplice with the Crown in this scheme against its own independence and the liberties of the people. All the subordinate parts of the plan were drawn out and exposed in minute detail; and the author undertakes to set forth the particular results of its operation. We know not to what profound politician at Leicester House the invention of this notable scheme is to be attributed. Bute certainly was too dull and shallow to comprehend such abstruse politics; and the plain understanding of the King himself was confined to a single idea and a single plan of action.

The truth is that the machinery of a double cabinet was as much a fiction as Harrington's *Oceana* or Bolingbroke's *Idea of a Patriot King*. George III., determined to emancipate his Crown and Government from the dictation of the great families, began by the open assertion of his authority, but finding the families too strong for him, he resorted to indirect means for the attainment of his end. He selected a few persons mostly of obscure rank, who had no hope of advancement but from his favour, and no opinion but his will, as agents through whom he made known his wishes to those members of both House who were accessible to such information; and as he kept the patronage of the Crown in his own hands, members

who wanted titles or favours for themselves or their followers soon learned that they must look to the King, and not to his Ministers for preferment. Considering the state of the House of Commons and of public morality at the period, it is not surprising that the King's friends rapidly increased under this dispensation. The consequence was that the Minister constantly found himself outvoted on measures which he had proposed with the apparent sanction of the Crown. So little disguise was practised, that subordinate members of the Government frequently voted with the Opposition; if the Minister reported this insubordination, his Majesty was very sorry, it was too bad, the delinquent should be reproved, but nevertheless he retained his office, and was not, as it generally proved, disqualified for promotion. When the Minister recommended an appointment, he was probably told that the office had been already promised, or that somebody else was a fitter person. In this manner one administration after another was discredited and broken up; and every fresh Minister exacted and obtained a solemn promise that no secret counsel should interfere between his Majesty and his constitutional advisers. It was, indeed, entirely a delusion that the King's system consisted of a double cabinet, an ostensible and executory administration, with a secret and real council. The people called 'King's friends' were never consulted upon measures; nor were they in the confidence of the King in any other sense than a trustworthy servant or agent is in the confidence of his employer. The Jenkinsons and Dysons were merely the fetchers and carriers of the Court; and the only discretion allowed them was that of communicating their master's pleasure in a way which should be attended with the desired effect.

By the regular and unceasing application of this simple process, the King eventually accomplished his purpose. In the ten years during which the conflict lasted, the King endured many reverses, mortifications, and even personal affronts. He frequently declared that he would abdicate rather than give way, and he was actually more than once on the point of leaving the kingdom. The struggle was brought to a close by the elevation of Lord North to the head of the Government in 1770. The great difficulty which the King had to overcome before he could obtain his end, was to secure the services of a Minister of sufficient weight and ability to conduct the Government, and who would be willing to conduct it on his terms. Such a man George III. had the good fortune—if we are to use such a phrase—to

find in North. Though not belonging to the old territorial nobility, he was the heir of a name distinguished in that great profession which has long been the nursery of statesmen, and which has been the source of more than half the peerage. He had the advantage of experience in office; and his parliamentary abilities were at that time unequalled in the House of Commons. Lord North had other and hardly less important qualifications. He knew mankind; he had a most genial nature, a delightful temper, and was the wittiest man of his day; but unfortunately the easiness of his disposition made all these rare talents the subservient tools of a stronger will, and hurried him forward upon a course of policy and measures which his own sound judgment constantly condemned. A Tory of the modern school, North resented the arrogance of those haughty chiefs of party who denied the King any choice in the selection of the men who were to conduct his Government, or in the policy which that Government was to pursue. The principle on which the executive administration is now and has long been constituted does not admit of the conflict which distracted and weakened the counsels of the state during the first ten years of the reign of George III. There is now a chief Minister to whom all the other members of the administration are subordinate; and this united Ministry holds office so long as it is supported by a majority of the House of Commons. When the confidence of the House is withdrawn, the Ministry cease to exist; and the Crown appoints another Minister whose tenure of office likewise depends on the approval of the popular branch of the legislature. But in 1770 and since the time of Sir Robert Walpole, though there had always been some one member of the Cabinet who was reputed to be principal Minister, there was no real and ruling head of the Government. The administration was essentially departmental, acknowledging no common chief, and frequently divided against itself in the face of Parliament. This departmental administration enabled the Crown to exercise an influence which is wholly excluded when the issue is between a united administration on the one side, and Parliament on the other. If the Sovereign should in these days dismiss a Minister who possesses the confidence of the House of Commons, he must immediately appeal to the constituencies, and the question is decided by their election. An example of this kind occurred six-and-twenty years ago when the late King dismissed Lord Melbourne, and was compelled to take him back by the new Parliament.

The King's perseverance and success attracted all the waverers to his side, and Lord North took office with a secure majority. The Minister being now the Minister of his Majesty's choice, the King's friends ceased to be unattached, and took their places in the rank and file of the Government. The Whigs, after nearly sixty years of rule, ranged themselves as a formidable minority in opposition, and it was not long before the policy of the new system of administration afforded ample ground for attack. The American colonies, whose discontents it had been the last effort of the Whig Ministers to remove, were provoked beyond control when the new Government, acting under the immediate direction of the King, determined to revive and enforce the obnoxious claim of taxation which had been virtually abandoned. The American war, though reprobated by every English statesman, and by none more than the Prime Minister, was at the outset not unpopular. The trading classes, actuated by the narrow and selfish principles of the mercantile system, regarded the colonies as subservient to the purposes of the British commerce; and the people were taught to believe that the object of the colonists was to evade their fair contribution to the common burdens of the empire. But, when contrary to all expectation, the revolt, instead of being promptly suppressed, spread into an organised and wide-spread rebellion, the contest assumed an importance and signification which had not been hitherto attributed to it. The weight of taxation began to press; the British arms sustained some disgraceful reverses; and sympathy began to be felt for people who fought for freedom with so much courage and constancy. The Americans issued their manifesto of Independence founded on the natural rights of mankind, and declaring for democratic institutions. These doctrines, enforced with great ability by their writers, preachers, and orators, did not fail to find admirers in this country. The anomalies of monarchical government, as contrasted with the theoretical consistency of the republican form, which it is so easy to expose, were loudly denounced. These topics were pointed by references to the scandalous state of the representation, to the gross corruption which prevailed within and without the walls of Parliament, to the shameful abuse of patronage,—all of them substantial evils and just causes of complaint. The American war revived the old revolutionary party which had slept since the Restoration. The French Revolution gave them a great impulse, and the grave defects in the constitution and legislation of the country armed

the extreme party for many years with formidable power. Happily the measure of 1832 preserved the country from the imminent danger with which it was threatened by the long ascendancy of Tory principles, and satisfied every man who did not desire to carry reform beyond the limits of the Constitution. The old *root-and-branch* party continues, however, as a distinct organisation to the present day; and, though it contains many men who would shrink from assailing either the Church or the Throne, the avowed objects and policy of its leaders are inconsistent with the maintenance of either.

During ten years, by means of a pliant Minister and a servile Parliament, the King governed the country. But it would be a great mistake to suppose that he governed despotically in the sense in which the absolute monarchs of the Continent govern, or as the Plantagenets, Tudors, and Stuarts governed aforetime. He could not touch a hair of the head of any of those Whig lords, against whom he was never weary of declaring his implacable hatred. They opposed his government in every way short of open resistance, and denounced his unconstitutional conduct in unsparing terms; but he could neither silence nor punish them either in their person or their possessions. The press swarmed with libels, the platforms resounded with invectives against him; but he could neither strain the laws, nor coerce the judges, nor pack the jury-box to put down such clamours. All that George III. did or could do was what many bad ministers have done: he pursued a bad course of policy; he caused bad legislation and prevented good; he bestowed office and preferment not on the deserving, but on those who had served or were expected to serve his purpose. His conduct was unconstitutional and productive of great calamity to his people, but it was strictly within the bounds of the law. If his Ministers suffered him to dictate their measures, they were not the less responsible for those measures; and if Lord North had been impeached, it would have been no answer that he disapproved of the acts in respect of which he was charged, and that they had been done under the express command of the sovereign. The House of Commons could at any moment have arrested his course, which, in fact, they ultimately did. A sense of remorse or fear at length penetrated even that corrupt and callous assembly. They received with favour a motion made by a great leader of Opposition, whose invectives had for years past been unheeded, the avowed object of which was 'the reduction of that corrupt influence which is itself the perennial spring

of all prodigality and of all disorder; which loads us more than millions of debt; which takes away vigour from our arms, wisdom from our councils, and every shadow of authority and credit from the most venerable parts of our Constitution.\* A few days afterwards they agreed to a resolution, proposed by another eminent Whig, 'that the influence of the Crown has increased, is increasing, and ought to be diminished.'

It is difficult indeed to attribute these and similar proceedings which followed to public spirit. They were more likely due to that time-serving instinct which perceives the indications of an approaching change. The disastrous consequences of the King's policy could no longer be denied. The misfortunes of the American war were irretrievable, and yet his Majesty seemed determined on following up the hopeless conflict with an infatuation beyond reason or control. The whole rottenness of the system of government was revealed to public derision, and it was expedient to make a timely retreat from a falling structure. Lord North, who had long been weary of his unthankful office, but had been kept to his post by a sense of honour, and the vehement expostulations of the King, was at length permitted to retire rather than that the King's own Government should be subjected to the indignity of removal by a direct vote of the House of Commons. The Whigs were again in the ascendant, and never doubted that they were about to enter on a long and uninterrupted tenure of power. The King yielded with the worst possible grace; but the victory was undisputed, and the Marquis of Rockingham, after some ineffectual attempts to make other arrangements, was suffered to resume his place at the head of a Whig administration. The King, however, retained some of his personal adherents in office. These men took every opportunity to thwart and discredit their colleagues; and the old jealousies of the Whig chiefs having broken out on the first return of prosperity, the Ministry after a few months was perishing from internal discord, when the death of Lord Rockingham put an end to its existence. Notwithstanding this misfortune the Whigs were still masters of the game, and with ordinary discretion they could not have failed to win; but, by the most stupendous blunder that is to be found in the history of politics or party, they entirely ruined their fortunes, and gave their great adversary an advantage, which by no skill or effort on his part could he have

hoped to attain. We need not dwell on the well-known story of the Coalition, nor trace the series of blunders, by which the painful labour of long years was frustrated; a growing majority in Parliament converted into a hopeless minority, and public confidence changed to hatred and contempt. At first the force of the Coalition seemed irresistible, but the King was determined to fight the battle to the last. There was no longer any question of secret influence being employed to counteract the ostensible advisers of the Crown. His majesty made no secret of his want of confidence in his Ministers. His hostility to them was open and avowed, and he only waited for a fitting opportunity to get rid of them. The India Bill afforded him the opportunity. If that famous measure was not framed with the intention of perpetuating power in the hands of its authors, it was certainly calculated to have that effect. It provided for the government of India, the greatest dependency of the Crown, by a Board of Commissioners nominated not by the Crown, but by Parliament, which was at that time under the undisputed control of the party in power. The members of the Board were to be qualified to sit in Parliament, and were to dispense the whole of the vast patronage of India. So great a theme never before tempted the eloquence of Opposition. Foremost, as the leader of this band, appeared the son of Chatham, who at the age of twenty-three had been Chancellor of the Exchequer in the late Government. This redoubted chief, whose reputation was already established, now stood forth as the champion at once of prerogative and the independence of Parliament, which were alike assailed by the great measure of the Coalition. The Bill was, however, carried through the Commons by commanding majorities; but when it was brought up to the Lords, the King saw the opportunity for which he had anxiously looked. If the Bill passed the Lords, he would be forced to the extremity of refusing the Royal Assent; and it was certain that the Bill would pass the Lords unless prompt and decisive measures were taken to stop its progress. It was no time for whisperings and private intimations of the wishes of a great personage. The King sent for Lord Temple; and, by the express dictation of his Majesty, that nobleman made a written minute, stating in terms that every man who voted for the India Bill would be considered as the enemy of his sovereign. This memorandum was, with the King's sanction, exhibited to every peer who cared to know his Majesty's pleasure on such a subject. The result was that all the waverers were

\* Burke's speech on introducing his *Economical Reform*, Feb. 11. 1780.

decided. Many peers who had given their proxies to the Minister withdrew them; the members of the household and one of the Cabinet Ministers, Lord Stormont, voted against the Bill, which was accordingly rejected by a considerable majority.

There can be no doubt that the King violated the form, the spirit, and the decency of the Constitution by this proceeding. The interference of the Crown with the deliberations of Parliament is manifestly incompatible with the independence of that body, and must necessarily bring the great estates of the realm into dangerous collision. The Constitution has provided modes by which the Crown can communicate its pleasure to Parliament in a regular and parliamentary way. The Veto has indeed fallen into desuetude, but a more efficient and convenient substitute has been found in the prerogative of dissolution which exists in full vigour at this day. The King's minute on the India Bill, as circulated by Lord Temple, was read by Fox in the House of Commons, on the motion of a vote of censure, which was carried by a large majority. Neither Pitt, as leader of the Opposition, nor any of the King's friends, attempted to defend such a flagrant breach of privilege; their argument against the vote was confined to the technical objection, that no sufficient proof of the fact stated was before the House. The objection was valid, so far as the House of Commons was concerned, the act of interference being strictly a breach of the privileges of the Upper, and not of those of the Lower House. At another time, an outrage on the independence of Parliament, such as had not been committed since the time of Charles I., would have been attended with danger to the Monarchy; but so strong was the popular sense of the arbitrary and unscrupulous attempt of the Coalition to coerce the Crown, that the King's conduct was applauded as an act of public spirit, and was attended with complete success. The dismissal of the Ministry which immediately followed the defeat of the India Bill was generally acceptable to the country; and the gallant stand made by Pitt, when he defended his position almost alone against the repeated assaults of the great Coalition, prepared the way for the appeal to the constituency which closed this memorable struggle. The general election completed the discomfiture of the Whig party, and for nearly half a century they were excluded from power.

Every circumstance concurred to make Pitt the most powerful Minister this country has ever known. The inheritor of a name more dear to the hearts of the Eng-

lish people than that of any modern statesman, he vindicated his illustrious descent by abilities of the highest order. His popularity was unbounded. He had an unprecedented majority in both Houses, and was not indebted for a single vote to bribery or corrupt influences. He had, what none of his predecessors had enjoyed, the unreserved confidence and entire support of the King. Neither could his success be described as the triumph of Tory over Whig principles. The son of Chatham had been bred in no Tory school. The earliest efforts of his youthful oratory had been against the corruption of the representative system, and in support of the Parliamentary Reform, which his father had so often urged, as necessary to the safety of the Constitution. The Whigs were, to say the least, divided in opinion upon the necessity of a measure, which above every other should have been adopted as the test of Whig principles. No man, indeed, could have been justly charged with departing from the principles of the Revolution, by giving his support to Pitt in preference to the Coalition. For the first ten years of his administration, the policy of Mr. Pitt was more in accordance with modern ideas of liberal and enlightened legislation, than the views of the Opposition. His first great measure, the Irish commercial propositions, contained the essential doctrine of free trade. It was opposed by the factious folly of the Irish Parliament, as well as by the selfish ignorance of the commercial classes in this country, who thought their liberty would be injured by admitting the Irish to equality in trade. The leaders of the Opposition, Fox, North, Burke, and Sheridan, were not ashamed to denounce the scheme on one day as being unfair to the English trade, and on another, as an invasion of Irish independence. A wise, just, and well-matured plan was in this manner defeated. Another measure conceived in the same spirit, the celebrated Commercial Treaty with France, met with a better fate. Pitt proposed a plan of Parliamentary Reform, but found no support from the Whigs to counteract the interested opposition of the borough owners. But it was on the great constitutional question which arose on the King's insanity in 1788, that the Minister maintained the sound Whig doctrine, of the undoubted right of Parliament to make provision for the occasional incapacity of the Crown, against the rash assertion of Fox and his adherents, that the right devolved in such case upon the Heir-apparent.

Up to the time when the French Revolution began to affect the policy of this coun-

try, it would be difficult to point out any measure of the administration inconsistent with the principles of freedom and the course of enlightened progress. But the French Revolution wrought an unfortunate change in the counsels of the Minister. He allowed himself to be carried away by the alarm which to a great extent pervaded all classes, lest the rage of democracy should spread to this kingdom; and, consequently, he made common cause with the despotic Powers of Europe against a spirit of liberty, which however extravagant in its ebullition had been provoked by intolerable wrongs, and which in no case was it the vocation of this country to suppress. Pitt at length fell by the same means by which he had been content to climb to power. In negotiating his great scheme of the legislative union between Great Britain and Ireland, the Minister had entered into engagements with the Roman Catholics to remove the civil disabilities which affected that body. The King had not been informed of this important condition. He was greatly offended. He was persuaded that he could not sanction any concession to the Catholics without violating his coronation oath; and according to his old practice, he made it known that he should consider any man his personal enemy who voted for such a measure. The King's friends were mustered as in former days, and the Minister found that he must break his promise to the Catholics or resign his office. He chose the latter course, and the Speaker Addington, who had been in his Majesty's confidence during the transaction, was entrusted with the formation of a Ministry founded on opposition to the Catholic claims. In Addington the King found, for the first time, a Minister after his own heart. He was an honest Tory, of ordinary abilities, and with no other idea of public duty than his royal master's pleasure. But these qualifications were not found sufficient for a post which had been newly vacated by a statesman of commanding abilities, of great influence and authority, derived from long possession of power and eminent public services. The Addington Administration sunk, not under active opposition, but from inherent weakness and public indifference. The King was reluctantly compelled to take back his old servant; but when Pitt proposed that his Ministry should be reconstructed on a wider basis, by including such men as Fox and Grenville, the King positively refused, declaring that he would not admit Mr. Fox to his counsels, even if the alternative were civil war. Pitt was eventually forced to take Addington as his colleague, and to

give a promise that he would not renew the question of the Catholic claims during his Majesty's life.

George III. was the first king of England who organised and led a parliamentary party; and, happily, he was the last king who took an active part in the government of the country. The Constitution has secured to the sovereign an absolute immunity, and fixed the responsibility for the due conduct of the executive government upon the Ministers of the Crown. A king who personally assumes the direction of affairs, and requires his ostensible ministers to be the mere agents of his will, may be an able ruler, but unless he has a corrupt and servile parliament to deal with, he takes a course which is sure to bring the most important members of our constitutional system in dangerous collision. George III. during his whole reign was continually overstepping the limits prescribed to him, and tampering with the institutions of the country. He reduced the corruption of Parliament to a system, and personally superintended the secret management of that assembly. He influenced and coerced the members of both Houses, by irregularly intimating his opinion as to measures before Parliament, and visited by deprivation of office and other marks of his displeasure those who ventured to act contrary to his will. He exacted pledges from his Ministers that they would or would not propose certain measures; he proscribed public men who had offended him by their conduct in Parliament, and declared them incapable of being employed in the public service. He frequently declared that rather than submit to constitutional control, he would expose the country to civil war; and when he found himself thwarted, he actually threatened to leave the kingdom, and thus throw the whole government of the country into anarchy and confusion. The truth is, that his intellects were disordered, and probably at no period of his reign was he actually of sound mind. It is well known that his illness in 1765, which was of so serious a character as to make it necessary to provide for a regency, was a paroxysm of mental disease, and though twenty-three years elapsed before he was subjected to another terrible visitation of insanity, his perturbed manner, silly remarks, and unmeaning exclamations, indicated a state of chronic mental irritation.

A succession of favouring circumstances enabled the half-crazed monarch systematically to violate the Constitution for nearly fifty years, and to inflict great calamity on the country. When George III. came to the throne, prerogative was nearly extinct, and the popular part of the Constitution was

falling rapidly into decay. All real power had centered in a cold exclusive oligarchy. The ordinary administration of public affairs had languished, the national honour had been tarnished, and the independence of the empire itself had been put in jeopardy by the operation of an aristocratic system of government which, whether formally instituted or practically established, had been uniformly disastrous in every age and in every country in which it had been proved. The sympathies of the people were therefore all on the side of their King, in his determination to assert the just rights of the Crown against selfish and arrogant cabals. An abler prince entertaining the design of restoring prerogative, and dissembling his purpose as he probably would have done, might have overreached his policy, and produced a reaction dangerous to monarchy; but the avowal of his object by George III., and the obstinacy of his will, suited the English character. The cunning and duplicity with which that object was pursued were little observed, and to the outside spectator it seemed to be an open and manly struggle against faction and intrigue. There was but one course in such circumstances for the Whigs to take—to appeal to the principles of the Constitution, and make common cause with the people in restoring the vigour and efficiency of the representation. But the Whigs were divided on the question of Parliamentary Reform; and the great chiefs of that connexion, though willing to put an end to one main source of illegitimate power, the Pension list and the Secret Service Fund, which was entirely in possession of the enemy, could not be induced to relinquish their boroughs, and to return to the people all that irregular Parliamentary influence of which they retained so large a share. But the great opportunity was in 1783, when the country had arrived at a full experience of the new system of monarchical government, which excluded all men from the councils of the State who presumed to recommend a policy not dictated by the Crown. A long war protracted, if not originated by the irresponsible will of one man, inefficiently conducted, ending in such a reverse as England had never before experienced, and in the addition to her burdens of a load which it seemed hardly possible for her to bear—these were the consequences of suffering the King to have his own way; and all men were now willing to listen to the statesmen who had so loudly and so constantly raised their warning voice against the policy and the system which had been pursued. The administration of the King's friends was discredited and dispersed, and the hereditary counsellors of limited

monarchy were restored to power. It might have been expected that the adversity of twenty years would have taught these men a lesson. They had fallen by reason of their disunion, their petty rivalries, and their want of public spirit. But when they returned to office on the retirement of Lord North, the Whigs were more divided than they had ever been. In a short time the Cabinet was a scene of strife and dissension; the Prime Minister died, and half the Government resigned, because they were not permitted to name his successor. Then came the Coalition, the India Bill, and the desperate struggle between the Crown and the allied factions. The King was now more powerful than ever. The Whigs afterwards sought to regain power by another step more fatal than the Coalition. They set up the son against the father, and adopted the Heir-apparent as leader of the Opposition. If anything had been wanting to complete the ruin of the party, it was this step. The indecency of the proceeding shocked the sober part of the nation. The character of the Prince of Wales, deeply marked by all the vices and follies of youth, and stained with imputations which youth could not excuse, had already made him despicable in the eyes of every man whom high place and the graces of person and address could not blind or dazzle. His secret marriage with a lady of the Roman Catholic persuasion was, besides being in direct violation of the recent statute, and of the fundamental law of the Monarchy, an act which gave the deepest offence to the great majority of the nation. His solemn and unequivocal denial of that marriage of which the most unquestionable proof was extant, conveyed to Parliament by the mouth of Mr. Fox, was made and known to be made for the purpose of obtaining the payment of his debts, and relief from pecuniary difficulty which he could not otherwise have obtained. When the King was struck with the malady which it was supposed would end in his permanent incapacity, the right of exercising the regal power was eagerly claimed on behalf of the Prince for reasons which were equally well understood. The party which had always denied the King the right to choose his own Ministers, openly boasted that the first act of the Regent would be to remove the Ministers who had the undoubted confidence of Parliament and the country, and to replace them by his own friends. The unexpected recovery of the King when this change was on the point of being effected, finally put an end to the hopes of the Opposition. The French Revolution broke up the party. One division of the Whigs following their great leader, em-



braced with a too generous zeal the cause of the revolution, and became identified to a certain extent with the license and extravagance of fanatics, which brought the cause into disrepute. Another section, under the guidance of a still greater name than Fox, rallied to the support of the Monarchy against a storm which threatened alike the existence of liberty, religion, and law.

The bitter fruit of George III.'s system was only partially matured during his own time; but in the twenty years of his successor's rule as Regent and King, the pressure of a lengthened war, aggravated by bad laws, a harsh and repressive policy, together with the want of confidence in a servile and proprietary Parliament, which had long ceased to represent public opinion, had shaken the whole frame of Government and the Constitution of the country. In 1830, George IV. died, and in a few weeks after the accession of his successor, a new outbreak of the French Revolution gave an impulse and a cohesion to the floating elements of discontent in this country, far more formidable than the first convulsion forty years before. Happily the Whigs of that generation were prepared to fulfil the great duty which devolved upon them. United and firm, under the guidance of a statesman, who from his earliest years and throughout a long and distinguished life, had maintained the cause of Parliamentary reform, that great and necessary measure was at length happily accomplished. The balance of the Constitution was thus restored. The people who had been long disaffected, and not without cause, were reconciled to the institutions of the country; and there never was a period in the history of England, when the various elements of which the Constitution is composed have worked more harmoniously than during the last thirty years. The Crown is far more respected since it has ceased to traffic with Parliament and to encroach on the province of responsible government; the Aristocracy has recovered its just influence since it has been deprived of illegitimate power; and the House of Commons occupies its proper place, as the guide and arbiter of public opinion, since it has become the real representative of the people.

We have dwelt so long on the main topic of Mr. May's volume, that we have no space for a particular discussion of the other matters, to each of which a special consideration is assigned. But in fact the influence of the Crown is the key to the constitutional history of George III. Our author treats of the history of undue influence from the Regency to the present time, in a separate chapter; but it is happily significant of the

decreasing importance of this subject, that a very few pages suffice for the history of influence during the latter half of the century. The first period comprised the rise and progress, the latter period the decline and fall, of influence.

When the Regency was at length established in 1810, it was expected that the Prince would immediately dismiss the King's Ministers, and place his own friends in power. The state of affairs was changed since 1788. The country might have murmured at the dismissal of a minister of commanding genius, assisted by experienced colleagues, to make way for Mr. Fox, the hero of the Coalition, and the boon companion of a debauched young prince. But Perceval was a very different man from Pitt. It was the difference between the greatest and the smallest commoner that had ever been at the head of affairs in this country. The policy of Pitt had been eminently bold, steady, and successful; the policy of Perceval was of the lowest type of commonplace Toryism. Fox was dead, and though Sheridan still lived, and exercised, as he had ever done, an evil influence with the Prince, it was well known that not Sheridan, but some Whig of high mark and character, Lord Grey, or Lord Grenville, would be placed at the head of affairs. But the question really was not whether this or that minister or this or that policy would be acceptable. Men's minds were so inured to regard these as matters which the crown was to determine; the discipline of Parliament was so complete, that the Prince could do as he thought fit. This point is well put by Mr. May.

'The events of this period had a deeper import than the intrigues of a court and the disappointments of a party; they marked the paramount influence of the Crown in the government of the country. There were the two great parties in the state looking to royal favour alone as the source of their power. It was never doubted by the Ministers that if they retained the confidence of the Prince Regent they would be able to command the support of Parliament. It was never doubted by the Opposition that if invited to accept office they would be able to maintain their position as firmly as the Ministers whom they were seeking to displace. Both parties were assured that the support of Parliament would follow the confidence of the Crown. The Whigs had relied upon the personal friendship of the Prince Regent; but the Ministers having supplanted their rivals by court favour, continued to govern the country with the acquiescence of an obsequious Parliament. There was no appeal on either side to political principles or policy, or to public service; but all alike looked upwards to the Court. The Tory party happened to prevail, and the government of the state was there-

fore conducted on Tory principles. If the Whig party had been placed in power without any change in public opinion, Whig principles would have been in the ascendant.' (P. 103.)

It certainly argued the decay of constitutional principle, that a power which had been first asserted under peculiar circumstances by George III., should be supposed to devolve, as a matter of course, with the demise of the crown. The success of George III. had been very much the result of his personal character—stolid, tenacious, patient, persevering. But the Regent was one of the lightest and most inconstant of men. The private life of the father was decent even to severity; and his public conduct, grave as were its faults, was neither mean nor dishonourable. The manners of the age were not puritanical; but such license as the Prince of Wales indulged in had not been witnessed in England since the days of Charles II.\* His conduct when he came before the public was almost uniformly to his discredit. His ostentatious opposition to the King's Government, and his friendship which he took pains to parade with men, who, whether justly or unjustly, were considered by the King as his personal enemies; the frequent discussions in Parliament concerning his debts, and his alleged irregular marriage; the notorious falsehood and baseness of his denial of that marriage; his subsequent formal marriage, for the purpose of getting money, and his atrocious treatment of the unhappy victim of the arrangement;—all these, and many other passages in the career of the Prince of Wales, had excited deep disgust and indignation through the length and breadth of the land. The country might indeed have been content to see Mr. Perceval superseded by Lord Grey, or by anybody else; and the purchased votes of the House of Commons would have told for one ministry as well as another; but we doubt that the Regent could have played the game of George III.; nay, we doubt whether the Monarchy itself might not have snapped asunder under such a strain as would have been put upon it by the attempt of such a sovereign as George IV. to govern by prerogative against the nobility and the people.

The Prince, who had amused his friends with the sure prospect of power, disappointed their hopes as soon as he was established

in his seat. At first he put them off by the excuse that the early recovery of the King was so probable, that it would not be proper to make an immediate change. When it was ascertained that the King's malady was confirmed, he made a colourable proposal that some modification of the Ministry should take place by the introduction of two or three members of the opposite party—a proposition which he must have known to be futile and impracticable. To save appearances, the Regent affected to make farther overtures to his old friends, but secretly took precautions that none of these pretended negotiations should have a real result. The Perceval Ministry continued, and after the cruel catastrophe which befell its chief, the materials of the Cabinet were carefully preserved, and an appropriate leader was found in the Earl of Liverpool. On this occasion, a movement having been made in the House of Commons, for the purpose of obtaining a change of government, the Regent resenting this interference with his prerogative, thought proper to throw off the mask, and, in imitation of his father, declared 'that if Lord Grey had been forced upon him, he should have abdicated.'\*

The succeeding reigns afford still fewer materials for the constitutional historian than the Regency and the reign of George IV. The short period during which William IV. occupied the throne is remarkable only for a curious attempt of this blunt and careless monarch to imitate the practice of his father. Without any apparent cause, he thought proper suddenly to dismiss his Whig Ministers, and send for Sir Robert Peel, who was then at the other end of Europe. Before Sir Robert Peel could arrive, or signify his acceptance of the charge, the Duke of Wellington undertook the questionable office of provisional minister, and retained in his own hands several of the principal departments of the administration. In due course of time, the conservative chief arrived in London, and in obedience to His Majesty's command, proceeded to form an administration. But as the House of Commons had not thought fit to follow the King in withdrawing its confidence from Lord Melbourne, it became necessary to appeal to the constituency, and as the constituency was now a real and independent body, they settled the question by returning a majority against the King's Ministers. If His Majesty's design was to try the quality of the Reformed Parliament, it must be admitted that he applied a crucial test; and it may be urged that this

\* Lord Thurlow in his blunt way once said to him, 'Those days of Charles II. were merry days, but they won't do now, Sir.' We have also seen a letter from Thurlow to another person, but intended for the Prince's eye, in which he says: 'Tell him that if he means to imitate the example of Charles II. he should follow it more exactly, and remember that he treated his wife, the ugly, pale-faced Catherine of Portugal with decency.'

\* Lord John Russell's 'Memoirs of Moore,' vol. i. p. 300.

foolish experiment is not to be taken as a conclusive proof that the power of determining the persons and the party who are to be charged with the conduct of public affairs has passed from the Crown. But this proceeding of King William's gave rise to another question. Although it be admitted that the condition of limited monarchy requires, not directly indeed, but indirectly, the concurrence of Parliament in the choice of its ministers by the Crown, yet the crown has the right to appeal to the people against the decision of Parliament. It is obvious, however, that this prerogative must have its limits; otherwise it would be in the power of the Crown to harass its opponents by repeated dissolutions, and to dispense with the statute law which regulates the duration of parliaments. Accordingly, it has been understood that this extreme and exceptional prerogative should not be resorted to, unless it be for the purpose of taking the opinion of the country upon some capital question of policy, or of rectifying some difference which has arisen between the independent branches of the legislature. It would be difficult to make out that the dissolution of 1835 was justified by any of these considerations. The Ministry had the confidence of both Houses; there was nothing extraordinary to disturb the course of public affairs, and there was no sufficient reason for suggesting that the country was dissatisfied either with the Ministers of the Crown or its own representation. It is certain that the eminent man who was unexpectedly, and by what lawyers call the doctrine of relation, made responsible for these proceedings, would not have advised them, had he been previously consulted. There were, no doubt, indications of such a change in public opinion as might at no distant period be favourable to the return of his friends to power. The reaction consequent on the unparalleled excitement of 1832 had already set in, but the King's eagerness to get rid of his reforming Ministers, hurried him into precipitate measures, and the dissolution of Parliament under such circumstances being an unnecessary act, became therefore a mischievous precedent.

Mr. May discusses some questions of great importance relating to the power and independence of the House of Lords, which have arisen within the present generation: of these the proposal to swamp the House, as the phrase was, by the creation of peers to obtain a majority for the Reform Bill, was by far the most momentous, for it directly touched the independent existence of the Upper House. As an abstract question,

indeed, the right of a branch of the legislature to independent action is hardly arguable. If the prerogative can be exercised for the purpose of creating a factitious majority, the House of Lords exists only on sufferance. And there is no doubt that the prerogative may lawfully be so exercised. In like manner the prerogative may be interposed to stop legislation; for the Crown, though it cannot initiate laws, can prevent laws being made. Yet it is equally certain that if the prerogative were so exercised, the Constitution would come to an end. In 1832 it was generally believed that the alternative was revolution, or the extraordinary exercise of this power; and nothing less than the apprehension of such a crisis could justify the responsible counsellors of the Crown in advising such a stretch of prerogative for the purpose of reversing the deliberate sense of one branch of the legislature. The Ministers of that day were fully aware of the enormity of such a measure: one of them has lately revealed to the world the doubts which agitated his mind whether it would not be better to risk the alternative which presented itself rather than resort to the last resource of the Constitution.\* We can venture to say that some of the Chancellor's colleagues were of the same opinion; but after anxious deliberation they unanimously determined to submit this proposal to the Crown. The advice was rejected; the Ministers resigned; and confusion was imminent; when the sagacity, the strong sense, and the public spirit of one illustrious man were interposed, as they had been interposed before to save his country from a great calamity. The Duke of Wellington persuaded the recusant majority to withdraw, and suffer the Bill to pass. Thus the Lords evaded a blow from which it is doubtful they would have ever recovered. They suffered, indeed, a temporary shock, but experience has now fully proved that the integrity of Parliament sustained no permanent injury. The House of Lords has since displayed frequent proofs of undiminished vigour and independence. We need only advert to two remarkable instances of very recent date. We mean of course the refusal of their lordships in 1856 to admit a peer with a patent of peerage limited to his life, and their rejection of the Paper Duty Repeal Bill in 1860. In the one case they came into direct collision with the prerogative of the Crown; in the other they went very near the privilege of the Commons. In each instance the Lords carried their point. The Commons indeed, after a search

\* Lord Brougham's 'Pol. Phil.,' vol. iii. p. 308.

for precedents, were reluctantly compelled to admit that their lordships were strictly within bounds; but the question raised by the Wensleydale patent was one of great constitutional gravity which remains unsettled. We do not, however, now propose to argue this question at length, nor to offer any definitive opinion upon it; we refer to it only as a remarkable proof that the vigour and authority of the House of Lords were not permanently impaired by the reluctant and somewhat humiliating concession to the public will which they were compelled to make in 1832. Nor while upon this point must we omit to notice the still more striking example of 1860, when the *right* of the Lords to reject the bill, sent up for their concurrence was questioned. But though this position could not in strictness be maintained, the Commons passed resolutions which implied, without distinctly asserting, that their privileges had been invaded. The country, however, took no part in the controversy, and the Lords carried their point.

The topic on which we have principally dwelt in these remarks has only ceased to be a question of interest under the present wise and hitherto prosperous reign. The influence of the Crown no longer disturbs the balance of the State, and its wholesome action is visible only in the grateful loyalty of a united people. Our gracious Queen commenced her reign under circumstances more fortunate even than those which attended the accession of her grandfather. Her education was far superior to that of George the Third. Like that monarch, her Majesty was brought up under the anxious care of a widowed mother; but there is no comparison to be made between the Duchess of Kent and that proud, illiterate, narrow-minded princess, who had no other lesson to teach the future sovereign of these realms than a monastic morality and an obsolete kingcraft. It was the rare fortune of her Majesty, too, that the dearest interest of her sex was not made subservient to conventional precedent. Her marriage was not negotiated by diplomatists upon an exchange of lifeless portraits, but took place after a simple and ordinary fashion, like that of any of her subjects. Her Majesty was as happy in her choice as in the opportunity of making one. The union, so auspiciously formed, yielded unbroken happiness and prosperity for more than one and twenty years; and the nation is now deploring, as a public calamity, the sudden stroke of fate which has deprived their Queen of her beloved consort.

The national loss is indeed only second to that which the Sovereign and the Royal

Family have sustained. Had Prince Albert been known only for his domestic virtues, his memory might have been satisfied with the ordinary expression of affection and respect. But the trite language of panegyric is ill suited to the peculiar merits of the departed Prince. While many of the European States have been in a crisis of insecurity and transition; while thrones have been subverted or shaken by the wickedness and folly of their occupiers; while the great republic of the New World has been rent in twain,—the constitutional monarchy of Great Britain has acquired a stability which it did not possess a quarter of a century ago, and which had not been attained at any earlier period of its history. To the prudence and virtue of Queen Victoria must this happy result be in a great measure ascribed. The youth and inexperience of her early reign were guided by the accomplished minister whom she retained at the head of her councils, and occasionally by the wisdom and authority of another devoted servant of the Crown, who was at the same time the most distinguished of her subjects. But though her Majesty's singular aptitude for her high duties enabled her to profit by the counsels of Lord Melbourne and the Duke of Wellington in the fullest degree, the uniform tenour of her conduct during the political changes and chances of twenty years was due to an influence more permanent than the ascendancy of the minister of the day. That her Majesty should consult the husband of her choice upon matters of interest to her people, and therefore to herself, was both natural and proper; and the Prince accepted the responsibility which thus devolved upon him frankly and nobly. Yet it was no easy duty which his Royal Highness undertook, nor was it one without embarrassment, and even danger. A queen consort has a position ascertained by the laws and usages of the realm. She has her own privileges and prerogatives. She has important duties to discharge as the head of the Court; and by her example and authority she exercises a direct influence over the manners of society and of her own sex in particular. But the Constitution has assigned no place to the husband of a reigning queen; and the only precedent which our history affords of a position so anomalous was no guide for the conduct of a successor. Prince George of Denmark had neither the ability nor the will to alleviate the cares of state which weighed so heavily on the weak and vacillating Anne; nor did he ever emerge from the insignificance to which the nation had consigned him, without exposing himself to ridicule and contempt. The po-

sition to which Prince Albert was called at a very early age was indeed one which required a rare combination of qualities to fill with credit. By devotion to the person of the Queen, or by strictness of deportment, his Royal Highness would have done enough to make himself respected; but though nothing more could have been demanded, something more would have been looked for from a person so highly placed. To decline taking any part in the performance of duties with which his wife and Sovereign was alone charged would have been selfish and pusillanimous; on the other hand, his open participation in public business would have awakened that dormant jealousy which the peculiarity of his position had not failed to create in the breasts of a people tenacious beyond any other of native rule. But the clear unselfish sense of duty which governed every action of his life did not suffer the Prince to be perplexed with any weak doubts as to the course he should pursue. He felt that it was his privilege to share in every interest and every care of his illustrious Consort. Soon after his marriage, he applied his well-trained faculties to the diligent study of our history and institutions; and he even pursued his research to some extent into our municipal law. By these means, and still more by his own observation of English manners, and by the exercise of an admirable judgment, his Royal Highness qualified himself for that intimate and constant communion with the counsels of the Crown to which none but its most trusty advisers can be admitted. On the 11th September, 1840, about eight months after his marriage, and a few days after he had completed his twenty-first year, Prince Albert was introduced by her Majesty's command to the Privy Council, and took his seat at the Board, which he never afterwards failed to attend, and the rank conceded to him there was naturally immediately next to the Sovereign. The Prince did therefore in this capacity, and in some degree, fill the office of a constitutional adviser of the Crown. Upon the accession of Sir Robert Peel to power in 1841, that statesman having already conceived an exalted opinion of the discretion and ability of his Royal Highness, more fully acknowledged the claim of the Prince to the unreserved confidence of the Queen's Ministers; and the position in which he stood as the nearest adviser of the Queen, conversant with every transaction of her Majesty's reign, has been recognised by all the statesmen who have held high office in this country for the last twenty years.

Such a position would have become dangerous, and perhaps impossible, had it not

been maintained with consummate judgment, and a constant deference to the constitutional rights of the Ministers of the Crown. But although the Prince had on many subjects strong political convictions which he expressed and defended with great ability,—and indeed he seldom failed to form his own judgment on the political questions of the day,—yet he never stooped to promote his own views by underhand practices; he abhorred intrigue; he allowed no personal predilections to tempt him aside from the straight path; and his course throughout was as honest and patriotic as it was able and judicious. His influence was at once so general and so salutary that, like the pressure of the atmosphere, it was unfelt. He hit the exact mean on which authority rests in a free country, and he contributed to make the Crown act as the adjusting balance of our institutions at home and of our policy abroad. Fondly attached to his native, as well as to his adopted country, no object lay nearer to his heart than to support in Germany the cause of constitutional freedom and national unity, while he desired that the foreign influence of England should ever be employed to maintain the faith of treaties, the principles of public law, and the cause of gradual and rational progress. He judged these questions by the principles of a statesman rather than by the interests of a politician; and as his position had placed him beyond the region in which men contend for political power, he sought, without distinction of parties or persons, to apply his dignified, liberal, and honest rule of life to the smallest as well as the greatest objects to which he turned his clear and comprehensive mind.

It is well known that her Majesty has habitually taken an active interest in every matter with which it behoves a constitutional sovereign of this country to be concerned; in many instances her opinion and her will have left their impression on our policy; but in no instance has the power of the Crown been so exercised as to expose it to check, or censure, or embarrassment of any kind. It may be asserted without qualification that a sense of general content, of sober heartfelt loyalty, has year by year been gathering around the throne of Victoria. Hers has been the popularity so finely described as 'the popularity which follows, not that which is run after; the popularity which sooner or later never fails to do justice to the pursuit of noble ends by noble means.\*' Whatever share Prince Albert may have had in attracting this pre-

\* Lord Mansfield's Judgment in *R. v. Wilkes*, 4 Burrow's Reports, p. 2562.

cious popularity, he courted none of it for himself; his only thought was for the honour and happiness of his Consort and his Queen. With a grace and delicacy which marked the refinement of his character, the Prince, ostensibly holding back from the field of public affairs, rather assumed possession of a province which he might occupy with no rival sway. As the patron of science and art, he promoted and gave a beneficial direction to studies which had been hitherto imperfectly cultivated in this country, but the reputation he sought in these pursuits was necessarily confined to the limited circle which could appreciate his taste and talents. In a private station, the virtues of Prince Albert and the purity of his life would have endeared his memory to bereaved relatives and surviving friends; but he was placed on an eminence which exposed his private conduct to jealous scrutiny, and required for the complete fulfilment of its duties rarer qualities than those of a husband and a father. His quick perception and consummate tact supplied this demand, and invested with dignity and interest a position, which an ordinary man would hardly have redeemed from insignificance. It has pleased Providence to dissolve, in middle life, a union, which for harmony and happiness could not be surpassed throughout the wide dominions of the widowed Queen. We cannot at this moment intrude with more than an expression of respectful sympathy upon the grief of her who feels only too deeply the irreparable loss she has sustained; but in the midst of *our* sorrow at this untimely loss, it is no small consolation to reflect that the future hope of the Monarchy has advanced to man's estate under the guardian eye of such a father.

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ART. IX. — *The Lady of La Garaye.* By the Honourable MRS. NORTON. Cambridge and London: 1862.

READERS whose taste has been formed upon the popular models may close this volume with a feeling of disappointment. Those who belong to an older and more classical school will return to it again and again with a constantly increasing sense of its merits and its charm. The plot is not laid in the fabulous or dark ages; there is nothing mystical or romantic in the story; the moral is unimpeachable; the characters are uniformly good; and the narrative, simple almost to tameness, is told in regular

rhymed decem-syllabic verse; where only the torrent's smoothness shows the depth below. There is no guilty passion, no wild fancy, no startling metaphor, no ambitious display of what is commonly called power. The heroine is the impersonation of joyous and then withered beauty, of blooming and then blighted youth; the poem is a pure, tender, touching tale of pain, sorrow, love, duty, piety, and death. It was written and must be read in the mood which created 'Il Penseroso':

'Hence, vain deluding joys,  
The brood of Folly without father bred,  
How little you bested,  
Or fill the fixed mind with all your joys!'

Happily harmonising with the national tendency, it attunes the mind to seriousness, and suggests or passes in fascinating review before us the very emotions and reflexions which recent calamity has made welcome and appropriate to the season. Yet the melancholy inspired by the 'Lady of La Garaye,' far from being of a depressing kind, is the most soothing, elevating, and hallowing state of feeling which, at seasons of trial, can possess the heart and soul of man.

The scene is in Brittany, near Dinan, the land of chivalry and fable, where the traveller finds clustering round him recollections of the Montforts, du Guesclins and Beaumanoirs; or lingers musing in the forest of Broceliande where the sage Merlin succumbed to the 'lithsome' Vivien. It is curious and not unimproving to mark the varying phases of the imagination and the waywardness of its choice: how one creative genius is caught by the sensual and meretricious, if graceful and glowing, fiction; whilst another, exposed to the same temptations, is irresistibly attracted by the grave and noble, the chastening and cold reality.

Two miles from the quaint old town, are the ruins of the Château de la Garaye; which, at the beginning of the eighteenth century, was the residence of a young couple on whom Providence had showered its choicest blessings. The Count, then between twenty-five and thirty, had recently, through the death of two elder brothers, succeeded to the inheritance of a long line of forefathers. On leaving college he had entered the French guards, the Mousquetaires, and shown no disinclination for the kind of life to which that celebrated corps was notoriously addicted. In other words, he drank, played, and intrigued, like the rest; but he was much employed in active service, and particularly distinguished himself at Namur. On becoming the head of

his family, he married Madlle. de la Motte-Piquet, a name afterwards distinguished in the naval annals of France.\* It was in all respects a well-assorted match; and it would have been difficult to point out fitter objects for admiration or envy than this pair. They were young, handsome, nobly born, 'in glowing health, with boundless wealth,'—at all events rich enough for profuse hospitality, and for the princely style in which they followed their favourite pursuit, the chase. The Count, with all his acquirements and accomplishments, was passionately addicted to field sports; and the Countess was his constant companion, either because she enjoyed the excitement, or because (as frequently happens to brides similarly situated) she was anxious to blend her existence indissolubly with her husband's, to unite herself to him by his habits and amusements as well as by his fancy and his heart. Their hunting establishment is reported to have consisted of several packs of hounds, and from twenty to thirty horses. They were, of course, admirably mounted, and the lady rode as fearlessly as her lord. To adopt the words of the local historian:—'His wife, not less courageous than he, for he was a terrible hunter, this Seigneur de la Garaye, distanced on a fiery steed the most intrepid horsemen. She stopped at nothing: ploughed fields, ditches, fences, ravines, were no obstacles to this new Diana. But the course of this mundane and idle life was soon to come to a stand. A fall from her horse, whilst following her husband in one of his rapid runs, deprived her for ever of the hope of being a mother.'

The catastrophe affected the Count not less deeply than the Countess. Perhaps he was unable to shake off the remorseful feeling of having been unwittingly the cause of it. They both sank into a deep melancholy, till the thought flashed upon them of turning this crushing blow to good account. Might it not have descended upon them, like many a similar visitation on the rich and prosperous, as a timely warning that life has duties as well as pleasures, and that

gifted young people are placed upon the earth for something better than to hunt, dance, eat, drink, and be merry?

'If time be heavy on your hands,  
Are there no beggars at your gate,  
Nor any poor about your lands?'

How they set about acting on their new impulse, what benevolent plans they formed, and what consolation they drew from them, will be best learnt from Mrs. Norton's verses. 'It is pleasant to me,' she states in a brief Introduction, 'to be able to assure my readers that the story I have undertaken to versify is in no respect a fiction. I have added nothing to the beautiful and striking simplicity of the events it details. I have respected that mournful "romance of real life" too much to spoil its lessons by any poetical licence. Nothing is mine in this story but the language in which it is told.' Whoever wishes for a practical proof that truth is not only stranger but more poetical than fiction, may compare Madame de Genlis' mode of dealing with the same story in 'Adèle et Théodore,' where the pious resolves of the blighted couple are attributed to the loss of a daughter,—the authoress taking care to secure to herself the full credit of the alteration by stating, in a note, that the Countess never had a child.

The poem itself is divided into four parts. The volume also comprises, besides the prose introduction and the notes, a Dedication to Lord Lansdowne, the Prologue, and a Threnody, prefixed to the third part. The engraved illustrations, three in number, are thus described in the Introduction: 'The portrait of the Countess de la Garaye is copied from an authentic picture preserved in one of the religious houses of Dinan, where the Hospital of Incurables, founded by her and her husband, still subsists. The ruined château, and its ivy-covered gateway, are faithfully given, without embellishment or alteration, as they appeared when I saw them in the year 1860. The château is rapidly crumbling.' The portrait, to which the engraver has hardly done justice, conveys the impression of a lovely woman, with more sweetness and gentleness than strength of character.

Many a great orator has broken down in an after-dinner speech. Many an applauded poet has failed in a dedication. *Difficile est proprie communia dicere*. Panegyric is constantly running into fulsomeness; and the Mæcenæ of the hour is prodigally endowed with virtues, of which his most intimate friends never so much as suspected him. That the Dedication of this book is one of the best things in it, is owing to the wise

\* The principal authority for Dinan annals, whom Mrs. Norton has followed, speaks of this lady as 'the niece of the valiant Chevalier de la Motte-Piquet so renowned for the combat of Ouessant and the American campaigns, during which he captured twenty-six ships of Admiral Rodney's squadron.' But this must be a mistake, for the gallant Chevalier was not born till 1720, when his supposed niece was already about forty years old. More probably she was his aunt. The Chevalier's naval exploits were long and brilliant, but he certainly captured no ships of Rodney's squadron. He distinguished himself by rescuing a French convoy of twenty-six sail, chased by Admiral Parker in 1779, and perhaps to this feat allusion is made.



selection and full appreciation of the subject, the absence of effort, and the strict adherence to truth. The distinguished statesman to whom it is inscribed unites all the qualities which could invite and justify the most cordial and high-toned tribute of the kind. The heart of every man or woman of genius and sensibility dilates with grateful enthusiasm at the sound of a name associated with such multiplied acts of kindly and generous sympathy with struggling merit,—of well-timed encouragement, widely different from what is commonly understood by patronage. This accomplished nobleman has a real preference for intellectual society—a thorough, ingrained, unaffected love of literature and art. He has, consciously or unconsciously, been acting all his life on Goethe's principle, never to pass a day without reading some good poetry, hearing some good music, and looking at some fine pictures. One who knew him well has pointedly described the peculiarity which honourably distinguishes him amongst the most cultivated of his class. 'He looks for talents and qualities amongst all ranks of men, and adds them to his stock of society, as a botanist does his plants; and while other aristocrats are yawning amongst Stars and Garters, Lansdowne is refreshing his soul with the fancy and genius which he has found in odd places, and gathered to the marbles and pictures of his palaces.\* Why,' exclaims the writer, 'don't people talk over the virtues and excellences of Lansdowne?' The answer is, they do; and if no name were prefixed to the striking lines we are about to quote, not the smallest difficulty in filling up the blank would be momentarily felt in any quarter.

'Friend of old days, of suffering, storm, and strife,  
Patient and kind through many a wild appeal;  
In the arena of thy brilliant life  
Never too busy or too cold to feel:

'Companion from whose ever teeming store  
Of thought and knowledge, happy memory brings  
So much of social wit and sage's lore,  
Garnered and gleaned by me as precious things:

'Kinsman of him whose very name soon grew  
Unreal as music heard in pleasant dreams,  
So vain the hope my girlish fancy drew,  
So faint and far his vanished presence seems.

'To thee I dedicate this record brief  
Of foreign scenes and deeds too little known;  
This tale of noble souls who conquered grief  
By dint of tending sufferings not their own.'

Then comes a gloomy retrospect of successive bereavements by death.

'The joy that budded on my own youth's bloom,  
When life wore still a glory and a gloss,  
Is hidden from me in the silent tomb;  
Smiting with premature unnatural loss,

'So that my very soul is wrung with pain,  
Meeting old friends whom most I love to see.  
Where are the younger lives, since these remain?  
I weep the eyes that should have wept for me!

'But all the more I cling to those who speak  
Like thee, in tones unaltered by my change;  
Greeting my saddened glance, and faded cheek,  
With the same welcome that seemed sweet and strange

'In early days: when I, of gifts made proud,  
That could the notice of such men beguile,  
Stood listening to thee in some brilliant crowd,  
With the warm triumph of a youthful smile.'

How vividly the last stanza calls up the group of beauties and celebrities of which she and her munificent host formed the centre, in the very saloon, perhaps, where Madame de Staël took her premeditated stand with Rogers, as the most effective mode of making her *début* in the English world of fashion.

After the avowal of a needless doubt whether music still lingers in the slackening chords of her heart, she proceeds:—

'Yet, friend, I feel not that all power is fled,  
While offering to thee, for the kindly years,  
The intangible gift of thought, whose silver thread  
Heaven keeps untarnished by our bitterest tears.

'So, in the brooding calm that follows woe,  
This tale of LA GARAYE I fain would tell,—  
As, when some earthly storm hath ceased to blow,  
And the huge mounting sea hath ceased to swell;

'After the maddening wrecking and the roar,  
The wild high dash, the moaning sad retreat,  
Some cold slow wave creeps faintly to the shore,  
And leaves a white shell at the gazer's feet.'

This image strikes us as one of exquisite delicacy and truth. The more it is examined, the more vividly and faithfully does it bring home the precise position and train of feeling it is intended to convey.

A prologue, like an overture, should be a preparation for the main piece; so the one before us suggests, appropriately enough, the perishable nature of all things human, and the liability of grandeur and beauty to decay. It is a kind of voluntary on Ruins in irregular metre:—

'Oh! Time, oh! ever conquering Time!  
These men had once their prime:  
But now, succeeding generations hear  
Beneath the shadow of each crumbling arch

\* Sydney Smith, Letter to Lord Murray, June 4th, 1843.

The music low and drear,  
The muffled music of thy onward march,  
Made up of piping winds and rustling leaves  
And plashing rain-drops falling from slant caves,  
And all mysterious unconnected sounds  
With which the place abounds.  
Time doth efface  
Each day some lingering trace  
Of human government and human care.

Oh! Time, oh! conquering Time!  
I know that wild wind's chime  
Which, like a passing bell,  
Or distant knell,  
Speaks to man's heart of Death and of Decay;  
While thy step passes o'er the necks of Kings  
And over common things,—  
And into Earth's green orchards making way,  
Halts, where the fruits of human hope abound,  
And shakes their trembling ripeness to the ground.'

But hark! a gay bevy of young persons  
of both sexes, with the conventional accompaniment of chaperons, a picnic party from the town, have suddenly invaded the precincts which Melancholy had marked for her own, and at first we feel like the Frenchman whose nervous system was upset by the sight of pink spencers and freshly-picked chicken bones on the Pyramids. For a moment we hardly know what to make of flirtations begun or continued in such localities, or what reception we ought to give the pair who

'Linger in the turret's bend  
As they side by side ascend,  
For the momentary bliss  
Of a lover's stolen kiss;  
And emerge into the shining  
Of that summer day's declining,  
Disengaging clasping hands  
As they meet their comrade banda.'

But contrast is one of the most effective instruments with which an accomplished artist works. We are immediately reminded that 'Death is cold, but life is warm,' and the reader is soon brought round to the right frame for the concluding appeal—

'Gentle hearts, one ruin more  
From amongst so many score—  
One, from out a host of names,  
To your notice puts forth claims.  
Come! with me make holiday,  
In the woods of La Garaye,  
Sit within those tangled bowers,  
Where fleet by the silent hours,  
Only broken by a song  
From the chirping woodland throng;  
Listen to the tale I tell:  
Grave the story is—not sad;  
And the peasant plodding by  
Greets the place with kindly eye  
For the inmates that it had!'

The tale opens in the court-yard of the Château, where 'many a young seigneur and

damsel bold,' bidden to join the hunt, are gathering; and grouping, and eager for a start. Before the signal is given, opportunity is taken to describe the chatelaine and her lord:—

'Rich, liberal, gaily dressed, of noble mien,  
Clear eyes,—full curving mouth,—and brow serene;  
Master of speech in many a foreign tongue,  
And famed for feats of arms, although so young;  
Dexterous in fencing, skilled in horsemanship—  
His voice and hand preferred to spur or whip;  
Quick at a jest and smiling repartee,  
With a sweet laugh that sounded frank and free,  
But holding Satire an accursed thing,  
A poisoned javelin or a serpent's sting;  
Pitiful to the poor; of courage high;  
A soul that could all turns of fate defy:  
Gentle to women: reverent to old age:  
What more, young Oland, could men's esteem engage?'

No knowledge is thrown away on the true artist. The study of anatomy has enabled many a painter and sculptor to add a beauty or avoid a fault in the drawing or moulding of a figure; and we have here a proof that the noble science of horsemanship may contribute an improving touch to a lady's description of a cavalier. Claude relied on voice and hand for the management of his steed; and Scott describes the Duke of Rothsay as mounted on a noble Arabian horse, 'which he managed with exquisite grace, though by such slight handling of the reins, such imperceptible pressure of the limbs, and sway of the body, that to any eye save that of an experienced horseman, the animal seemed to be putting forth his paces for his own amusement, and thus gracefully bearing forward a rider who was too indolent to give himself any trouble about the matter.' Female equestrians have recently had to bear up against a strong current of prejudice; and the term 'pretty horsebreaker' is held in *terrorem* over any high-spirited and pure-minded girl who ventures to a 'meet,' or who keeps her quiet self-possessed seat in Rotten-row on one of those mettled animals that, although popularly described as proud of their lovely burthen, are evidently bent on throwing it off. It is rather an up-hill game for Mrs. Norton to uphold their cause, considering what came of her heroine's equestrian performances; but she gallantly comes to the rescue, and insists that if the young husband is devoted to out-of-door sports, it will never do for the young wife to hold aloof from them.

'Nor think the feminine beauty of her soul  
Tarnished by yielding to such joy's control;  
Nor that the form which, like a flexible reed,  
Swayed with the movements of her bounding steed,

Took from those graceful hours a rougher force,  
Or left her nature masculine and coarse.

She was not bold from boldness, but from love;  
Bold from gay frolic; glad with him to rove  
In danger or in safety, weal or woe,  
And where he ventured, still she yearned to go.  
Bold with the courage of his bolder life,  
At home a tender and submissive wife;  
Abroad, a woman, modest,—aye, and proud;  
Not seeking homage from the casual crowd.  
She remained pure, that darling of his sight,  
In spite of boyish feats, and rash delight;  
Still the eyes fell before an insolent look,  
Or flashed their bright and innocent rebuke;  
Still the cheek kept its delicate youthful bloom,  
And the blush reddened thro' the snow-white  
plume.

He that had seen her, with her courage high,  
First in the chase where all dashed rapid by,  
He that had watched her bright impetuous look  
When she prepared to leap the silver brook,—  
Fair in her Springtime as a branch of May;  
Had felt the dull sneer feebly die away,  
And unused kindly smiles upon his cold lips play!

We dare say we should have enjoyed the spectacle, and we are sure we should not have joined in the sneer. But, for all that, we had rather not see a daughter, a sister, or a wife in the act of clearing the Wissendine, the Rubicon of Meltonians, at the risk of floundering in what Nimrod calls its bluish-black mud, or of being found like Mr. Guy F'louncey (in 'Coningsby') who 'lay on his back with a horse across his diaphragm, only his head above the water, and his mouth full of chickweed and dockleaves.' How tastes and fashions change with reigns and centuries! The beauties of George II.'s Court thought it a crying grievance to be taken out hunting in the royal suite. In one of Pope's letters, he says that he, went by water to Hampton Court, and met the prince, with all his ladies, coming from hunting. 'Mrs. Bellenden and Mrs. Lepel took me into their protection, contrary to the laws against harbouring papists, and gave me a dinner, and, what I liked better, an opportunity of talking with Mrs. Howard. We all agreed that the life of a maid of honour was of all things the most miserable. To eat Westphalia ham of a-morning, ride over hedges and ditches on borrowed hacks, come home in the heat of the day with a fever, and (what is worse a hundred times) with a red mark on the forehead, from an uneasy hat. All this may qualify them to make excellent wives for hunters,—which they evidently were not anxious to become.

Does not the charming picture of Gertrude in her riding-habit irresistibly suggest the question whether that slight, delicate creature, that thing of love and light, with her tiny hands, her pearl-embroidered gauntlets, her jewelled whip, her plumed hat, and her

purple vest, was meant by nature for clearing brooks and 'charging' fences?

'Like a sweet picture doth the Lady stand,  
Still blushing as she bows; one tiny hand,  
Hid by a pearl-embroidered gauntlet, holds  
Her whip, and her long robe's exuberant folds.  
The other hand is bare, and from her eyes  
Shades now and then the sun, or softly lies,  
With a caressing touch, upon the neck  
Of the dear glossy steed she loves to deck  
With saddle-housings worked in golden thread,  
And golden bands upon his noble head.  
White is the little hand whose taper fingers  
Smooth his fine coat,—and still the lady lingers,  
Leaning against his side; nor lifts her head,  
But gently turns as gathering footsteps tread;  
Reminding you of doves with shifting throats,  
Brooding in sunshine by their sheltering cotes.  
Under her plumed hat her wealth of curls  
Falls down in golden links among her pearls,  
And the rich purple of her velvet vest  
Slims the young waist, and rounds the graceful  
breast.'

When highly delighted as in the present instance, we are genuine Horatian critics—

'Verum ubi plura nitent in carmine, non ego paucis  
Offendar maculis.'

But without being hypercritical, we may say that 'vest' rather jars with 'waist,' and that 'slims' is an attempt to snatch a grace beyond the reach of grammar hardly justified by the result. At the same time we frankly own that we know no established verb that would equally convey the meaning, the making fine by degrees and beautifully less. Neither do we quite like the nautical allusion in the next passage:—

'And well she wears such mantle: swift her horse,  
But firm her seat throughout the rapid course;  
No rash, unsteadiness, no shifting pose  
Disturbs that line of beauty as she goes:  
She wears her robe as some fair sloop her sails,  
Which swell and flutter to the rising gales,  
But never from the cordage taut and trim  
Slacken or swerve away. The evening dim  
Sees her return, unwearied and unbent,  
The fair folds falling smooth as when she went;  
The little foot no claspings buckle keeps,  
She frees it, and to earth untrammelled leaps.'

There is a French coloured print, which has been renewed again and again, of a youthful couple gallantly attired and capitably mounted, galloping across a picturesque country, hand in hand and with their faces almost touching,—an expression of fondness which is imitated by their steeds. We may fancy Claude and Gertrude the originals of the sketch—

'They ride together all that sunny day,  
Claud and the lovely Lady of Garaye;  
O'er hill and dale,—through fields of late reaped  
corn,  
Through woods,—wherever sounds the hunting  
horn,

Wherever scour the fleet hounds, fast they follow,  
Through tufted thickets and the leaf-strewn hollow;  
And thrice, — the game secured, — they rest awhile,  
And slacken bridle with a breathless smile:  
And thrice, with joyous speed, off, off they go, —  
Like a fresh arrow from a new-strung bow!

They come to some rough ground where a mountain torrent must be crossed:

'Across the water full of peaked stones —  
Across the water where it chafes and moans —  
Across the water at its widest part —  
Which wilt thou leap, — oh, lady of brave heart?

'Their smiling eyes have met — those eager two:  
She looks at Claud, as questioning which to do:  
He rides — reins in — looks down the torrent's course, —

Pats the sleek neck of his sure-footed horse, —  
Stops, — measures spaces with his eagle eye,  
Tries a new track, and yet returns to try.  
Sudden, while pausing at the very brink,  
The damp leaf-covered ground appears to sink,  
And the keen instinct of the wise dumb brute  
Escapes the yielding earth, the slippery root;  
With a wild effort as if taking wing  
The monstrous gap he clears with one safe spring;  
Reaches — (and barely reaches) — past the roar  
Of the wild stream, the further lower shore, —  
Scrambles — recovers — rears — and panting stands  
Safe 'neath his master's nerveless trembling hands.

'Oh! even while he leapt, his horrid thought  
Was of the peril to that lady brought;  
Oh! even while he leapt, her Claud looked back,  
And shook his hand to warn her from the track.

'In vain: the pleasant voice she loved so well  
Feebly re-echoed through that dreadful dell,  
The voice that was the music of her home  
Shouted in vain across that torrent's foam.

'He saw her, pausing on the bank above;  
Saw, — like a dreadful vision of his love, —  
That dazzling dream stand on the edge of death:  
Saw it — and stared — and prayed — and held  
his breath.

Bright shone the Autumn sun on wood and plain;

On the steed's glossy flanks and flowing mane;  
On the wild silver of the rushing brook;  
On his wife's smiling and triumphant look;  
Bright waved against the sky her wind-tost plume,

Bright on her freshened cheek the healthy bloom, —

Oh! all bright things, how could ye end in doom?

'Forward they leaped! They leaped — a coloured flash

Of life and beauty. Hark! a sudden crash, —  
Blent with that dreadful sound, a man's sharp cry, —

Prone, — 'neath the crumbling bank, — the horse  
and lady lie!

We must resist the temptation of dwelling upon his despair, and the alternations of

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hope and fear which are terminated by the stern medical decree that she can never recover —

'Never! our helpless changeful natures shrink  
Before that word as from the grave's cold brink.'

She is doomed in the poem to a severe aggravation which is spared her in the prose accounts. The loss of beauty is added to the curse of barrenness:

'Oh! altered, altered; even the smile is gone,  
Which, like a sunbeam, once exalting shone!  
Smiles have returned; but not the smiles of yore;

The joy, the youth, the triumph, are no more.  
An anxious smile remains, that disconnects  
Smiling from gladness; one that more dejects,  
Than floods of passionate weeping, for it tries  
To contradict the question of our eyes:

We say, "thou'rt pained, poor heart, and full of woe?"

It drops that shining veil, and answers "no;"  
Shrinks from the touch of unaccepted hands,  
And while it grieves, a show of joy commands.  
Wan shine such smiles; — as evening sunlight falls

On a deserted house whose empty walls  
No longer echo to the children's play  
Or voice of ruined inmates fled away;  
Where wintry winds alone, with idle state,  
Move the slow swinging of its rusty gate.'

Her husband acts nobly, and answers all her misgivings by assurances of unswerving attachment: —

'How canst thou dream of beauty as a thing  
On which depends the heart's own withering?  
Lips budding red with tints of vernal years,  
And delicate lids of eyes that shed no tears,  
And light that falls upon the shining hair  
As though it found a second sunbeam there, —  
These must go by, my Gertrude, must go by;  
The leaf must wither and the flower must die;  
The rose can only have a rose's bloom;  
Age would have wrought thy wondrous beauty's doom;

A little sooner did that beauty go, —  
A little sooner — Darling, take it so;  
Nor add a strange despair to all this woe;  
And take my faith, by changes unremoved,  
To thy last hour of age and blight, beloved!

'A Threnody,' which intervenes between the lowest point of depression and the revival, is an effusion, in the same metre as the Prologue, on Memory, — its pains, not its pleasures; and Goldsmith rather than Rogers would seem to have been uppermost in the thoughts of the writer when it was struck off: —

'Thou, like the world, th' oppressed oppressing,  
Thy smiles increase the wretch's woe;  
And he who wants each other blessing,  
In thee will ever find a foe.'

The passages in the Third Part in which the full extent of the lady's deprivation is

related are admirable both for descriptive power and pathos:—

'Oh! woodland paths she ne'er again may see,  
Oh! tossing branches of the forest tree,  
Oh! loveliest banks in all the land of France,  
Glassing your shadows in the silvery Rance;  
Oh! river with your swift yet quiet tide,  
Specked with white sails that seem in dreams to glide!  
Oh! ruddy orchards, basking on the hills,  
Whose plenteous fruit the thirsty flagon fills;  
And oh! ye winds, which, free and unconfined,  
No sickness poisons, and no art can bind,—  
Restore her to enjoyment of the earth!  
Echo again her songs of careless mirth,  
Those little Breton songs so wildly sweet,  
Fragments of music strange and incomplete,  
Her small red mouth went warbling by the way  
Through the glad roamings of her active day.

'It may not be! Blighted are summer hours!  
The bee goes booming through the plats of flowers,

The butterfly its tiny mate pursues  
With rapid fluttering of its painted hues,  
The thin-winged goats their transient time employ  
Reeling through sunbeams in a dance of joy,  
The small field-mouse with wide transparent ears  
Comes softly forth, and softly disappears,  
The dragon-fly hangs glittering on the reed,  
The spider swings across his filmy thread,  
And gleaming fishes, darting to and fro,  
Make restless silver in the pools below.

All these poor lives—these lives of small account,

Feel the ethereal thrill within them mount;  
But the great human life,—the life Divine,—  
Rests in dull torture, heavy and supine,  
And the bird's song, by Garaye's walls of stone,  
Crosses within, the irrepressible moan!

The slow salt tears, half weakness and half grief,

That sting the eyes before they bring relief,  
And which with weary lids she strives in vain  
To prison back upon her aching brain,  
Fall down the lady's cheek,—her heart is breaking:

A mournful sleep is hers; a hopeless waking;  
And oft, in spite of Cland's beloved rebuke,  
When first the awful wish her spirit shook,—  
She dreams of DEATH,—and of that quiet shore  
In the far world where eyes shall weep no more,  
And where the soundless feet of angels pass,  
With floating lightness o'er the sea of glass.'

The comforter, in the person of a Prior of Benedictines, first makes his appearance in the Fourth Part; but we are not quite sure that the latter portions of the poem, although replete with fine touches, might not have been advantageously compressed. He quietly answers her wild complaints of her destiny, and impressively enumerates the many classes of innocent sufferers who are yet more to be pitied. For example, the death of 'the Forsaken,' in one of those dungeons which Mr. Gladstone laid bare to the execration of the world:—

'The heat of noon; the fading down of light;  
The glimmering evening, and the restless night.  
And then again the morning; and the noon;  
The evening and the morning;—till a boon  
Of double weakness sinks him, and he knows  
One or two other days shall end his woes:  
One or two mournful evenings, glimmering grey,  
One or two hopeless risings of new day,  
One or two noons too weak to brush off flies,  
One or two nights of flickering feeble sighs,  
One or two shivering breaks of helpless tears,  
One or two yearnings for forgotten years,  
And then the end of all, then the great change,  
When the freed soul, let loose at length to range,  
Leaves the imprisoning and imprisoned clay,  
And soars far out of reach of sorrow and decay!'

Or the Prior tells of the sufferings of the wounded when medical care and the commonest comforts are denied to them, and finely alludes to the anecdote of the dying soldier pressing his lips to the shadow of Miss Nightingale on the wall:

'Nor soft cool lint, like dew on parched-up ground,  
Clothing the weary, burning, festering wound;  
Nor delicate linen; nor fresh cooling drinks  
To woo the fever-cracking lip which shrinks  
Even from such solace; nor the presence blest  
Of holy women watching broken rest,  
And gliding past them through the wakeful night,  
Like her whose Shadow made the soldier's light.'

The lady and her husband eventually arrive at the conclusion that to pour balm on the wounds of others may prove the best anodyne for their own; and they begin by converting their once joyous château into a hospital. Never was there an occasion when Virtue was more thoroughly its own reward, and never was the faded beauty more truly happy than when—

'Her small white comforting hand,—no longer hid  
In pearl-embroidered gauntlet,—lifts the lid  
Outworn with labour in the bitter fields,  
And with a tender skill some healing yields;  
Bathes the swollen redness,—shades unwelcome light,—  
And into morning turns their threatening night.'

Goethe said of Balzac, that each of his best novels was dug out of a suffering woman's heart. Something of the same sort might be said of the most affecting passages of this poem, for which the author has simply reverted to her own melancholy experience. She is avowedly giving voice to the irrepressible emotions of a crushed and broken spirit—to the sad impressions of a life whose gloomy meridian has ill kept the promise of its morn. Much of our pleasure has been dashed by the knowledge thus forced upon us, of the wearing, wasting, agonising process by which the precious

faculty of thus moving and delighting has been matured. But it also accounts for a circumstance which has been observed with surprise and regret. Her former poems, especially 'The Dream,' were read with applauding eagerness; and few modern novels have left a deeper or more favourable impression on the most refined circle of readers than 'Stuart of Dunleith.' Yet ten years have passed away without a sustained attempt on her part to achieve fresh successes in either domain of fiction. We are not without hope, however, that the composition of this poem has done for Mrs. Norton, in some measure, what resolution and perseverance in the cause of piety and beneficence did for the Lady of La Garaye; and that we shall speedily receive ample proof that she has completely shaken off the depressing influences that have so long weighed upon her.

The exterior and interior decorations of the volume, with its green and gold binding, its pretty cyphers and quaint monograms, make it a graceful ornament for the drawing-room-table as well as a welcome addition to the library; and, amongst books 'got up' for Christmas presents it will be assigned the first place by acclamation.

**ART. X.—1. *The Law of Nations considered as Independent Political Communities.*** [On the Right and Duties of Nations in Time of Peace.] By TRAVERS TWISS, D.C.L., Regius Professor of Civil Law. Oxford and London: 1861.

**2. *Two Lectures on the present American War.*** By MOUNTAGUE BERNARD, B.C.L., Chichele Professor of International Law. Oxford: November, 1861.

**3. *Quelques Questions de Droit International Maritime à propos de la Guerre d'Amérique.*** Par L. B. HAUTEFEUILLE. Leipzig et Paris: 1861.

WE perceive with great satisfaction that the study of the Law of Nations, the noblest and loftiest branch of the science of jurisprudence, is gaining ground and striking root in this country. Since we had occasion to notice in these pages the completion of Dr. Phillimore's elaborate commentaries on International Law, several other important publications have extended the range of inquiry into the principles of the science; and the learned Doctor who fills the chair of Civil Law in the University of Oxford has just presented the public with the re-

sults of his industry and experience. In Oxford itself the study has received an impulse not common in England to sciences which range so far beyond the customary orbit of the academical bodies. The foundation of the Chichele professorship of International Law by the fusion of a certain number of the luxurious fellowships of All Souls into an office of positive duty, is one of the best results of the late Oxford Commission: and the manner in which this chair is now filled by Professor Mountague Bernard is calculated not only to instruct the class he has gathered round him, but to assist the country at large in the comprehension of nice and momentous questions in our political relations. The two lectures delivered and published by this gentleman on the recent disruption of the United States of America, do him honour, and we have nowhere seen the question handled with greater sense, learning, and sobriety. The chair of International Law thus filled, and the chair of Modern History occupied by Professor Goldwin Smith, who deals with subjects of an analogous character, cannot fail to exercise a most salutary influence over the political education of the country, and especially of those who are destined to quit the schools of Oxford for the benches of either House of Parliament and the executive councils of the nation.

To this it may be added that the extinction of the College of Advocates which had enjoyed for centuries a monopoly of practice in the Courts Christian and the Courts Maritime, far from relaxing the study of these interesting and important parts of jurisprudence, will we think extend it. The bar of Doctors' Commons, which boasted even in our own time of a Scott and a Lushington, had long ceased to offer sufficient attraction to the highest order of forensic ability; it has languished and dwindled away. But the opening of these Courts invites the whole profession to the study of the law which they administer, and we have no doubt that on suitable occasions the High Court of Admiralty of England will recover all its pristine lustre.

But more than all the rest, men are drawn in our times to the study of International Law by the importance of the questions which can find in no other direction an adequate solution. If the political relations of states are to be regulated by something higher than accident and force, it is here that the governing principle, the rule of right, is to be found. We need hardly remind our readers that at the moment at which we are writing a thousand heads in either hemisphere are busily interrogating

the ancient oracles of international jurisprudence, and that a controversy which has threatened seriously to disturb the peace of the world took its origin in an event to be condemned or justified by the established rules and usages of the sea towards neutral flags. Nothing for many years has produced in Europe an effect more honourable to this country than the resolution of the people of England, loudly and instantly manifested upon the occurrence of the outrage to the 'Trent,' to stand or fall by the law; and though our blood boiled at the affront apparently offered to the flag of our country, yet if it had been clearly and conclusively shown by legal authority that the act done could be supported by the usages of belligerents in former wars and by the decisions of the Prize Courts, we are confident that the Government and the Nation would have been content to abide by those principles of law, however unwelcome might be their application. Nay, we will even go so far as to say that if the question had been one fairly admitting on principle or on precedent an opposite construction, we should have carried the comity of nations so far as to bow to the adverse decision of an honourable and independent tribunal, even of the belligerent Power. These facts have brought home to every man the conviction that the rules and practice of the Law of Nations are not merely subjects of abstruse study and research to be found in the exertations of Bynkershoek or the Reports of Christopher Robinson, but that they involve positive questions of the most direct importance. We shall therefore attempt in the course of the following pages to combine what we have to say on our recent discussion with America, with some observations on the duty and interest of this country, at the present time, with reference to the whole body of Maritime Law as it affects the powers of belligerents and the rights of neutrals. 'Hæc cognito,' to use an expression of Lord Bacon's, 'ad viros civiles propriè pertinet.'

The truth is, however, that neither in the massive tomes of the elder jurists, nor in the compilations of modern writers, who have sought to bring the ancient doctrines of the Law of Nations to the test of recent experience and the standard of contemporary civilisation, do we find any exposition of the rules and principles of maritime warfare which at all meets the present exigencies of the world. If we go back to antiquity, we shall be perplexed by attempts to connect the Law of Nations with the general principles of ethics, which often explain the *obscurum per obscurius*, and leave us to grope our way through the cloudy regions of

metaphysical speculation. If we rest upon the text of modern writers, we shall find it based, for the most part, on the decisions of the Prize Courts during the great contest which convulsed the world from 1793 to 1815, when every belligerent right was strained to the uttermost, and each rival nation imposed prohibition after prohibition, until neutrality itself was prohibited. At the present time, we cannot consent to submit our rights and interests to be determined either by variable tradition or by arbitrary authority. Sir James Mackintosh remarked in his elegant but inconclusive 'Discourse on the Study of the Law of Nature and of Nations,' that 'it is not only as a mere translation of former writers into modern language, that a new system of public law seems likely to be useful. The age in which we live possesses many advantages which are peculiarly favourable to such an undertaking. Since the composition of the great works of Grotius and Puffendorff, a more modest, simple, and intelligible philosophy has been introduced into the schools: we are thus enabled to discuss with precision, and to explain with clearness, the principles of the science of human nature, which are in themselves on a level with the capacity of good sense, and only appeared to be abstruse from the unprofitable subtleties with which they were loaded, and the barbarous jargon in which they were expressed.' (P. 31.) These words were uttered sixty years ago, yet the book has not been written, and the work has not been completed. Such a book requires a mind capable of bringing general principles, often loose and ill-defined, to bear on special questions of positive law—such a work requires the grasp of a statesman strong enough and wise enough to look beyond precedent and tradition to the true interests of his age.

For an obvious reason, the practical study of the law of nations, in connexion with the state of war, is of an *intermittent* character. Peace, which has happily covered a large portion of the lives of two generations, throws these questions into the shade. But a short time back, men were sanguine enough to hope that they were set at rest for ever, and that even the record of them might be effaced. The last few years have shaken the confidence of the most sanguine in this dream of permanent and universal peace. The first rumour of war brings back the old controversies, and re-opens the old authorities. In the interval but little progress has been made in the science of our jurists, and we find them recurring to practices and pretensions, sanctioned perhaps by the usages of war fifty years ago,



but extremely inconsistent with the milder manners, the more extended intercourse, and the more liberal policy of modern times. Whatever respect may be due to the dignified and graceful language in which Lord Stowell pronounced his decisions, they cannot plead any exemption from the stricter scrutiny of facts and the more equitable construction of principles which ought to mark the progress of knowledge and civilisation. Lord Stowell conceived this country to be engaged in a revolutionary contest, because we had the misfortune to be at war with a revolutionary government. The landmarks of former times and the stipulations of more recent treaties were swept away by the torrent; but we are bold enough to assert that it is not for the interest or the honour of this country to attempt at this day to apply the extreme, and often unjustifiable rules, which may boast Lord Stowell's authority. At the general pacification of 1815 England was in no mood to relax her hold on belligerent rights which she had maintained with enormous efforts; and the continent of Europe was in no condition to dispute her claims. Hence the laws of maritime warfare as administered at the end of the struggle retained the form that struggle had given to them. Those who would now build on this basis seem hardly to have mastered the extent of the changes already made in the belligerent usages on which our ancestors, down to the present generation, placed the greatest reliance. Yet those modifications are of incalculable importance, and must finally override the whole subject.

How, indeed, should it be otherwise? This interval of fifty years has changed the face of the world, and has humanized and enlarged the spirit of the laws of this country. The criminal code has lost its sanguinary character, and it is no longer held that to hang men for coining and sheep-stealing is a paramount obligation of justice. The commercial code has passed from the excess of jealousy and restraint to entire freedom. The navigation laws, which were held even by Adam Smith to be essential to the existence of our maritime power, have been swept away. The colonial monopolies, by which alone the Empire was supposed to be held together, have disappeared. The impressment of seamen, on which the State relied for manning the navy on an emergency, and which was said to include, even as late as 1813, 'the undoubted and hitherto undisputed right of searching neutral merchant vessels in time of war for British seamen,' is now happily superseded by the liberal and beneficent system of a naval re-

serve which will, we doubt not, supply ample resources to the fleet. Nay, even on this very subject of belligerents rights, the Ministers of the Crown found it expedient to make concessions at the time of the Russian war, which involved the waiver of several pretensions hitherto declared to be essential to our dignity and our power. These concessions were at first made under the form of exceptions to the general rules of maritime warfare, but the result has shown that the rule of the future lies in the exception to the past. By the declaration of the 28th March, 1854, the Queen of England waived the right of seizing enemy's property on board a neutral vessel, unless it be contraband of war. The Orders in Council of the same date recognised the new principle of trade with the enemy, or in the enemy's property and productions, under the neutral flag during war. And when peace was concluded, the Congress of Paris of 1856 crowned its labours by the memorable declaration of all the great European Powers, that privateering is abolished; that the neutral flag covers the enemy's goods, with the exception of contraband of war; that neutral goods, with the same exception, are not liable to capture under the enemy's flag; and that blockades to be recognised by neutrals must absolutely bar the access to the enemy's ports.

Practically, therefore, considerable progress has been made in mitigating the rigour of the maritime code, though, unhappily, the United States refused to concur in the common declaration of Europe, on what we conceive to be very narrow and selfish grounds, and in the event of war they may consequently be excluded from the benefit of it.\* The ground on which the Americans refused to join the European declaration in 1856, was their repugnance to abandon the right of arming private ships of war, unless the Powers of Europe would consent to recognise the inviolable character of private property on the high seas. They retain, therefore, the practice of privateering; but should they avail themselves of it under the old law, they would clearly not be entitled to invoke any of the provisions

\* The correspondence of the American Government, recently published, proves that when Mr. Adams was instructed last summer to negotiate a convention with England and France on the basis of the Declaration of Paris, this measure was adopted solely with a view to entrap the maritime Powers of Europe into acts adverse to the Seceded States; and on Lord Russell's declaring that the Convention was to have no bearing whatever on the existing differences of the United States, the project of the Convention was forthwith abandoned by Mr. Seward himself.

of the new law in their own favour, and the same power might of course be used by their adversary. So, too, as to the principle which affords to enemy's property at sea the protection of the neutral flag: the United States have acquired no right to invoke it against this country. It would rest in the option of England either to adhere to the old rules of maritime warfare in a war with the United States, or to maintain the principles of the Declaration of Paris. We do not hesitate, however, to declare that both the honour and the true interest of this country require her to take the latter course, and to discard weapons which have been condemned by the intelligence of the world, even though a comparatively feeble and unscrupulous enemy should attempt to use them against ourselves. The attempt would recoil most fatally on the State which should be guilty of it.

We would here remark, without attempting to go deeply into the sources of International Law, which we have endeavoured to examine on a recent occasion\*, that as the Law of Nations can never be brought within the scope of the commands of a sovereign to a subject, it differs in its essence from positive law. It is in fact consuetudinary—the result of the public convenience of mankind, and of those rules of morality which prevail for the general advantage among civilised States. Its provisions are not arbitrary or despotic, but conventional and reciprocal. Its sanctions lie in the decrees of courts of competent jurisdiction, administering justice in the face of the world: but the only penalty for a breach of its rules is the last resort of war. The true test of the existing Law of Nations is its *utility*; that is to say, its congruity to the interest of civilised States rightly understood. There is therefore no branch of law which invites and requires to an equal degree the deliberate concurrence of independent States, and its provisions can only be fully and accurately determined by express conventions between them.

We have on some former occasions, and especially in an article on the 'Orders in Council relating to Trade' at the commencement of the war of 1854 (which will be found in our number for July, 1854, p. 98.), entered so fully on the past history of the Law of Nations, as far as it concerned the old rules of trade with the enemy, and the covering of enemy's goods by the neutral flag, that we shall not revert to that

portion of the subject; and we would ask those readers who are interested in it to refer to this paper, which anticipated by nearly two years the liberal declaration of 1856. But there are still several questions of equal moment which the Russian war did not raise. The trade of Russia is at all times carried on chiefly in foreign ships; her own merchant flag is rarely seen out of the Baltic and the Black Sea; and from the peculiar configuration of that empire, her northern and her southern ports are both liable to be closed with great facility by blockade. The Allied Powers were masters of the sea, and the Russian flag had disappeared from it. The case would be widely different in a contest between two great maritime and trading nations. The war would speedily extend to every part of the world which is visited by their respective cruisers or merchant vessels. The gold ships of Australia and California, the great lines of packets which at stated intervals and by a stated route maintain the intercourse of Europe with the West and with the East, the rich cargoes of China, and the innumerable vessels wafted from every part of the globe to supply our wants, would all excite the cupidity or the vengeance of the enemy; and in the ardour of each belligerent to capture the ships of the other, every trader in the world would be subjected to prove his neutrality, and sometimes to undergo the vexatious imputation of suspected hostility. Belligerent rights would everywhere be exercised. Neutrals would everywhere be combating the evils of war, profiting by the restrictions of war, and alternately aiding or opposing the belligerents. In short, questions of the utmost perplexity would every day be arising, and would give rise to difficulties and disputes tending to convert such a war into a general conflagration.

In such a state of things, the law being unsettled, and the practice of former wars being at variance with the present opinions and temper of mankind, a combatant who should seek to put in force all the belligerent rights of the last great war with France would soon find that he had much less to apprehend from the attacks of the enemy than from the resistance of neutral Powers. To avoid the recurrence of such a calamity, and the extension of the evils of war in a manner pre-eminently injurious to the belligerents themselves, it is extremely desirable to reduce the rights of maritime warfare to the simplest and plainest rules, and to confine them within the narrowest limits consistent with the nature of the service. Far from regarding what are termed 'belligerent rights' as a sort of prerogative to

\* See Ed. Rev. vol. cxii. p. 207. for an ingenious analysis of the great work of Grotius and the sources of International Law.

be exercised by armed nations over the unarmed, and by the strong over the weak, we are convinced that many of these rights are in the nature of prohibitions quite as injurious to those by whom they are imposed as to those who have had to submit to them. We marvel at the policy of our ancestors which led them to suppose that it was the interest of this country in time of war to prohibit the trade of neutrals, and thereby to close the channels by which the pressure of war can be most effectually mitigated to the people of these islands. Maintain the trade of England, on the contrary, during war, under whatever flag, and we confidently affirm that she will stand unshaken for an indefinite period against the world.

The effect of the declaration of 1854 and 1856 has been, as we observed at the time (Ed. Rev. vol. c. p. 104.), to limit the maritime rights of belligerents to two points: first, of blockade, a subject not at present in dispute\*; and secondly, to the seizure of articles contraband of war, including despatches and persons in the naval and military service of the enemy; and we added that the second of these rights of course 'implies the exercise of the right of search for contraband of war or despatches, under circumstances which warrant reasonable suspicion after the nationality of the vessel has been ascertained from her papers.'

As this last subject is intimately connected with the controversy which has been occasioned by the case of the 'Trent,' we propose to examine with some nicety the questions to which it gives rise.

The primary object of the right of visitation exercised by armed belligerent vessels in time of war, over merchant vessels on the high seas, is to ascertain the *true national character* of the ship. This right is recognised by all nations and by all writers on the Law of Nations, even those most favourable to the neutral flag, and it is obviously indispensable to maritime warfare, and serves to protect neutrals themselves. For this is the established mode by which alone it can be proved that the neutral ship

is what it professes to be, and not the property of an enemy. The production of ships' papers at sea is, in fact, analogous to the production of a passport by travellers on the continent of Europe, to show who they are and what is their character. But as this is a simple measure of policy, it ought to be performed without violence or intimidation. The neutral vessel is bound to answer the inquiry lawfully made on pain of being arrested on suspicion; the belligerent is required to proceed with courtesy and moderation, and for this purpose the visit is made by an officer in uniform, who proceeds peaceably to the merchant vessel in a boat manned by two or three men besides the rowers, and retires when his lawful inquiries are satisfied.

The second object of the right of visitation is, or rather was, one which extended to the more offensive right of search, because the purpose of it was to ascertain whether the neutral had enemy's goods on board. The right of seizing enemy's goods on board neutral vessels was for ages the undoubted law of the sea in time of war, and it was practised by all maritime nations; by none more than by those which are now most eagerly opposed to it, as, for example, by France, under the *Ordonnance de la Marine* of 1681. In proportion, however, as the seizure of enemy's goods in neutral ships has been restricted by treaty or abandoned, the search of neutral vessels for goods liable to seizure falls to the ground. And as England and all the great Powers of Europe have renounced the right of seizing enemy's property in neutral vessels, by the Declaration of Paris in 1856, the right of search for this purpose, which has been a most prolific source of quarrels between belligerents and neutrals in all former wars, is at an end. The United States are, it is true, excluded by their own act from claiming the benefit of that declaration in which they refused to join; but, on the other hand, the neutral States of Europe would not fail to invoke its protection.

But, thirdly, as neutral merchant vessels are still prohibited from carrying contraband of war, despatches, or persons in the military and naval service of the enemy, inasmuch as the conveyance of these articles or persons is a breach of neutrality and gives a hostile character to the vessel itself, inconsistent with its own neutral privileges, the duty devolves on the cruisers of belligerents to ascertain by visitation, and in case of suspicion by actual search, whether the neutral is guilty of a violation of this rule, and in case of proof or vehement suspicion a neutral vessel so offending may be

\* It would carry us beyond our limits to discuss the law of blockade as applied by the United States in the present civil war, but we agree with M. Hautefeuille that the blockade of the southern coast certainly does not come up to the conditions of a *bona fide* blockade, and that its legality is highly contestable. The French treaty of 1800 with the United States, which is in force, entitles French ships attempting to enter a blockaded port to an express and separate warning; no such privilege exists for British vessels, and M. Hautefeuille is mistaken in supposing that the Anglo-American treaty of 1794 is still in force. It was abrogated by the war of 1812, and not renewed at the peace of Ghent.

brought in by the cruiser for judgment and condemnation in a Court of Prize.

This, it will be perceived, is a delicate duty, for it involves discretionary powers, and the efforts of the neutral to deceive the belligerent will be, of course, in exact proportion to the criminality of the former. The cruiser has, in fact, to discriminate, as well as he can on the evidence before him, between the general neutral character of the vessel which implies innocence, and the special circumstances which imply hostility. But as the objects of the search are limited to contraband of war, despatches, and military or naval persons, there are some circumstances which are obviously indispensable before a hostile purpose can be presumed to exist. The first of these is the *destination* of the ship, to be inferred from her papers and from the course on which she is bound. There is nothing *per se* inconsistent with neutrality in the conveyance of any of the articles termed contraband of war. The guilt of the neutral consists in conveying them for the warlike purposes of the enemy. But when the destination of the vessel is not *towards* the enemy's shores, but away from them—when the despatches are documents or letters, not furtively carried by a special vessel, but transmitted by a belligerent in the ordinary manner by the post, their very nature being unknown to the persons who carry the mails,—when the persons conveyed are not military or naval persons proceeding to the seat of war, but civil subjects or citizens proceeding under a neutral flag to a neutral country, and, for aught we know to the contrary, on an errand of peace,—then we affirm without hesitation that an officer who should stop a neutral vessel as guilty of carrying contraband, would grossly exceed his duty, and would fail to obtain the sanction of a Court of Prize. The duty of the Court of Prize and the captor is to establish against the neutral a hostile character, or some act which imparts to neutrality a quasi-hostile character; so that, ceasing to be neutral, the vessel becomes obnoxious to the laws of war. That is the whole doctrine of Prize Law as applied to neutrals, and until some such hostile taint can be detected in them, they stand inviolable and out of the jurisdiction of the captor.

Hostile destination is an essential condition of contraband of war. Sir William Scott says in the case of the '*Imina*,'\* that if the destination of the vessel to a neutral port be considered the real destination, no question of contraband can arise; inasmuch

as goods going to a neutral port *cannot come under the description of contraband, all goods going there being equally lawful.*' The rule respecting contraband is that 'the articles must be taken in *delicto*, in the *actual prosecution of the voyage to an enemy's port.*' This principle has been carried so far that it was held by the Court of Admiralty in the case of the '*Trendre Sostre*,' that a Dutch vessel, belonging to a trading company, which had been captured at the Cape of Good Hope as carrying contraband of war and despatches, was discharged because in the interval of her voyage the Cape itself had become a British possession, and the function of conveying stores or despatches to the enemy at the Cape had therefore ceased. The character of the goods was altered by this fact, and as they were no longer going to the port of an enemy they were no longer contraband.

Under certain circumstances, the conveyance of enemy's despatches or military or naval officers to an enemy's port is assimilated to the conveyance of contraband of war. There are, however, in the English Admiralty Reports but few cases of neutral ships detained on account of the carriage of enemy's military agents or of despatches. The '*Friendship*,' condemned August 19th, 1807, was an American ship, bound from Anna-polis to Bordeaux, for conveying ninety passengers, who were French marines, shipped under the direction of the French minister in America. The '*Orozembo*,' condemned 24th Sept. 1807, was an American vessel, chartered by the enemy for the express purpose of conveying three military officers from Holland to Batavia. The '*Atalanta*' was condemned March 4th, 1808, for unneutral conduct, in carrying despatches clandestinely from the governor of the Isle of France to the Minister of Marine in Paris. The '*Caroline*' was restored 1st April 1808, on the ground that the transport of despatches by a neutral ship, when those despatches were those of a minister of the enemy resident in a neutral country to his own government, is an innocent service. The cases of the '*Constantine*,' the '*Susan*,' and the '*Hope Jones*,' quoted in the Notes to Robinson's Reports (vi. p. 461.), do not differ from the former cases. No neutral vessel has ever been condemned for the conveyance of despatches or military officers, unless it could be proved that they had made themselves subservient to the purposes of the enemy by directly conveying to the enemy, or the enemy's colonies, official orders or military assistance. The case of the '*Mercury*,' in which Mr. Laurens was captured, in 1780, which has been relied on in America, is demolished

\* 3 Rob., p. 167.

by the fact that she was an enemy's ship belonging to Philadelphia. The case of the 'Hercules,' an American vessel, from which Lucien Buonaparte and his family were captured, in 1810, by the 'Pomona,' off the port of Cagliari, is also destroyed by the fact that the 'Hercules' was one of the American ships which had previously been sequestered, by an order of Napoleon, at Naples; and that she was expressly employed by Murat, an enemy, to carry Lucien Buonaparte, another enemy, from the shores of Italy. The ship had, therefore, acquired in all respects a hostile character, and was taken in to Malta as a lawful prize. To these cases must be added that of the 'Hendric and Alida,' in 'Marriott's Reports' (p. 96.), which is in some respects the most remarkable of the series. This was a Dutch neutral ship, captured by Lord Mulgrave in 1777, being laden with powder and guns, and having on board five foreign military officers who acknowledged that they had passes or commissions from Dr. Franklin, the agent of the revolted American colonies in Paris. The destination of the vessel appears to have been the Dutch colony of St. Eustathius, and the Court of Admiralty held that the Dutch had an indisputable right to carry whatever they pleased to their own colonies. The case was rendered extremely complicated by the circumstance of a recapture, by the Dutch Treaties, and by the Act of the British Parliament for stopping all trade and intercourse with the British colonies in rebellion, and we cannot here unravel all the details of a very confused Report; but the main and essential fact with reference to this case is, that even the military officers taken on board this neutral ship were claimed by the Dutch and restored to them by the British, before the termination of the proceedings which ended in the restitution of the ship. We understand that the whole correspondence with the Dutch Government on this case exists in the State Paper Office, and throws a clear light on the liberal principles which were subsequently confirmed by the Admiralty Court. The cases decided by Sir George Lee are the more curious, as they range over the period from 1776 to 1779, in the first heat of the American war: and we cannot but remark that they display a greater degree of forbearance and moderation on the part of this country towards neutrals, than was shown in the great contests with France from 1793 to 1815.

To complete our general view of the right of search it may be added, that as between this country and the United States a fourth object connected with the right of visitation

and search acquired great prominence in the wars of 1793-1812, and caused a rupture in the later year between the British and American Governments. We mean the seizure under the British law of allegiance, and by way of impressment, of British seamen found on board neutral vessels, when those vessels were searched by our cruisers for other purposes. On this head it might suffice to say that the practice of impressment having fallen into desuetude in Great Britain herself, and being, as we believe, permanently superseded by a far more efficient system for manning the navy, the claim to impress British seamen out of foreign vessels is also *à fortiori* at an end. But we go further. We avow without hesitation that we should consider any attempt to revive that practice as supremely impolitic and unjust; and we deeply regret that in the negotiations between Lord Castlereagh and Mr. Rush in 1818, and between Lord Ashburton and Mr. Webster in 1842, when the American Government invited Great Britain formally to renounce a usage which no statesman of our day would wish to retain, the negotiation on this head proved abortive. It is a singular example of the reluctance even of the most enlightened men to deal with these barbarous and antiquated practices of maritime warfare, that men like Sir R. Peel and Lord Aberdeen did not at once terminate this controversy for ever. The following passage from Mr. Webster's excellent despatch to Lord Ashburton of the 8th August 1842, is singularly applicable to the recent pretensions of the American cruisers.

'Every merchant vessel on the seas is rightfully considered as part of the territory of the country to which it belongs. The entry therefore into such a vessel, being neutral, by a belligerent, is an act of force, and is, *prima facie*, a wrong, a trespass, which can be justified only where done for some purpose allowed to form a sufficient justification by the Law of Nations. But a British cruiser enters an American merchant vessel in order to take therefrom supposed British subjects, offering no justification therefor, under the law of nations, but claiming the right under the law of England respecting the King's prerogative. This cannot be defended. English soil, English territory, English jurisdiction, is the appropriate sphere for the operation of English law. The ocean is the sphere of the Law of Nations, and any merchant vessel on the seas is, by that law, under the protection of the laws of her own nation, and may claim immunity, unless in cases in which that law allows her to be entered and searched.'

The Americans have repeatedly declared that 'the claim of a belligerent to search for and seize on board neutral vessels, on

the high seas, persons under his allegiance, does not rest on any belligerent right under the Law of Nations, but on a prerogative derived from municipal law, and involves the extravagant supposition, that one nation has a right to execute at all times and in all cases, its municipal laws and regulations, on board the ships of another nation, not being within its territorial limits.' These are the words of Mr. Madison when President of the United States, in his despatch to Mr. Rose of the 5th March, 1808.

The truth is that this practice never rested upon any principle of the Law of Nations at all, but upon a principle of municipal law at variance with the Law of Nations. That principle was the doctrine of the inalienable allegiance of subjects to their sovereign, a doctrine which was professed by all European States as well as England down to the latter half of the last century. The inference was that the sovereign had a municipal right to claim the persons and services of his subjects wherever they could be found, and that, in particular, seamen were not protected by a neutral flag and had no right to serve a neutral Power without the king's licence.

The old form of instruction to commanders of His Majesty's ships ran as follows:—

'When he meets with any foreign ship or vessel to send a lieutenant to inquire whether there may be on board of her any seamen who may be subjects of His Majesty, and if there be, he is to demand them, provided it does not distress the ship; he is to demand their wages to that day; but he is to do this without detaining the vessel longer than shall be necessary, or offering any violence to, or in any way ill-treating, the master or his crew.'

To obviate the evils arising from this practice it was expressly stipulated by the 17th article of the Commercial Treaty of Utrecht, and by the 20th article of the Treaty of 1786, between France and England, that persons not being actually in the service of an enemy should not be taken from (*enlevées* or *tirées*) a neutral vessel, but should enjoy the same privilege as enemy's goods covered by the neutral flag.

Dr. Twiss remarks, with equal truth and acuteness, that the progress of the law of nations since the Treaty of Westphalia has constantly tended to limit the sovereignty of princes as a paramount right based on the conception of imperial supremacy, and to extend the territorial independence of States. This distinction may be traced very clearly in the matter before us. A century ago nothing seemed more natural or better established than that the paramount right of the sovereign to the services of his subjects

should be held good under all circumstances. He might therefore take them, under the old municipal theory of allegiance, wherever they could be found. But by the modern conception of the law of nations territorial independence is the more powerful principle of the two. Within the territorial limits or under the flag of another State, every foreign sovereignty becomes subject; and thus it came to pass that the claim to take British seamen out of foreign ships was felt before the end of the great wars of this century to be an intolerable grievance. One more touch will serve to complete the contrast. By the law of prize, a captor has no property in a captured vessel or her cargo until the rightfulness of the seizure has been decided by a Court administering the law of nations; but as the seizure of British seamen in foreign ships on their allegiance to King George was a municipal right and not a right under the Law of Nations, it was never brought before the Courts of Admiralty at all. They had no jurisdiction in the matter.

Let us now proceed to illustrate these principles and their future bearing on maritime usages by a brief reference to the case of the 'Trent.' And here we must in the first instance remark, that it would be a just subject of regret and censure, if in dealing with a great question of public law the British Government had rested their demand mainly or exclusively on any low and narrow view of the case based on a technical objection to the form of Captain Wilkes' proceedings. If he had been right in substance in arresting the vessel, it is puerile to object that he did not proceed to extremities and capture the ship. Our objections are of a totally different character. They go to the root of the matter. We believe that in every conceivable view of the case Captain Wilkes was equally wrong: we are satisfied that he had no reasonable grounds whatever for even visiting the ship; and that the outrage he committed in taking out the Southern Commissioners cannot be brought under any distinct head of belligerent right practised at any time by a civilised Power.

What would be the consequence to the two countries if, on the one hand, the United States maintained the exercise of the belligerent right of search and seizure in its most offensive form, and if England, on the other hand, resisted it? We say nothing of the past, or of the manifest inconsistency of American statesmen in claiming to exercise over their own citizens and against us, rights assimilated by themselves to those abuses of power which their fathers strenu-

ously resisted, even to blood, when exercised by Great Britain fifty years ago against them. But observe the effect of such a claim on future maritime warfare. The United States, hitherto known as a champion of neutral rights, because they had neutral interests, would now by this case of the 'Trent' set up a great example and precedent of belligerent authority over the neutral flag. On the other hand, by protesting against and resisting the claim of the Americans to take American citizens out of the 'Trent,' England has already implicitly but distinctly relinquished her ancient pretension to take persons from the shelter of the neutral flag; because it is evident that if any such pretension could by possibility be hereafter renewed, the resistance of Great Britain to the seizure of Americans on board the 'Trent' is a conclusive reply to any such claim on our part.

But even if the 'Trent' could have been condemned as lawful prize for a breach of neutrality,—a supposition in the highest degree improbable, and for which even the Americans do not appear to contend—it remains very doubtful what effect such a proceeding against the *ship* would have had against the *persons* taken out of her. The Court of Prize has no jurisdiction over them, and the utmost that could be said is that, *jure belli*, they might be regarded as prisoners of war. State prisoners arrested on a charge of treason they could in no case become. But the vice of the American case throughout was that they sought to treat their captives both as belligerents and as rebels, or alternately as one or the other. But one character excludes the other. If they are rebels, that is men who have violated their allegiance to their country, then no belligerent right at all could be exercised over a neutral vessel to get possession of them, the whole proceeding of Captain Wilkes was a gross outrage unsanctioned by the usages of war, as in fact there is no war, and these men were simply political adversaries sailing to Europe under a neutral flag. If, on the contrary, they are viewed as belligerents, or as the emissaries of a belligerent Power, that involves the recognition of the Southern Confederacy by the North; and when lawfully captured they are clearly not amenable to the jurisdiction of any criminal court of the captor, though they might as mere prisoners of war be detained. But the American Government by detaining them in Fort Warren acted as if these men, having first been taken from a neutral upon a false pretence of belligerent rights, could then be treated as prisoners of state amenable to the juris-

diction of the captor for a political crime. Such a mode of dealing with the case was not merely a violation of the Law of Nations, but a direct assertion of two contradictory and incompatible propositions.

The deed of Captain Wilkes was no exercise of the belligerent right of visitation and search, but a bare illegal *seizure*, which could only be regarded as an act of war. The character and nationality of the 'Trent' were perfectly well known to the American cruiser. So was her destination from one neutral port to another neutral port, proceeding *from*, not *towards* the seat of war. Indeed, so well did Captain Wilkes know the vessel, that he even knew who were on board of her. No pretence was made of asking for her papers; none of searching for despatches; none of searching for contraband. None of the formalities practised in visiting a ship were observed. On the contrary, the act complained of was a simple seizure by violence and intimidation—nothing else. The right of search must sometimes be inconvenient to neutrals; but this proceeding had nothing whatever in common with the right of search. The appearance of an armed force of American marines on the quarter-deck of the 'Trent' was a positive invasion, not to be justified by any practice of the seas, unless the cruiser had made up his mind to capture the vessel as lawful prize.

But what was the character of the vessel? had she done anything to forfeit or impair her neutral character? It would seem that as the Americans left her to continue her voyage, even they made no charge against her, yet that charge, made and proved in a court of law, could alone vindicate their conduct. The 'Trent' was a packet of the Royal Mail Steam Packet Company, and though not a public ship in the strict sense of a ship of war, she unquestionably differs materially from any private neutral ship, used or chartered for a hostile purpose. The existence of these packets of the great companies, which cross the ocean with the regularity of mail-coaches or railway trains, is an entire novelty since the last great maritime war. It is obvious that they have an essentially public character. They convey the mails of all nations. They are in great measure supported by Government subsidies. The mails on board are under the care of an officer of the Royal Navy, who has, in certain cases, a voice in the management of the ship. The owners of these vessels have not the slightest temptation to lend themselves to any clandestine acts of hostility. They are in no degree responsible for the character of the passengers,



or for the contents of the letters they carry, and indeed they are legally compellable to convey whatever the Post Office sends them. Lastly, packets have been made the subject of an express convention between the British and American Governments, and are protected from molestation, *by treaty*, for six months after a declaration of war, and till future notice. To this it may be added, that in all recent maritime wars, even in the blockades of Mexico, Buenos Ayres, and the Dalmatian coast of Austria, packets have been treated as privileged vessels.

Yet such was the ship to which Captain Wilkes applied, in all their rigour, his crude notions of belligerent rights. There may be no precedents in point, because, as we have said, the existence of these packets is a novelty in the world. But the most simple notions of the common interest of mankind suffice to show that such vessels, under any flag, but especially under a neutral flag, are entitled to the fullest measure of consideration extended to neutral vessels of war. Is it possible to conceive a greater annoyance to all civilised States than a general interruption of the packet service? Is there any service entitled to greater respect than that which indiscriminately conveys from the ends of the earth, and to all men alike, the bills of the merchant, the orders of governments, the reports of foreign agents, and the intercourse of private life? This is the first time that belligerent violence has been applied to a packet under the British flag; and we hold it to be a barbarous, as well as a dastardly and illegal action. This is one of the points on which we think a material improvement in the usages of maritime warfare might easily be introduced. The character of a public ship should be extended to all vessels having on board a commissioned officer of Government in charge of mails; and vessels in this category should enjoy all the immunities of armed vessels, or vessels under convoy.\*

\* The French postal packets being for the most part commanded by officers of the Imperial navy, claim to enjoy the privileges of public ships. Thus Beausant says ('Code de la Marine Marchande,' vol. ii. p. 497.), 'Les paquebots sont assimilés aux batiments de la Marine Royale; ils sont commandés par un officier tiré de son sein; le service fait à bord de ces navires est considéré comme fait pour l'État.' The Royal Ordinance of the 23rd February, 1839, regulated the service of the French Mediterranean 'paquebots-postes' in the minutest detail. If they are legally to be regarded as public ships they would, we apprehend, though unarmed, be entitled to claim exemption from search, as their nationality proves itself. Are British mail packets, whose service extends to every part of the globe, and which carry the letters of all nations at the expense of this country, less entitled to this privilege than those of France?

It is scarcely worth while to discuss the question whether the Southern Commissioners taken from the 'Trent' could be regarded as 'contraband of war,' for the suggestion either originated in an astounding ignorance of the first principles of maritime law, or it was the last resort of a desperate case. We have already shown that direct destination to an enemy's port, and to an enemy's use, is the essential condition which gives a hostile and contraband character to what is otherwise an innocent and neutral trade. Would any one contend that a British steamer bound from the Havana to St. Thomas on her way to England, with a cargo of arms or military stores on board, could be liable to detention? The supposition is absurd. But we go much further. We maintain that one belligerent has no right whatever to interfere, except by way of blockade, with the communications which may take place, under the neutral flag, between the other belligerent and neutral States, because there is no ground to assume that such communications are necessarily of a hostile character or would be followed by hostile effects. On that point, as Lord Stowell well observed in the case of the 'Caroline,' one belligerent must look to the good faith of the neutral, that no improper assistance or advantage will be conceded to the other. Not only, therefore, was the voyage of Mr. Mason and Mr. Slidell, under the neutral flag, a perfectly legal one, and they ought to have been as safe under the British flag as they would have been on a British island, but for aught that appears to the contrary, our own neutral interests may have been concerned in their voyage.

With regard to the character of Mr. Mason and Mr. Slidell it is clear that, even from the American point of view, it partakes of the nature of the character of envoys, for had they been mere political antagonists of the Federal Government, or even proscribed traitors, the right of asylum must at least have protected them. Dr. Phillimore has a short but highly instructive and learned chapter in the second volume of his 'Commentaries' (p. 143.), on what Burke termed 'the strange incongruities which must ever perplex those who confound the unhappiness of civil dissension with the crime of treason;' and he observes that when 'rebellion has grown, from the numbers who partake in it, the duration of it, the severity of the struggle, and other causes,

In the case of the 'Charles et Georges,' France denied the authority of the Portuguese authorities over that ship, chiefly on the ground that she had on board a commissioner of the French Government, who was responsible for her conduct.

into the terrible magnitude of a civil war, the emissaries of both parties have been considered as entitled to the privilege of ambassadors as far as their personal safety is concerned—especially, it may be added, in their intercourse or attempted intercourse with a neutral Power. ‘The great revolutions of the world,’ Dr. Phillimore continues, ‘such as the revolt of the Netherlands and of the British Provinces in North America, could only have been prevented from producing a state of perpetual warfare throughout the greater part of the globe, by a partial application of the principle of International Law to the divided members of one and the same State.’ This reasonable and humane doctrine the Americans have altogether overlooked and rejected; they even contend that it is because these gentlemen were dangerous emissaries that they seized them. Had the blockade been efficient, the American cruisers would doubtless have had a perfect right to arrest them in any vessel which attempted to break it; but that barrier having been passed, the envoys had virtually reached their destination when they were under the British flag, and it was for the British and French Governments alone to determine whether they thought fit to receive them, and (if at all) in what capacity. Some stress has been laid on the dictum of Lord Stowell (in the case of the ‘*Caroline*’) that a belligerent may stop an ambassador; but this remark rests on the authority of Vattel, and it is clear that Vattel only applied it to the stoppage of an ambassador when he chanced to pass through an enemy’s territory. He lays it down\* that to prevent another Power to send or receive public envoys, is a violation of the law of nations, although in time of war a State may ‘*empêcher qu’il ne puisse envoyer ses ministres pour solliciter des secours.*’ But this right is subsequently explained to mean (§ 85.) ‘*On peut arrêter et attaquer ses gens partout où on a la liberté d’exercer des actes d’hostilité*’ but not elsewhere.† Thus the Maréchal de Belle-Isle, the French Ambassador on his way to Berlin, was arrested in 1774, at a village in the Electorate of Hanover, which belonged to the King of England, who was then at war with France. But no attempt can be made

to show that the passage of an envoy has ever been stopped on a neutral territory by the forcible intrusion of a belligerent not having any jurisdiction there.

The case of Lord Holderness, which occurred a short time before that of the Maréchal de Belle-Isle, completes the demonstration by the contrast. Lord Holderness, a British Envoy on his way to Venice, was arrested by a party of Austrian huzzars, near Nuremberg, and the scene of the arrest was neutral ground. Count Seckendorf, the Austrian Commander-in-Chief, instantly ordered Lord Holderness to be released, and personal excuses were made to him. In the correspondence which soon afterwards took place, with reference to the Maréchal de Belle-Isle, this case was referred to, and it was admitted that an arrest on neutral territory was clearly illegal. In fact the arrest of an envoy on neutral territory would be as gross an outrage to the neutral Power as the atrocious seizure of the Duc d’Enghien by Napoleon on the territory of Baden.

On the subject of contraband of war, and the contraband conveyance of despatches and military persons to the enemy, we have a further general observation to make of considerable future importance. The right of stopping these articles in neutral vessels at sea has been expressly reserved to belligerents by the Declaration of Paris; and it is on this right only that the exercise of the right of search (properly so called) is now based, inasmuch as search is no longer directed to the discovery of enemy’s goods. The only test to which this right can fairly or reasonably be brought, is that of *utility*. Is it more for the advantage of the belligerent to exercise a very delicate and dangerous right over neutrals, with the risk of converting those neutrals into positive enemies, or to forego the exercise of a right which may, in some few cases, deprive an enemy of the necessities of war? In other words, is it worth while to contend for a small advantage at a great risk, or is it wiser to avert a great peril by a small concession?

The power of searching neutral vessels for contraband of war is, in the present state of the world, a very small advantage; and for the following reasons. No country can be prevented from carrying on a war by the want of stores of war and arms. In that respect few belligerents have ever been more severely pressed than the Southern Confederate States. Their ports are closed by blockade, their northern frontier is hostile, their southern frontier is barbarous, their internal resources are small—yet the war goes on, and the Southern army holds its own. In Europe the facilities of railway

\* Lib. iv. cap. iii. § 63.

† Buddeus says, ‘*Nec legatorum sanctitas eo usque se extendit ut si per territorium hostis ejus ad quem mittuntur non debeant violari;*’ and Thomasius goes so far as to contend that envoys who are sent to foment rebellion may be lawfully killed, but not, of course, on neutral territory. These authorities were quoted by the Russians in 1734, when they arrested the Marquis de Monti, ambassador of France to Poland, in the city of Danzig.

communication are now so great that the importance of stopping a certain class of maritime communications is greatly diminished, except to islands. Thus in 1855, whatever the blockade shut out from Russia by sea, was introduced by land from Danzig and Königsberg. The prohibition of the trade in contraband of war by the law of nations and by the right of maritime search is totally abortive as long as the trade is unmolested by municipal laws. If stores of war cannot be purchased in one country they are procured in another; and unless it were possible to arrest the whole trade of the world in these articles, a partial prohibition is impossible or ineffectual.

Great Britain is at this very time guilty of a gross inconsistency in this matter. It has been held by us during the late war of France and Austria and the present contest in America, that our neutrality is unimpaired by furnishing enormous supplies of arms, stores, &c. to the belligerents, provided we did it alike to both. But this alleged impartiality has been a mere pretence, because, in fact, from obvious causes, in 1859, while we were selling our stores and transports to the French, Austria was practically excluded from our markets; and while we have supplied immense quantities of arms to the Federalists, the Confederate ports were under blockade. However, the doctrine is that you may *sell* contraband of war, as much as you please, to either or both of the belligerents, provided you do not *convey* it to them. No municipal law controls or vitiates the manufacture and sale of these articles in England; but the law of nations subjects the neutral carrier of contraband to the penalty of capture if caught on the ocean. This penalty is, however, no serious check to the trade, for it is notoriously and even publicly carried on with the greatest activity, the risk of the capture of contraband of war in a neutral vessel being extremely insignificant. This state of things is unreasonable and unjust. If it be a breach of neutrality to export the materials of war to belligerents, the exportation should be prohibited: if it be no breach of neutrality to manufacture and sell arms to a belligerent, it is not easy to see on what grounds it is highly penal to convey them to him. The prevention of the trade by municipal laws might be easy and effectual; the prevention of the trade by the right of search at sea is difficult, dangerous, and ineffectual. Indeed, so much was this our own opinion in the Russian war, that, in conjunction with France, we asked and obtained from almost all the neutral Powers of Europe a direct municipal prohibition of the export of arms.

If the prevention of the transport of arms be difficult, much more difficult is it to prevent the conveyance of a despatch which may so easily be concealed, or of a military passenger in disguise. Moreover, as the whole question of contraband of war resolves itself into a question of destination, it is next to impossible to fix by certain proof a destination on prohibited articles. A Spanish or British vessel laden with arms clears out for Cuba, Jamaica, or the Bahamas; until she comes within the range of the American blockade, her destination has nothing criminal about it. If stopped she is stopped by the blockade, and not for her contraband cargo. We are satisfied, therefore, that the advantage to be derived by a belligerent from the exercise of this right of search for contraband is inappreciably small.

On the other hand, the difficulties and dangers which it occasions are incalculably great. This right involves, in the first place, if it were rigorously exercised, all the same mischievous consequences which formerly arose from the right of search for enemy's goods; if a vessel be searched, it is immaterial whether she be searched for one purpose or for another. A rigorous examination of ships' papers with a view to ascertain her destination, or a close scrutiny of her cargo to find concealed arms, is just as likely to lead to an altercation as any other kind of search; and to this proceeding *every* neutral vessel is liable to be subjected as long as the right of search for this purpose is recognised by the law of nations. The Americans have a perfect right at this time to station cruisers at the mouth of the British Channel to overhaul every westward-bound ship from the ports of France and England, in order to ascertain by actual search that she carries no contraband of war or hostile despatches to the Confederate States. Such a proceeding would no doubt be intolerable. But what is the use of a right which cannot be enforced, and which is of no value unless it be applied universally? Should we ourselves apply it, if we were belligerents? We might assert it, as no doubt the law of nations allows us to do; but if it were any part of the policy of this country to remain on terms of neutrality and friendship with France, Spain, Holland, and the other Powers of Europe, we should think twice before we sacrificed the goodwill of those great States to a chimerical attempt to stop an occasional private venture in ammunition or arms. The feeling excited not only in this country, but throughout Europe, by the affair of the 'Trent,' is a decisive proof that in the present temper of the world, and after fifty years of peace, the

exercise of the belligerent rights formerly assumed by great maritime Powers is impossible; and we confidently believe that the great maritime Powers, and especially England, are preeminently concerned to place the exercise of these rights within strict limits.

It cannot be too often or too emphatically repeated, that both in peace and in war the true interest of this country, beyond all others, is the greatest freedom of the navigation of the seas. What country has the largest amount of property afloat, the greatest number of merchant vessels, the most complete system of steam communication, the most numerous factories, colonies, and dependencies, strung like beads round the globe? What country has so much to export, and so much to receive from foreign lands? What country more than England has realised the broadest conception of maritime freedom by opening her colonies, her ports, and even her coasting trade, to the flags of all nations? And if these are the elements of our national greatness, our first interest is to place them as far as possible beyond the destructive interference of war. We very well know that other nations, not half as emancipated as ourselves from the shackles and manacles of prohibition and monopoly, still deceived by the prejudices and traditions of another age, imagine that they are the champions, and we the opponents, of maritime freedom. Such a conclusion would be absolutely opposed to the broad principles on which the commercial policy of England now rests. In obedience to those principles, we have already recognised the lawfulness of indirect trade with an enemy; we have acknowledged the shelter of the neutral flag to enemy's goods; and we have abolished privateering. It only remains to us to induce the other maritime Powers to renounce the right of search for contraband of war, — a right, as we have shown, far more onerous than it is useful, — and the maritime usages of war applicable to neutrals would then be reduced to two points, the right of visitation to ascertain the nationality of ships, and the right of blockade. Every step in the direction of a liberal policy which is taken in common by England and France, is of irresistible force in the affairs of the world. The evils of maritime warfare sprang to a considerable extent from their long dissensions; they may be diminished by their union. The law of nations ought no longer to rest on the obscure traditions of the elder jurists, or the conflicting decisions of Prize Courts, which do not in reality administer the same code of regulations. The usages of the sea in

time of war might perfectly well be determined by precise conventions or declarations; and we see no reason to doubt that with the concurrence of this country the same provisions would be assented to by all the Powers. We should thus obtain what has never yet existed, a distinct system of international usages having the sanction of all the maritime European Powers; and it is probable that even the Americans would not long place themselves outside the pale by refusing to acknowledge its authority. Long ago, under the government of Cromwell, in the reign of Queen Anne, under the administration of Mr. Pitt, Great Britain did actually contract treaties with the maritime Powers of Europe to define and limit the rights of belligerents. Those treaties, old as they are, and long obsolete, are far more enlightened and liberal than the doctrines which form the basis of the modern jurisprudence of the British Court of Admiralty. And we most earnestly trust that in the present important conjuncture, the British Government will avail itself of the friendly and honourable disposition of that of France to reduce to the form of a convention the more rational and equitable rules which are equally necessary to ourselves and to the rest of the world.

Before we consider the course pursued by the present American Government in the case of the 'Trent,' it may not be a waste of time to recall to the memory of our readers the incidents of a somewhat similar controversy in which we were the offenders and the Americans the injured party.

On the 23rd of June 1807, the British frigate 'Leopard' improperly claimed a right to search the United States frigate 'Chesapeake,' off the Capes of Virginia, and actually succeeded in taking out of her four seamen, on the alleged ground that they were subjects of His Britannic Majesty, and as such liable to impressment. This intelligence reached the Government in London on the 25th July, 1807, and Mr. Canning, then Foreign Secretary, instantly addressed the following communication to Mr. Monroe, the American Minister at this Court.

'Foreign Office, July 25. 1807.

'Mr. Canning presents his compliments to Mr. Monroe, and with sentiments of the deepest regret hastens to inform him that intelligence has just been received of a transaction which has taken place off the coast of America, between a ship of war of His Majesty's, and a frigate belonging to the United States, the result of which has been the loss of some lives on board the American frigate.

'Whatever the real merits and character of this transaction may turn out to be, Mr. Canning

could not forbear expressing without delay the sincere concern and sorrow which he feels at this unfortunate result, and assuring the American minister both for himself and on behalf of His Majesty's Government, that if the British officers should prove to have been culpable, the most prompt and effectual reparation shall be afforded to the Government of the United States.

'JAMES MONROE, Esq.'

So anxious was the British Government on the first burst of this unfortunate affair to repudiate all responsibility for it. The American Government, however, instantly proceeded to take the law into its own hands, and on the 2nd July, nine days after the occurrence, a proclamation was published interdicting all British armed ships the use and privileges of American harbours and waters. A negotiation followed. A special minister was sent to Washington to adjust the question: but in a despatch addressed to Mr. Monroe by the President Madison on the 6th July, that gentleman had stated:—

'The nature and extent of the satisfaction ought to be suggested to the British Government not less by a sense of its own honour than by justice to the United States. *A formal disavowal of the deed and restoration of the four seamen to the ship from which they were taken, are things of course and indispensable.* As a security for the future, an entire abolition of impressments from vessels under the flag of the United States, if not already arranged, is also to make an indispensable part of the arrangement.

'But beyond these indispensable conditions the United States have a right to expect every solemnity of form and every other ingredient of restitution and respect which, according to usage and the sentiments of mankind, are proper in the strongest cases of insult to the rights and sovereignty of a nation; and the British Government is to be apprised of the importance of a full compliance with this expectation, to the thorough healing of the wound which has been made in the feelings of the American people.'

Such was the disposition of the British Government to atone for an unpremeditated injury! Such was the tone in which the American Government of that day demanded and obtained redress for an act, which was not more illegal and outrageous than the arrest of the envoys on board the 'Trent,' though it had unhappily been attended with fatal consequences.

On the 1st December of the present year, when the intelligence of the seizure of the Southern Envoys first reached Washington, an illustrious Prince of the Royal Family of France who happened to be in the United States, where he had been received with the courtesy due to his talents and to his rank, addressed a letter to the President in which he pointed out with

great force the effect which this act could not fail to produce in Europe, and he urged the American Government, from a due regard to its own dignity and true interest, handsomely and spontaneously to release the prisoners before the pressure of foreign remonstrance should be felt. Nothing could be more creditable and wise than the spirit which dictated this communication; nothing more unfortunate than the spirit which led Mr. Lincoln to reject the advice it contained, although we have reason to believe that the same view was entertained, and pressed upon the head of the American Government, by some, at least, of the most eminent members of the Senate of the United States.

Mr. Mason and Mr. Slidell were, however, retained in close custody, from the time of their seizure on board the 'Trent,' and no indication was given of a disposition to release them, until the intelligence reached America of the unequivocal determination of this country to maintain, at all hazards, the rights and dignity of the British flag. Although, therefore, the Cabinet of Washington has at length resolved to restore the prisoners, we cannot but feel that, in this tardy recognition of the rights of a neutral and friendly nation, it has not yielded to the dictates of justice or the authority of the law, but rather to the overwhelming superiority of a foreign Power, and more especially to the conviction that war with England must be fatal to the Federal cause, in the struggle against the Seceded States of the South. The main inducement to the surrender of the prisoners clearly is, that, if war had unhappily ensued from this transaction, the first operations of the British fleet would have opened the ports of the South, and closed those of the North, from Maine to the Chesapeake; whilst the presence of a foreign enemy in those great estuaries, blockading the Federal capital, would have paralysed the armies now collected round it, and perhaps extended the civil war to Maryland.

This fatal contingency has happily been avoided, partly by the resolute measures of the British Government, and partly by the wise and friendly influence of the other European Powers. The result is in the highest degree satisfactory to the people of England; and they owe a debt of gratitude to Ministers for the promptitude, dignity, efficiency, and moderation with which this crisis has been met. No event of modern times has done more to support the character of England in the world than the demeanour of the nation and the Government, on the occurrence of this outrage. Within a week, the demand for reparation was on its way

to America; within a fortnight, several of the finest regiments in the Queen's army were on their way to Canada; immense stores of war were embarked; the matériel of a considerable army was in readiness; a fleet, of incomparable power, was already in commission, which would have been tripled at the first moment of hostilities; the seafaring population joined the naval reserve with alacrity; and throughout the nation, one spirit prevails of absolute confidence in its rulers, and absolute determination to maintain its rights. It has been the fashion, of late years, with a certain class of politicians, to denounce the large military and naval establishments, which this country finds it expedient to maintain, as a wasteful and dangerous expenditure of the national resources. Yet we confidently assert that if war has in this instance been averted,—and a war which these very politicians would especially have deplored,—we owe it to the magnitude of our armaments, and the promptitude with which they can be used in any part of the globe. The sacrifices these armaments impose on the nation will, we are convinced, be borne with even greater cheerfulness and patriotism than before, when it is seen that they have just saved this country from one of the worst calamities that could befall us,—a war with a people of our own lineage and language.

Nevertheless even now it is obvious that the affair of the 'Trent' is but an incident in a very complicated and perilous state of affairs; and although this difficulty has been removed by a necessary concession, the relations of the Federal Government with the Powers of Europe are far from satisfactory. What reliance can be placed on the wisdom or forbearance of a government which is struggling in the throes of a terrific convulsion and which presents to the dispassionate eye of an European statesman the most melancholy spectacle that has been witnessed since the struggles of the French Convention? In the very act of surrendering these persons, the American public are told that the concession has been wrung from them in the hour of their weakness, and that they will do well to remember it not as an act of justice which does them honour, but as a humiliation to be avenged!

The Americans of the Northern States seem from the commencement of this contest unable to perceive or unwilling to admit its essentially *revolutionary* character—revolutionary, not only as regards the States which had quitted the Union but as regards those also which remain united. For by the removal of so important a portion of the former Confederation, the relations of

all that still adhere to it are entirely changed. It can no more stand erect than an arch after one half of it has been swept away. The Federal tie being thus broken, the law which was the basis of the national existence of the United States lost its authority—if based on agreement, the agreement was dissolved: if based on authority, the authority was disarmed. Hence, in place of a definite Constitution and a positive Law, a state of things has succeeded which can only be described as revolutionary. The Federal Government has assumed under the plea of necessity powers which were certainly never contemplated by the authors of the Constitution—it has suspended at pleasure personal freedom and the liberty of the press, it has confiscated property, it has crushed the State of Maryland by an armed occupation, and suspended in some cases the independence of the judges. The Congress now sitting in Washington is in fact a Rump Parliament, inasmuch as it represents but one section of the country, though it claims to legislate for the whole. Yet such is the state of anarchy into which men's minds have fallen, that with all their hereditary jealousy of illegality, the Americans not only submit to this intolerable state of things but defend it.\*

Unhappily this revolutionary condition of the American people is not of very recent origin, though it has only recently overthrown their political union. But the history of the United States for the last twenty-five years is full of examples to show that the respect of the people for the law was rapidly declining, and that the law itself

\* American critics have pointed out an inaccuracy, we should rather say an inadvertence, at p. 286, in our last number, where we spoke of the Resolution of the 3rd March of last year (prohibiting any future interference with slavery) as an amendment or addition to the Constitution. It is perfectly true that this Resolution was carried in the House of Representatives by a majority of 133 to 65 votes; but we are reminded that to complete an amendment of the Constitution, the proposal must be made by two-thirds of both Houses, or two-thirds of the State Legislatures, and ratified by three-fourths of the States themselves. The Resolution therefore does not amount to an amendment of the Constitution, though the principle it embodied was adopted by more than two-thirds of the House of Representatives; the ratification by the States was wanting. This point had not escaped our attention on a former occasion (Ed. Rev. vol. cxiii. p. 292.), when we referred to it as a conclusive proof that the ultimate power of determining the form of the Federal Government still resides, not in Congress, but in the States; and, as Mr. Calhoun contended long ago, 'a power that can do this must exist in full plenitude, for no higher act of sovereignty can be conceived.' The argument is, therefore, fatal to the claim of absolute supremacy now put forward by the North in the name of the Union.

was undermined by the action of the democratic current. 'It would appear,' says Mr. Spence in his Essay on the American Union, 'that the real object of popular respect in the United States, is not law but force. Uncontrollable force in the people—despotic force in party—unlicensed force in Lynch law—indignant force in vigilance committees—daring force in individual outrage—vigorous force, however employed, at once awakens latent sympathy and commands intuitive respect.' That is precisely the description of a revolutionary state of society. What was the repudiation of public debts but a breach of the law sanctioning public engagements? What were the filibustering expeditions which prepared the annexation of Texas, plunged the nation into the Mexican war, threatened Cuba, and instigated Walker, but breaches of the law against neighbouring States? What are the numerous affronts and injuries we ourselves have till now condescended to endure—the sympathisers on the Canadian frontier, the suppression of the original maps of the north-east frontier, the protection afforded by the American flag to the slave-trade, the lawless seizure of a portion of the Island of San Juan, the discourteous expulsion of a British Minister and British Consuls, and lastly this outrage on the 'Trent'—what are they all but proofs that the rulers of the American people have established their popularity and power on revolutionary appeals to the passions of the populace, rather than on the restraints and obligations of law and reason? Can any one wonder at these injuries to foreign nations, when in the very Senate of the United States, a man like Mr. Sumner, illustrious by his talents and his virtues, was struck down by a ruffian, who in his turn received the thanks of his fellow-citizens; and when another man, a red-handed assassin like Mr. Sickles, is acquitted by an American jury, and now actually commands a brigade in the army of the United States? When such things as these happen, and happen unavenged, they betoken the approach of a great convulsion, perhaps of the dissolution of society itself. Indeed the very same remark was made many years ago by Dr. Channing in a letter to the late Mr. Clay: 'Among us,' said that eminent man, 'a spirit of lawlessness pervades the community, which if not repressed threatens the dissolution of our present forms of society. The invasions of the right of speech and of the press by lawless force, oblige us to believe that a considerable portion of our citizens have no comprehension of the first principles of liberty. It is an undeniable fact that in consequence of these and other

symptoms, the confidence of many reflecting men in our free institutions is very much impaired. Some despair. That main pillar of public liberty, mutual trust among citizens, is shaken. That we must seek security for property and life in a stronger government is a spreading conviction. Men who in public talk of the stability of our institutions whisper their doubts—perhaps their scorn—in private.' If this was the language of this great and virtuous man in 1837, what would he say in 1862?

Can it then be hoped that peaceful and amicable relations are likely to be permanent between the Powers of Europe and a nation which is but too ready to exhale its mortified ambition and irrational resentment against those who have long predicted these calamities? Can we indeed long avoid entertaining seriously the question of the recognition of the Southern States as a *de facto* independent Government? Nearly a year has now elapsed since the commencement of the war. Immense efforts have been made, but with no corresponding results. The autumn campaign was to destroy the Confederate army, but in fact it is Washington that is invested; and whatever may be the pressure on the resources of the South, it cannot be more formidable than that which has lately been disclosed by the production of the Federal Budget. Under these circumstances it is difficult to deny that the recognition of the South is a mere question of time; and it may easily be shown that all the principles of public law laid down and acted upon by American statesmen, fully warrant such a recognition.

President Jackson, in his special message of Dec. 21. 1836, with reference to the acknowledgment of Texas, laid down the principles which affect the recognition of new States in the following terms:—

'All questions relative to the government of foreign nations, whether of the Old or the New World, have been treated by the United States as *questions of fact only*, and our predecessors have cautiously abstained from deciding upon them until the clearest evidence was in their possession, to enable them not only to decide correctly, but to shield their decision from every unworthy imputation.'

Acting upon this principle, when in 1849 the Provisional Government of Hungary had asserted its temporary independence of the House of Austria, Mr. Dudley Mann, an American diplomatic agent in Europe, was instructed to declare the willingness of his Government to recognise the new State in the event of its ability to sustain itself. The Austrian Cabinet protested against this measure; but Mr. Webster, then Secretary



of State at Washington, defended by precedent and argument the course pursued. 'Within the last thirty years,' said he, 'eight or ten new States have established independent governments within the colonial dominions of Spain, and the same thing has been done in Belgium and Greece. All these governments were recognised by some of the leading Powers of Europe, or now are by the United States, before they were acknowledged by the States from which they had separated themselves. If the United States had formally acknowledged the independence of Hungary, though no benefit would have arisen from it to either party, it would not have been an act against the law of nations, provided they took no part in her contest with Austria.' Hence it was contended by Mr. Webster, that if Mr. Dudley Mann had thought the condition of independent Hungary in 1849 to be firm and stable, had proposed the early recognition of her by his own Government, and the formation of commercial relations with her, Mr. Mann's mission would have been wholly unobjectionable and strictly within the rule of the law of nations and the duty of the United States as a neutral Power. The Austrian despatch had, if we remember rightly, suggested as an hypothesis that some 'black Kossuth' might at some future time disturb the harmony of the Confederation, and that the use of the word 'rebel' might be retorted on the American Government. To this hypothetical retaliation Mr. Webster haughtily replied, that 'the United States were quite willing to take their chances and abide their destiny;' and he wound up the correspondence by declaring that 'nothing should deter them, either the Government or people of the United States, from exercising at their own discretion the right belonging to them as an independent nation, and of forming and expressing their own opinions freely and at all times upon the great political events which may transpire among the civilised nations of the earth.'\*

That is precisely the right which the people of England have exercised towards the United States since the beginning of the present contest; hitherto that right has been controlled by a strict neutrality, though according to Mr. Webster we might have gone much nearer to a positive recognition without any breach of the Law of Nations. 'It is the right of every independent State to enter into friendly relations with any other independent State. Of course, questions of prudence naturally arise in reference to new

States, brought by successful revolutions into the family of nations; but it is not to be required of neutral Powers that they should await the recognition of the new government by the parent State.' But in truth we are in no hurry to recognise the South. We are by no means eager to welcome into the family of nations a new State, of which we know at present but little, and what we know is not very favourable. We have an instinctive presentiment that this Southern Confederacy will give the world no small trouble hereafter, for in spite of its pretensions to aristocratic descent it comprises the most ferocious and lawless elements of American society, and it makes slavery the basis of its existence. But in the public relations of States there is no room for sympathy or aversion; we must take the facts as they are; whenever the Powers of Europe recognise the Confederate States it will be because they are satisfied that these States have fairly entered upon an independent existence and can sustain it; that being so, recognition follows as a matter of course. It cannot be otherwise, for as the Federal Government has ceased for nearly a year to exercise any *de facto* authority in these States, we must look for the protection of British interests there to the government which the people of the country have established. The restoration of the Union has from the first been regarded in Europe as a mere chimera. We are certain, from the information we have received, that no Unionist party exists in the Southern States, but that, on the contrary, the people of those States are resolved to make the last sacrifices for the maintenance of their independence. If the Union separates itself into two parts, each part has the same claim to our acknowledgment. Whether it be peace or whether it be war, the States of Europe have a full right to recognise the Southern Confederacy, whenever they conceive that it suits their own interests to do so; and provided they do not assist the Southerner to make war on the Northern States, such recognition ought, according to President Jackson, 'to encounter, at most, but a transient estrangement of good will.' This was the principle the United States themselves invoked when, in 1778 and 1780, they called upon the continental monarchies to recognise them as against England. Mr. Wheaton lays it down that even as between France and America, at that time, 'had the French conducted itself with good faith, and maintained an impartial neutrality between the belligerent parties, it may be doubted whether the treaty of commerce, or even the eventual alliance between France and the

\* Webster's Works, vol. vi. p. 500.

United States, could have furnished any just ground for a declaration of war against the former by the British Government.

It is hardly necessary to add that mere commercial considerations, or considerations of temporary interest, will have but little weight in determining so momentous and permanent a step, which once taken can never be withdrawn. It would be utterly unworthy of this country to recognise the Southern Confederacy in order to purchase their cotton, or to procure from them the admission of manufactured goods at low duties. Nor, indeed, could this object be accomplished as long as the blockade lasts. But it would be equally absurd to refuse to recognise this confederacy, as soon as it shall be *de facto* independent, on the ground of our aversion to slavery. We have amicable relations with other slave-holding, and even slave-importing, countries like Spain. We have had amicable relations with the United States themselves all the time that the Slave States formed an integral part of the Union. They are, in truth, not more powerful, but less powerful in the interests of slavery, since they are separated than when they were united. Indeed, our own conviction is that the mitigation of the evils of slavery will be brought about much more effectually when the Southerners are left to deal alone with that formidable and degrading institution, than when they were alternately assisted by the protection of the North, or harassed by Northern Abolitionists. It is a remarkable fact that, as far as the war has yet proceeded, the slaves of the South have shown no disposition to avail themselves of the weakness of their masters, but rather to assist them in the defence of the country against the North. But, however this may be, the internal government or institutions of North or South are not our business; our duty is to live on peaceable terms with both of them if we can.

The influence of Great Britain hitherto been exerted to induce some of our European States to refrain from too close a scrutiny of the nature of the blockade, or too precipitate a recognition of the Southern Confederacy; although at this very time, the Americans, with characteristic ignorance and violence, launched their vituperations

against this country, and endeavoured to conciliate, by servile advances, the Ruler of France. No doubt, on strict principles of law, the blockade would require ten times the force which the Federal Government can employ on it, to render it effective; and it is equally clear that modern usage and American precedent is in favour of the recognition of communities fighting for their independence, whenever it becomes probable that their independence can be maintained. Thus, England was the first to recognise the new kingdom of Italy, within a few months of its formation and ratification by the people of that country. Nevertheless, we see no urgent necessity for any early or immediate decision of this momentous question. Six months more of the present rate of expenditure, and the present military establishments of both parties, must go far to exhaust themselves or their opponents, even without any brilliant military exploits, which we certainly do not expect to witness; and it is greatly to be desired that this civil convulsion may be brought to a termination, without the frightful aggravation of a foreign war.

The favourable termination of the controversy which arose out of the seizure of the Southern Envoys does not, therefore, remove all our anxiety for the future; nor does it in any degree diminish the importance we have sought to attach in these pages to a fuller consideration of several of the usages of maritime warfare. The case of the 'Trent' will hereafter be quoted as one of the most memorable examples of the respect due to the neutral flag: and the reparation exacted by England, and granted by the United States, with the concurrence and applause of other nations, establishes beyond all doubt that no such outrage can ever again be attempted with impunity by any belligerent Power. A great public benefit has therefore been derived from this discussion; and we trust that the same enlightened respect for the principles of international law, and for the rights of others, may enable the great Powers to settle on a clear and liberal basis some other maritime usages which still tend, in time of war, to restrict the liberty of neutrals and to multiply the causes of dissension in the world.

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ART. I.—*Memoirs of Richard the Third and some of his Contemporaries; with an Historical Drama on the Battle of Bosworth.*  
By JOHN HENEAGE JESSE. London: 1861.

It was the shrewd remark of Johnson, that when the world think long about a matter, they generally think right; and this may be one reason why attempts to whitewash the received villains or tyrants of history have been commonly attended with indifferent success. The ugly features of Robespierre's character look positively more repulsive through the varnish of sophistry which M. Louis Blanc has spread over them. The new light thrown by Mr. Carlyle on the domestic and political career of Frederic William of Prussia, the collector of giants, simply exhibits him as the closest approximation to a downright brute and madman that was ever long tolerated as the ruler of a civilised community. Despite of Mr. Froude's indefatigable research, skilful arrangement of materials, and attractive style, Henry the Eighth is still the royal Blue-beard, who spared neither man in his anger nor woman in his lust; and hardly any perceptible change has been effected in the popular impression of Richard the Third, although since 1621 (the date of Buck's History), it has continued an open question whether he was really guilty of more than a small fraction of the crimes imputed to him.

Walpole's 'Historic Doubts' is amongst the best of his writings. If he was advocating a paradox, he believed it to be a truth; and in the subsequent encounter with Hume, he has the advantage which thorough acquaintance with the subject

must almost always give over the ablest antagonist, whose original views were based upon superficial knowledge. Yet no part of this remarkable essay is freshly remembered, except an incidental reference (on which the ingenious author laid little stress) to the apocryphal testimony of the Countess of Desmond, who had danced with Richard in her youth, and declared him to be the handsomest man at court except his brother Edward, confessedly the handsomest man of his day. Mr. Sharon Turner's learned and conscientious recapitulation of the good measures, enlightened views, and kindly actions of Richard has proved equally inoperative to stem the current of obloquy.\* Why is this? Why do we thus cling to a judgment which, we are assured, has been ill-considered, to the extent of uniformly opposing a deaf ear to motions for a new trial? Is it because the numerical majority of the English public are in the same predicament as the great Duke of Marlborough, who boldly avowed Shakespeare to be the only History of England he ever read? because the ground once occupied by creative genius is thenceforth unapproachable by realities and unassailable by proofs? The image of the dramatic Richard, as represented by a succession of great actors, is vividly called up whenever the name is mentioned—

'And when he would have said King Richard died,  
And called a horse, a horse, he Burbage cried ;'  
and this is unluckily one of the rare in-

\* See the 'History of England during the Middle Ages,' vol. iv. book v. chap. i. All the best materials and weightiest authorities for the defence of Richard are collected in this chapter.

stances in which, if it be not profanation to say so, the truth and modesty of nature have been overstepped by our immortal bard to produce a character of calculated and unmitigated atrocity. In the very first scene, the hero, after expatiating on his deformities, concludes —

‘And therefore,—since I cannot prove a lover  
To entertain these fair, well-spoken days,  
I am determined to prove a villain.’

Moralists have laid down that dwarfs and misshapen persons are commonly out of humour with the world, but it may be doubted whether any one in actual life ever indulged in this sort of self-communing at the outset of a career. The far truer picture of a man hurried from crime to crime by ambition is Macbeth; and the most virulent assailants of Richard's memory are agreed in allowing him the kind of merit which Fielding gives to Jonathan Wild, who, finding, after due deliberation, that he could gain nothing by refraining from a good action, did one. By presupposing the worst, such a commencement checks artistic development whilst it violates the truth of history; and not the least interesting or instructive result, anticipated from an impartial examination of the authorities, will be the insight we shall attain by means of them into the heaven-born poet's mode of selecting and working up the materials of his play.

Mr. Jesse frankly owns that his work has been composed without any definite object, moral, critical, antiquarian, or philosophical. It ‘emanated indirectly in the drama,’ entitled ‘The Last War of the Roses,’ which occupies more than a fourth of the volume, and strikes us to be an attempt, more ambitious than successful, to rival the greatest of dramatists on his own ground. ‘To the merit of novelty,’ says the author in his preface, ‘whether of facts or arguments, he can prefer but a very trifling claim. To compress scattered and curious information, and, if possible, to amuse, have been the primary objects of the author.’ The result is a very agreeable addition to popular literature, containing a good deal that will be new as well as interesting to the class of readers for whose amusement he is in the habit of catering. But if the life of Richard was to be re-written at all, the task should have been undertaken in a more serious and meditative mood, with a full sense of its responsibilities, and a keener insight into the complex causes of the strange notions of right and wrong, legality and illegality, which marked the period in dispute.

During the whole of the Plantagenet

dynasty, the succession to the crown was involved in the most mischievous uncertainty. Except in the case of an adult eldest son, inheriting from the father, there was no rule of descent universally recognised. Whether more remote lineals should be preferred to collaterals, or whether claims by or through females were admissible at all, were questions frequently and most furiously agitated; nor was any title deemed absolutely unimpeachable until ratified by the popular voice or, what was equally or more potent, by the assent of the landed aristocracy. It is not going too far to say that any member of the royal family, or even any peer related to it by blood, had a chance of the throne: hence the plentiful crop of conspiracies constantly springing up: hence, also, the eagerness of the sovereign, *de facto*, to get rid, by any means, foul or fair, of every possible competitor. To bear no brother near the throne was not, in the fifteenth century, peculiar to the Turk; and servile parliaments were never wanting to pronounce or ratify the cruel sentences of fear, expediency, or hate. The wholesale beheading, hanging and quartering, that took place after each alternation of fortune during the Yorkist and Lancastrian battles, were only exceeded in atrocity by the vindictive and insulting butcheries of prisoners, perpetrated on the field. It has been computed that not fewer than eighty princes of the blood died deaths of violence during these wars; and the ancient nobility would have been well-nigh extinguished altogether, had the struggle been prolonged. Edward IV.'s first parliament included in one Act of Attainder, Henry VI., Queen Margaret, their son Edward, the Dukes of Somerset and Exeter, the Earls of Northumberland, Devon, Wiltshire, and Pembroke, Viscount Beaumont, Lords Ross, Neville, Rougemont, Dacre, and Hungerfield, with one hundred and thirty-eight knights, priests, and esquires, who were one and all adjudged to suffer all the penalties of treason. The prevalent doctrine of these times as to religious and moral obligations is comprised in these lines:

‘York. I took an oath he should quietly reign.

‘Edu. But for a kingdom any oath may be broken.

I'd break a thousand oaths to reign one year.

‘R ch. An oath is of no moment, being not took

Before a true and lawful magistrate

That hath authority over him that swears.

Henry had none, but did usurp the place.’

Subjects had no more respect for oaths than princes; and what we now understand by loyalty was almost unknown. We are

indebted to Lord Macaulay's penetration and sagacity for the discovery that the Scottish clans, which so long upheld the cause of the Stuarts, were animated far more by local sympathies and antipathies, especially by hatred of the Campbells, than by chivalrous devotion to a fallen dynasty. The Yorkists and Lancastrians were influenced by an analogous class of motives, or by purely selfish views. Most of the greater barons chose their side from hopes of personal aggrandisement, or from private pique. The most notorious example was Warwick, the King-maker, who feasted daily thirty thousand persons in his castle-halls, who could rally thirty thousand men under his banner, and carry them, like a troop of household servants, from camp to camp, as passion, interest, or caprice dictated. It is a remarkable fact that, in 1469, each of the rival kings was under durance at once;—Edward IV. at Middleham, and Henry VI. in the Tower, whilst the Nevilles were wavering between the two.\* It has been taken for granted that the people, as contradistinguished from the barons, were Yorkists, who were undoubtedly popular in the city of London, where Edward IV. won all hearts by his courtesy and hospitality. Neither in city or country, however, do we find any national or public-spirited preference for either dynasty. When the commoners rose, they rose from a sense of personal oppression, or, like the followers of Robin of Redesdale, in order to redress some local grievance.

There is not a more striking illustration of the gross ignorance and superstition of the age than the general belief that the mists which disordered the tactics of Warwick's army at Barnet were raised for the purpose by Friar Bungay. It was, in fact, the age of all others in which unscrupulous ambition might hope to thrive; in which everything was possible for courage, military skill, statecraft, and dogged determination, backed by birth and fortune. If Richard has attained a bad preeminence for treachery and bloodthirstiness, it must be owned that he succumbed to temptations from which few of his family or generation would have turned away.

Although Shakespeare assigns him a prominent part in the battle of Wakefield, where his father, the Duke of York, was taken and put to death after exclaiming—

'Three times did Richard make a lane to me,  
And thrice cried, Courage, father, fight it out;'

Richard (born Oct. 2. 1452) was only in his

ninth year when that battle was fought, and he narrowly escaped the fate of Rutland. The Duchess of York took refuge with her younger children in the Low Countries, and remained there till the triumphant entry of Edward the Fourth into London and the decisive victory of Towton restored them to their country and to more than the full immunities of their rank. The title of Duke of Gloucester, with an ample appanage in the shape of lordships and manors, was at once conferred on Richard, who, at an unusually early age, was also appointed to three or four offices of the highest trust and dignity. He amply justified the confidence reposed in him. He had the same motive as the weak, wavering Clarence for joining Warwick, when the King-maker broke with Edward and sent the haughty message:—

'Tell him from me that he has done me wrong,  
And for it I'll uncrown him ere 't be long.'

What the precise wrong was, is still a mystery. The repudiation of the contract with the lady Bona, sister of Louis of France, is doubted by Hume, and rejected by Lingard, as the cause of quarrel; whilst the author of 'The Last of the Barons' gives plausible reasons for the conjecture on which the plot of that romance mainly turns—that Warwick took just offence at an insult offered by the amorous monarch to one of his daughters. The hand of the eldest, the Lady Isabella, was the bait with which the King-maker lured Clarence; and Richard had been from early youth attached to the youngest (whom Shakespeare calls the eldest) Lady Anne; a circumstance which may partly account for his rapid success in the famous courtship scene; the forced and overcharged character of which is so glossed over and concealed by the consummate art of the execution, that we are puzzled in what sense to receive the exulting exclamation—

'Was ever woman in such humour woo'd?  
Was ever woman in such humour won?'

Shakespeare makes Richard remain true to Edward from calculation; his chances of the crown being materially increased by the defection of Clarence. But a man may not be the less honest, because honesty is his best policy; and it is enough that in every emergency he gave Edward the wisest and apparently most disinterested counsel, as well as the support of his tried courage and military skill. He commanded the right wing of the Yorkist army at Barnet, and was directly opposed to Warwick, the most renowned warrior of the period. Personal prowess was then essential in a leader, and

\* Lingard, vol. iv. p. 168.

Gloucester and Warwick are reported to have fought hand-to-hand in the *mêlée*. According to the tradition, the King-maker evaded the conflict as long as he could, and then felled Richard unwounded to the ground. At Tewkesbury he commanded the van, and was confronted with the Duke of Somerset, who had taken up so formidable a position, fenced by dykes and hedges, that to carry it seemed hopeless. After a feigned attack and a short conflict, Gloucester drew back as if for a retreat. Somerset, rash and impetuous, was deceived by this manœuvre, and left his vantage ground, when Gloucester faced about and fell upon the Lancastrians so furiously and unexpectedly that they were driven back in confusion to their intrenchments, which the pursuing force entered along with them. Lord Wenlock, who, by coming to their assistance with his division, might have beaten back Gloucester, never stirred; and Somerset no sooner regained his camp than riding up to his recreant friend, he denounced him as a traitor and coward, and stopped recrimination and remonstrance by dashing out his brains with a battle-axe.

The chief glory of this well-fought field belonged to Richard; but unluckily it was the scene of a tragedy in which the part of first villain has been popularly assigned to him. We are required to believe that directly after leading his troops to victory, his instinctive bloodthirstiness induced him to take the lead in a cowardly assassination in which others were only too anxious to anticipate him. The common story runs that after the battle of Tewkesbury, Margaret and her son, aged eighteen, were brought before Edward, who asked the prince in an insulting manner how he dared to invade his dominions, and irritated by a spirited reply, struck him on the face with his gauntlet; whereupon the Dukes of Clarence and Gloucester, Lord Hastings, and Sir Thomas Grey, taking the blow as a signal, hurried the prince into the next room, and there dispatched him with their daggers. A contemporary historian, Fabyan, says that the King 'strake him with the gauntlet upon the face, after which stroke, so by him received, he was by the kynges servants incontinently slaine.' The Chronicle of Croyland, of nearly the same date, says, 'that he was slain by the avenging hands of several (ultricibus quorundam manibus).' The names of the alleged perpetrators were first given by Hall, and afterwards copied from him by Holingshed. Stowe adopts Fabyan's version, which is much the most probable; and the king's brutality is not utterly destitute of palliation, when it is remembered how

his brother, the Earl of Rutland, had been put to death after the battle of Wakefield. Mr. Sharon Turner, relying on what he deems an authentic MS. in the Harleian Collection, says that 'the prince was taken as flying towards the town, and was slain in the field.' Bernard Andreas, writing in 1509, says 'belligerens ceciderat.'

That Richard stabbed Henry VI. with his own hand in the Tower, will appear still more improbable; especially when we consider that during the whole of Edward IV.'s reign he was playing for popularity, and trying to base it on a character for sanctity and self-denial. According to Shakespeare, directly after stabbing the young prince, he hurries off to a fresh murder.

*'Glo. Clarence, excuse me to the king my brother.'*

*I'll hence to London, on a serious matter : Ere ye come there, be sure to bear some news.*

*'Clar. What? what?'*

*'Glo. The Tower! the Tower!'*

Towards the conclusion of the scene, his absence and presumed errand are thus glanced at:—

*'King Edw. Where's Richard gone?'*

*'Clar. To London, all in post; and as I guess To make a bloody supper in the Tower.'*

*'King Edw. He's sudden, if a thing comes in his head.'*

*Now march we hence.'*

This is taking the matter coolly enough, in all conscience; and to add to the absurdity, the Tower was not, at that time, familiarly associated with images of murder and misery, nor would it have been apostrophised as—

*'Ye towers of Julius, London's lasting shame, With many a foul and midnight murder fed.'*

It was a royal palace, in which the queen of Edward IV. was residing at the time, whilst Henry VI., who had been placed in the front of the Yorkist army at Tewkesbury, to give him a chance of being shot by a friendly arrow, was certainly not in the Tower on the eve of the battle. He is supposed to have died seventeen days afterwards, on the night of the 21st May, 1471, the day of King Edward's return to London. His death was attributed to grief, and the body was carried in solemn procession to St. Paul's, where it was exposed to public gaze, 'the face open so that every man might see him.' The face might have been so composed as to tell no tales; and the exposure of the body was the almost invariable practice in cases of alleged or suspected death by violence. The bodies of Edward

II., Richard II., Thomas of Woodstock, and Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, were similarly exposed. Few doubted that Henry was put to death: it being quite in accordance with custom and the spirit of the times for the king *de facto* to deal summarily with his rival. The shortness of the interval between the imprisonment and the death of princes is proverbial. The strange, if not absolutely incredible incident of so common a catastrophe, was that the prince of the blood should be named to do the deed, or volunteer to do it as a labour of love. No circumstance that can heighten the atrocity is omitted in the scene where Gloucester, having already killed Henry, stabs him again, exclaiming:

'If any spark of life be yet remaining,  
Down, down, to hell; and say I sent thee there.'

The motive which seems wanting in the preceding instances was undeniably strong enough to raise a presumption that Richard contrived or hastened the death of Clarence, who had once stood in the way of his love, and still stood in the way of his interest and his ambition. When all other means failed to keep Richard from the Lady Anne, Clarence, who had married the eldest daughter of the King-maker, and wished to appropriate the entire inheritance, caused his sister-in-law to be concealed; and she was eventually found by Richard in an obscure corner of London, in the garb of a kitchen-maid. Whether this disguise was voluntarily assumed to escape from an unwelcome suitor, must be left to conjecture. She accepted his protection without scruple, and was placed by him in the sanctuary of St. Martin's-le-Grand, from whence she was transferred to the guardianship of her uncle, the Archbishop of York. That she was wooed and won during her attendance on the corpse of her father-in-law, is a poetic fiction: an *alibi* might easily be made out for both parties; and it is further remarkable that no objection was made to their union on the ground of Richard's alleged participation in the murder of her first husband, nor was she ever, during her lifetime, accused of insensibility or indelicacy on that account. The date of the marriage is unknown; but as she bore him a child in 1473, it is inferred that it took place as soon as her year of mourning had expired.

Clarence vowed that if his brother would have a bride, she should be a portionless one. 'He may well have my lady sister-in-law, but we will part no inheritance,' are the words attributed to him in the Paston Letters; and Sir John Paston writes: 'As

for other tidings, I trust to God that the two Dukes of Clarence and Gloucester shall be set at one by the award of the King.' It was arranged that each should plead his own cause in person before the King in council; and (according to a contemporary) they both exhibited so much acuteness, and found arguments in such abundance, that the whole audience, including the lawyers, were lost in admiration and surprise. The decision, carried out by an Act of Parliament, was, that the property should be equally divided between the two sisters, the husbands retaining life interests in their wives' estates respectively. This settlement, equitable and impartial as it looks, was based on a gross injustice, for it overlooked the prior claim of the King-maker's widow, who, as heiress of the Beauchamps, Earls of Warwick, had brought him the largest of his estates, and by this award was left dependent, if not penniless.

Richard was not the man to forgive or forget Clarence's unbrotherly conduct, although his ambition soared too high to be coupled with cupidity. His superiority to all sordid considerations was strikingly displayed during the invasion of France, in 1475, when Edward, at the head of one of the finest armies that ever left the English coast, was cajoled and out-manœuvred by Louis XI. into doing worse than nothing. The expedition ended in a disgraceful treaty, by which Edward was to receive certain sums of money, which he wanted for his personal pleasures. Bribes were plentifully distributed amongst the nobles and courtiers who were thought able to facilitate this result. Lord Howard received 20,000 crowns, in money and plate, besides a pension. The Lord Chancellor and the Master of the Rolls pocketed large sums. What is most extraordinary, they gave written acknowledgments, which were regularly docketed by their royal paymaster. The apologists for Bacon, who maintain that the custom of receiving presents by judges and privy-councillors endured to his day, may point to these receipts in support of their theory; others may point to them as proofs of all-pervading corruption or unblushing audacity. The less charitable supposition is favoured by what De Commynes has recorded of Hastings, who, more prudent than his colleagues, declined the transaction in the proposed shape, saying: 'If you wish me to take the money, you must put it into my sleeve.'

Richard alone refused to barter English honour for French gold. 'Only the Duke of Gloucester, who stood aloof on the other side for honour, frowned at this accord, and



expressed much sorrow, as compassionating the glory of his nation blemished in it.' Habington, from whom we quote, suggests that the Duke had a further and more dangerous aim, 'as who, by the dishonour of his brothers, thought his credit received increase; and by how much the King sunk in opinion, he should rise.' Bacon adopts the same method of depreciation: 'And that out of this deep root of ambition, it sprang that, as well at the treaty of peace as upon all other occasions, Richard, then Duke of Gloucester, stood ever upon the side of honour, raising his own reputation to the disadvantage of the king, his brother, and drawing the eyes of all (especially of the nobles and soldiers) upon himself.' According to this mode of reasoning, brotherly love and loyalty required him to be as corrupt and self-seeking as the rest. Yet surely if he was content to rise by patriotism and integrity, it is enough. If he assumed virtues that he had not, this, at all events, refutes the notion that he wantonly and gratuitously perpetrated acts which must have exposed him to general execration and distrust; and we have here, from his worst calumniators, the admitted fact that down to 1475 his means were noble, be his end and motives what they may.

With regard to his alleged participation in the death of Clarence, the charge rests exclusively on a vague presumption of his having hardened the heart of Edward, already sufficiently incensed against Clarence, and ready at all times to trample down all ties of relationship and all feelings of mercy when his throne was in danger or his vindictiveness was roused. Clarence had joined Warwick in impeaching his title and denying his legitimacy. Untaught by experience, he had recently indulged in intemperate language against his sovereign, who actually appeared in person as the principal accuser at the trial, which was of the most solemn description known to the law. The Duke was found guilty by his peers, and both Houses of Parliament petitioned for his execution, and afterwards passed a bill of attainder. He was also peculiarly obnoxious to the Queen and her friends, Rivers, Hastings, and the Greys.

'The only favour,' says Hume, 'which the King granted his brother after his condemnation, was to leave him the choice of his death; and he was privately drowned in a butt of malmsey in the Tower; a whimsical choice, which implies that he had an extraordinary passion for that liquor.' Mr. Bayley ('History of the Tower') suggests that his well-known fondness for this wine was the foundation of the story, al-

though so far as evidence goes, the fondness for the wine is mere matter of conjecture; and we rather agree with Walpole, that 'whoever can believe that a butt of wine was the engine of his death, may believe that Richard helped him into it, and kept him down until he was suffocated.' Yet this is precisely what some do believe, or maintain. 'After Clarence,' writes Sandford, 'had offered his mass-penny in the Tower of London, he was drowned in a butt of malmsey; his brother, the Duke of Gloucester, assisting thereat with his own proper hands.' The most plausible solution of the enigma is suggested by Shakespeare, when he makes the First Murderer tell the Second; 'Take him over the costard with the hilts of thy sword, and then throw him into the malmsey butt in the next room.' The dialogue on Clarence's awakening is,—

'Clar. Where art thou, keeper? Give me a cup of wine.

'1st Murd. You shall have wine enough, my lord, anon.'

After a brief parley, the First Murderer stabs him, exclaiming:

'Take that, and that; if all this will not do, I'll drown you in the Malmsey butt within.'

He carries out the body, and returns to tell his relenting comrade,

'Well, I'll go hide the body in some hole, Till that the duke give order for his burial.'

Clarence's groans may have been stifled in a full butt conveniently nigh, or the body may have been temporarily hidden in an empty one.

Richard was for several years Lord Warden, or Keeper of the Northern Marches, and while residing in a kind of vice-regal capacity at York, he so ingratiated himself with the people of the city and neighbourhood, that they stood by him to the last. In 1482, he commanded the army which invaded Scotland, entered Edinburgh in triumph, and speedily brought the Scottish king to terms. On the death of his brother he was in the fullness of his fame as a soldier and statesman. He was also the first prince of the blood; and he must have been endowed with an amount of stoical indifference and self-denial seldom found in high places at any time, if no ambitious hopes dawned upon him. Edward IV. died on the 9th of April, 1483, leaving two sons, Edward V., twelve years and five months old, and Richard Duke of York, between ten and eleven, besides several daughters.

The court and country were divided between two parties, that of the Queen and her kinsmen, and that of the ancient nobility, who had taken offence at the honours lavished on her upstart connexions. The malcontents, headed by the Duke of Buckingham and favoured by Lord Hastings, naturally dreaded the aggrandisement of their adversaries, and were prepared to go any lengths to prevent them from getting exclusive possession of the King's person, and governing in his name. The Queen and her brothers, on the other hand, resolved to make the best of the situation, and took immediate measures for overawing the threatened resistance to their schemes. The young King was at Ludlow Castle, under the guardianship of his maternal uncle, Anthony Woodville, Earl of Rivers, renowned for his gallantry and accomplishments. He had a large military force under his command, and it was proposed that he should escort the King to London, at the head of all the men he could muster. This was vehemently opposed by Hastings, a member of the council at which the plan was broached, and his opposition so far prevailed, that the escort was nominally reduced to 2000 men. About the same time, Buckingham put himself into communication with Richard, who was quietly watching the progress of events at York, and abiding the moment when his interposition would become, or be thought, indispensable for the salvation of the realm. A divided nobility, a minority, and a female regency afforded ample materials, in those unsettled times, for the aspirant to supreme power to work upon, without openly or prematurely assuming the part of the ungrateful brother and unnatural uncle. According to Sir Thomas More, he sent letters to Lord Rivers, with full assurances of duty and subjection to his nephew, and love and friendship to himself; 'so that he, seeing all things calm and peaceable, came up with no greater number of followers than was necessary, to show the King's honour and greatness.' At Northampton, the regal party were met by the Dukes of Gloucester and Buckingham, by whose advice the King was sent on to Stony Stratford, for the sake of more convenient lodging, while Rivers was feasted by the two Dukes 'with all demonstrations of joy and signs of friendship.'

As soon as he was gone they entered into consultation with a select number of their friends, and spent the greater part of the night in conference. The result became known in the morning, when, after putting Rivers under arrest and laying an embargo on his suite, they hurried on to Strat-

ford, and arrested Lord Richard Grey (the Queen's son by her first husband), Sir Thomas Vaughan, and Sir Richard Howse, on a charge of conspiracy, in the very presence of the King. Despite his tears and entreaties, they also removed from about his person all on whom they could not confidently reckon to act as their creatures. They then escorted him to London, and were met at Hornsey 'by the Mayor and Sheriffs, with all their brethren, the Aldermen in scarlet, and 500 commoners on horseback, in purple-coloured gowns.' 'In this solemn cavalcade,' continues Sir Thomas More, 'the behaviour of the Duke of Gloucester to the King was very remarkable; for he rode bareheaded before him, and often, with a loud voice, said to the people, *Behold your prince and sovereign*; giving them on all occasions such an example of reverence and duty, as might teach them how to honour and respect their prince; by which action he so won on all the spectators, that they looked on the late misrepresentations of him as the effect of his enemies' malice, and he was on all hands accounted the best, as he was the first subject in the kingdom.'

The Protectorship was easily attained. It was conferred on him 'by a great council of the nobility, who met to settle the government and choose a Protector, according to the usual custom of the minority of their kings.\* The next step was attended with difficulty. On hearing of the arrest of her brothers, the Queen, with her youngest son and daughters, had hurried into the sanctuary of Westminster; and her refusal to quit it, or trust her son out of her protection, was an impediment to the Protector's designs, as well as an injurious expression of distrust. He would have resorted to force, had not the Archbishop of Canterbury represented that it would be a thing not only ungrateful to the whole nation, but highly displeasing to Almighty God, to have the privilege of sanctuary broken in that church, which was first consecrated by St. Peter, 'who came down, above five hundred years ago, in person, accompanied with many angels, by night, to do it;' in proof whereof the prelate affirmed that St. Peter's cope, worn on the occasion, was still to be seen in the abbey. What could be done by persuasion, the Archbishop readily engaged to try; and accompanied by several lords of the council, he forthwith proceeded to the sanc-

\* Sir Thomas More. Lingard states that the House of Lords then always took upon itself to settle the government in cases of doubt or difficulty, and his authorities bear out the statement.

tuary to argue the matter out with the Queen, who, influenced more by fear than argument, at length gave up the point. She led her son to the Archbishop and lords of council, and after solemnly confiding him to their care, she kissed him, and said, 'Farewell, mine own sweet son. The Almighty be thy protector! Let me kiss thee once more before we part, for God knows when we shall kiss again.' The child was first carried to the Bishop of London's palace, where his brother was lodged, and, after a few days, they were both removed to the Tower, the ostensible reason being that they might be ready for the ceremony of the coronation.

Buckingham had probably entered fully into Richard's ulterior designs upon the crown, from their formation. Hastings was not so compliant. He had been the intimate, attached, and trusted friend of the late king, and his loyalty was proof against temptation. After he had been sounded through Catesby, his ruin and death were resolved upon; and gross as are the means described by Shakespeare in the council scene, where Richard exhibits his withered arm, they are little more than a metrical version of the text of More, who reports the Protector's words to have been: 'Do you answer me with *ifs* and *ands*, as if I charged them falsely? I tell you, they have done it, and thou hast joined with them in this villainy.' He struck the table hard with his fist; upon which armed men rushed in, and seized the Archbishop of York, Lord Stanley, and several other lords, besides Hastings, who was 'ordered forthwith to prepare himself for his death, for the Protector had sworn by St. Paul that he would not dine till his head was off. It was in vain to complain of severity or demand justice—the Protector's oath must not be broken; so he was forc'd to take the next priest that came, and make a short confession, for the communion form was too long for the Protector's stomach to wait on; and being immediately hurried to the green by the chappell, within the Tower, his head was laid on a timber-logg, which was provided for repairing the chappell, and there stricken off.'

Walpole objects that the collateral circumstances introduced by More do but weaken his account, and take from its probability. He urges that, cruel or not, Richard was no fool, and was not likely to lay the withering of his arm (if it ever was withered) on witchcraft, or to couple the Queen and Jane Shore together as accomplices, the Queen's aversion for her late husband's concubine being notorious. The sudden arrest and death of Hastings, however,

are undeniable; and on the very same day, Earl Rivers, Lord Richard Grey, Vaughan and Howse, were beheaded at Pontefract. These executions were consonant to the manners and violence of the times; of which Lingard furnishes a striking illustration by quoting the commission of the Lord High Constable, who is empowered to execute speedy justice, and distinctly enjoined to dispense with regular proofs and forms.

So inured were people to scenes of blood and the high-handed exertion of authority, that the citizens of London, by whom Hastings had been much esteemed, were easily persuaded that the public weal required him to be summarily dealt upon—

*'Buck. Look you, my lord mayor:  
Would you imagine, or almost believe,  
Wer't not, that by great preservation  
We live to tell it you:—the subtle traitor  
This day had plotted in the council-house  
To murder me, and my good lord of Gloster.*

*'May. Now fair befall you! he deserv'd his  
death  
And your good graces both have well proceeded  
To warn false traitors from the like attempts.  
I never look'd for better at his hands  
After he once fell in with Mistress Shore.'*

The received accounts of Richard's mode of ascending the throne are contradictory, and it is difficult to believe that he laid much stress on the voices of the rabble in Guildhall, although here again Shakespeare is supported by More. Under a regular government, with a standing army and a centralised system of administration, a usurper who has force on his side may dispense with national support. Not so in times when authority was divided, when the whole population was more or less military, when the possession of the capital with the command of the public offices left the rest of the kingdom uncontrolled. Richard must have been sure of a powerful party, or he would never have ventured to present himself as king before the very parliament which he had summoned in the name of the nephew he deposed. This important fact is made clear by Mr. Gairdner, who, admitting that this parliament was not formally called together, asserts that it did meet, and that the petition to Richard to assume the crown was presented by a deputation of the Lords and Commons of England, accompanied by another from the city of London, on the very day that had been originally appointed for its meeting.\* If after so

\* 'Letters and Papers illustrative of the Reigns of Richard III. and Henry VII., edited by James Gairdner,' published by the authority of the Lord Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury, under the direction of the Master of the Rolls. London: Long-

many changes of dynasty, such frequent assertions and denials of title, any respect for hereditary right yet lingered in the public mind, it must have been rudely shaken by the imputed illegitimacy not only of the late king himself but of his children by his second wife. Stillington, Bishop of Bath and Wells, volunteered a deposition that Edward, at the time of his marriage with Lady Grey, had a wife living, Eleanor, daughter of the Earl of Shrewsbury; the bishop himself having married them, at the pressing request of Edward, without witnesses. This is one of the stories which people accept or repudiate according to interest or inclination. It suited the notables, who were overpersuaded by Richard or dreaded the evils of a prolonged minority, to believe or affect to believe the bishop, and an Act was subsequently passed on the assumption of its truth.

From this mock election in June, says More, he commenced his reign, and was crowned in July with the same provision that was made for the coronation of his nephew. The day before the ceremony he and his Queen rode from the Tower through the city to Westminster, with a train comprising three dukes, nine earls, and twenty-two barons. There was a larger attendance than usual of peers, lay and spiritual, and great dignitaries at the ensuing ceremony in Westminster Hall; and More records as most observable that the Countess of Richmond, mother to King Henry VII., bore up the Queen's train in the procession. Richard soon afterwards left London on a royal progress towards York, where he was crowned a second time; and it was in this progress that he is reported to have planned the crime which has done more to blacken his memory than all his other misdeeds put together, being indeed the main cause why men's minds were thenceforth predisposed to give credence to any barely plausible accusation that might be brought against him. Feeling this, Walpole has exerted his utmost powers of research and ingenuity to prove that Richard did not cause his nephews to be murdered in the Tower, and

he has pointed out many material improbabilities and discrepancies in the popular narrative. He lays great stress on the admissions of More and Bacon, that it was long doubted whether the princes were murdered or had died during Richard's reign at all. He insinuates that, if one or both of them had been found in the Tower on the accession of Henry VII., that politic monarch would have got rid of them with no more scruple than he showed in getting rid of Clarence's eldest son and heir, the Earl of Warwick, whom Richard spared; and he contends that Perkin Warbeck was no impostor, but the genuine Duke of York, who had been saved by Tyrrell and his accomplices when they smothered his elder brother.

This would be no defence for Richard if it were true; and the charge in question differs from the rest in the most essential point. Far from being a posthumous production of Lancastrian writers, it was pointedly and repeatedly bruited about at a time when the readiest modes of refutation, if it was groundless, were in Richard's power, and when he had the most powerful of all imaginable motives for resorting to them. When he found foreign princes, including even Louis XI., giving open expression to their abhorrence, and thorough-going adherents like Buckingham falling off, why did he not at once produce his nephews in the open face of day? Even the conventional farce of exposing the bodies was not hazarded, from a conviction probably that two at once would be too much for the most ignorant or slavish credulity.

Rulers with doubtful titles are commonly anxious to rule well; and Richard laid himself out from the commencement of his reign to found a reputation for moderation, equity, and forgiveness of private injuries. 'The day after his acceptance of the crown,' says More, 'he went to Westminster, sat himself down in the Court of King's Bench, made a very gracious speech to the assembly there present, and promised them halcyon days. He ordered one Hog, whom he hated, and who was fled to sanctuary for fear of him, to be brought before him, took him by the hand, and spoke favourably to him, which the multitude thought was a token of his clemency, and the wise men of his vanity.'

He formally enjoined the great barons to see to the equal administration of justice in their provinces; and a contemporary sketch of his progresses speaks of 'his lords and judges in every place, sitting determining the complaints of poor folks, with due punishment of offenders against the laws.' In a circular letter to the bishops, he expresses his

man and Co. 1861. Vol. i. preface, p. xviii. Mr. Gairdner suggests in a note that there is reason to believe Sir T. More's 'History of Richard III.' to be a translation of a work of Cardinal Morton. This may account for its Lancastrian bias. Walpole says: 'I take the truth to be that Sir Thomas wrote his "Reign of Edward the Fifth" as he wrote his "Utopia," to amuse his leisure and exercise his fancy.' The only strictly contemporary historians, or chroniclers, are Fabyan, a citizen of London, and the author of the 'Chronicle of Croyland,' a monk. Neither saw or heard more than the surface of events or the current rumours of the time.

fervent desire for the suppression of vice; 'and this perfectly followed and put in execution by persons of high estate, preeminence, and dignity, induces persons of lower degree to take thereof example, and to insure the same.' His legislative measures are admitted to have been valuable additions to the Statute Book.

Edward IV. was always in want of money, and was in the habit of personally appealing to his wealthiest subjects for contributions. 'And here,' says the chronicler, 'I will not let passe a prettie conceipt that happened in this gathering, in which you shall not only note the humilitie of a king, but more the fantasie of a woman. King Edward had called before him a widow much abounding in substance, and no lesse growne in years, of whom he merily demanded, what she gladly would give him towards his great charges. By my trothe, quoth she, for thy lovely countenance thou shalt have even twentie pounds. The king looking scarce for the half of that sum, thanked her, and lovinglie kissed her. Whether the flavor of his breath did so comfort her stomach, or she esteemed the kiss of a king so precious a jewele, she swore incontinentlie, that he should have twentie pounds more, which she with the same will paid that she offered it.\*' Richard went on an opposite tack. When the citizens and others offered him a benevolence, he refused it, saying, 'I would rather have your hearts than your money.'

He disforested a large tract of country at Witchwood which his brother had cleared for deer, and showed at the same time his wish to promote all manly and popular amusements by liberal grants and allowances to the masters of his hounds and hawks. There is, moreover, extant a mandate to all mayors and sheriffs not to vex or molest John Brown, 'our master-guider and ruler of all our bears and apes to us appertaining.' He is commended by contemporaries for his encouragement of architecture; and the commendation is justified by a list of the structures which he completed or improved. His love of music is inferred from the extreme measures he adopted for its gratification. Turner quotes a warrant 'empowering one of the gentlemen of his chapel to take and seize for the king's use, all such singing men and children, expert in the science of music, as he could find and think able to do the king service, in all places in the kingdom, whether cathedrals, colleges, chapels, monasteries, or any other franchised places except Windsor.' He was visited by minstrels from foreign countries, and he

gave annuities to several professors of the gentle science; 'and also,' adds Turner, 'perhaps from his fondness for their sonorous state music, to several trumpeters.' His example, therefore, indirectly refutes the famous Shakespearian theory — 'The man that has no music in his soul' — which Steevens contends is fit only to supply the vacant fiddler with something to say in praise of his idle calling. If Richard was an innate villain, he is at all events a proof that one who is 'moved with concord of sweet sounds' may be as 'fit for treasons, stratagems, and spoils' as one who cannot distinguish 'Rule Britannia' from 'Nancy Dawson.' Mr. Jesse will have it that Richard's nature was originally a compassionate one; and he appeals to the pensions considerably bestowed by him on the widows of his enemies, Lady Hastings, Lady Rivers, Lady Oxford, and the Duchess of Buckingham.

A few months after the death of the young princes, the clergy in convocation assembled drew up and presented a petition to him, complaining that churchmen were cruelly, grievously, and daily troubled, vexed, indicted, and arrested; and prayed for relief, 'Seeing your most noble and blessed disposition in all other things.' Probably this is a precedent for the revival of Convocation in all its glory on which the Bishop of Oxford and the other right reverend upholders of that venerated institution will not be anxious to rely.

Sir Thomas More states that Richard, in the height of his prosperity, could never silence the whispers of his conscience, and could not lie quiet in his bed for dreams and visions. So Anne is made to complain:

'For never yet one hour in his bed  
Did I enjoy the golden dew of sleep;  
But with his tim'rous dreams was still awakened.'

We suspect that the instability of his position had more to do with his uneasy nights than the sense of guilt; for men of his temper, habituated to deeds of blood and projects of aggrandisement from boyhood, are little subject to remorse. He knew that the majority of the great nobles were plotting round him, and that it was beyond his power to satisfy the rapacity of all who had helped him to the throne. The Percys turned against Henry IV. on the plea of his ingratitude. Warwick changed sides because he was personally slighted, or disappointed; and Buckingham, in a nearly analogous position, was pretty sure to try whether he could not pull down what he had so largely contributed to set up. His mo-

\* Holingshed, vol. iii. p. 33.

tives have given rise to much ingenious speculation, and were probably mixed. He may (as Shakespeare takes for granted) have been refused the promised earldom and domains of Hereford, although a formal grant of them has been discovered amongst some old records, or, being of the blood royal, he might have hoped to get the crown for himself. He told Morton that he could no longer abide the sight of Richard after the death of 'the two young innocents.' He accordingly transferred his allegiance to the Earl of Richmond; who, when the arrangements for a simultaneous rising in several parts of England were complete, set sail from St. Malo with a force computed at 5000 soldiers. His friends keeping faith, the insurrection assumed formidable proportions in Devonshire, Wiltshire, Berkshire, and Kent. Buckingham had collected a large force in Wales. But it was impossible to elude Richard's watchfulness; and fortune had not yet deserted him. Richmond's fleet was driven back by a tempest, and Buckingham was stopped by an inundation of the Severn and the neighbouring rivers, so terrible, that, for a century afterwards, it was spoken of as Buckingham's Great Water. The result is succinctly told by Shakespeare:

'Mess. My lord, the army of great Buckingham—

'K. Rich. Out on ye, owls! nothing but songs of death.

[He strikes him.]

'Mess. The news I have to tell your majesty  
Is—that by sudden floods and fall of waters  
Buckingham's army is dispers'd and scatter'd;  
And he himself wandered away alone,  
No man knows whither.'

After another messenger has delivered an equally cheering report,

'Enter CATESBY.

'My liege, the Duke of Buckingham is taken.  
That's the best news.—That the Earl of Richmond

Is with a mighty power landed at Milford,  
Is colder tidings, yet it must be told.

'King. Away towards Salisbury; while we reason here

A royal battle might be won and lost.  
Some one take order Buckingham be brought  
To Salisbury; the rest march on with me.'

Many readers will be as much puzzled by this passage as was the Drury Lane audience on the night when John Philip Kemble, feeling ill, left out the line\* which provoked a nightly conflict with the pit. The point or

claptrap which they miss was interpolated by Cibber in what, with a few subsequent changes, is still the acting edition of the play:—

'Enter CATESBY.

'My liege, the Duke of Buckingham is taken.

'Rich. Off with his head: so much for Buckingham.'

This is the popular reading, and a story is current in theatrical circles of the ludicrous confusion of a celebrated actor who piqued himself on the delivery of the line given to Richard, when the Catesby of the evening thus varied his part:—

'My liege, the Duke of Buckingham is taken.

And, without orders, they've cut off his head.'

Cibber's Richard is printed amongst his works under the title of 'The Tragical History of King Richard III. as it is now acted at the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane. Altered from Shakespeare, by Mr. Cibber. London. Printed in the year 1721.' Indignation is naturally excited by the bare notion of Shakespeare corrected by Cibber, and we are prepared to hear of 'gilding refined gold, painting the lily,' &c. Yet the best critics are agreed that the success of the drama as an acting play is mainly owing to him. Their concurrent estimate is thus expressed by Steevens: 'The hero, the lover, the statesman, the buffoon, the hypocrite, the hardened and repenting sinner, &c., are to be found within its compass. No wonder, therefore, that the discriminating powers of a Burbage, a Garrick, and a Henderson, [a Kean and a Macready,] should at different periods have given it a popularity beyond other dramas of the same author. Yet the favour with which this tragedy is now received, must also in some measure be imputed to Mr. Cibber's reformation of it, which, generally considered, is judicious.' No modern audience, we agree with him, would patiently listen to the narrative of Clarence's dream, his expostulation with the murderers, the prattle of his children, the soliloquy of the scrivener, the tedious dialogue of the citizens, the ravings of Margaret, the vehement interchange of curses and invectives with which whole scenes are stuffed, or the repeated progresses to execution. In fact, Shakespeare's ordinary fertility of resource is frequently belied by this play; for Clarence's dream (in which the betrayed Warwick and the murdered of Tewkesbury appear to him) foreshadows Richard's; and the scene in which he extorts the reluctant consent of Elizabeth—

'Relenting fool, and shallow, changing woman—'  
too closely resembles that in which he woos

\* 'For this be sure to-night thou shalt have aches.' The story is told by Scott, 'Prose Works,' vol. xx. p. 188.

and wins Anne. His new marriage project is thus broached to his convenient tool, Catesby:—

'I say again, give out  
That Anne, my queen, is sick and like to die.  
About it, for it stands me much upon  
To stop all hopes, whose growth may damage  
me.

[Exit CATESBY.]

I must be married to my brother's daughter,  
Or else my kingdom stands on brittle glass.  
Murder her brothers, and then marry her!  
Uncertain way of gain!

It is one of the strangest stories of these strange times that the young and lovely Princess Elizabeth was in love with the wicked crook-backed uncle who had murdered her brothers; and that, in declared rivalry with her aunt, she appeared at the Christmas festivals of 1484 in royal robes exactly similar to those of the Queen, who died the March following of a languishing distemper. His tongue must have surpassed that of the original tempter, or the great ladies of those days must have had an uncommon share of their sex's weakness, if one after the other consented to overlook notorious crime and suppress natural horror in this fashion; for it would seem that the princess's inclinations were sanctioned by her mother, the widow of Edward IV., who, if possible, had still stronger grounds of abhorrence. Another curious sign of the times is the oath by which he induced his nieces to leave the sanctuary and trust themselves in his power. This document, dated March 1, 1484, begins thus:—

'I, Richard, by the grace of God king, &c., in the presence of you, my lords spiritual and temporal, and you, mayor and aldermen of my city of London, promise and swear, *verbo regio*, upon these Holy Evangelists of God, by me personally touched, that if the daughters of Dame Elizabeth Grey, late calling herself Queen of England; that is to wit, Elizabeth, Cecily, Anne, Katherine, and Bridget, will come unto me out of the sanctuary at Westminster, and be guided, ruled, and demeaned after me, then I shall see that they shall be in surety of their lives, and also not suffer any manner of hurt by any manner of person or persons, to them or any of them, on their bodies and persons, to be done by way of ravishment or defouling, contrary to their will.'

He further swears to marry them to gentlemen by birth, to endow each of them to the amount of 200 marks *per annum*, and to discredit any reports to their disadvantage, till they shall have had opportunity for lawful defence and answer.

There is good reason to believe that Richard continued warmly attached to his early love and wedded wife, Anne; who never re-

covered the death of their son, and languished, says Buck, 'in weakness and extremity of sorrow, until she seemed rather to overtake death, than death her.' Richard might easily have procured a dispensation to marry his niece, had he been so minded; but the project was never carried further than was required to break off or delay her marriage with her future husband, Richmond; and when this purpose had been answered, he publicly assured the citizens of London that he never so much as contemplated the union.

The shortness of his reign favours the notion that the nation, exasperated beyond endurance by his villainies, rose and threw him off like an incubus. But nothing of the kind occurred. The people at large were too much inured to scenes of blood and acts of cruelty, to be shocked by them. They cared little or nothing whether a few princes or lords, more or less, were put to death, so long as they were not fleeced by the tax-gatherer or oppressed by a local tyrant; and Richard, like Cromwell at a later period, took good care that there should be no usurped or abused authority beside his own. He was not weighed in the balance and found wanting, till two discontented nobles, the Stanleys, threw their whole weight into the opposing scale. The numerical inferiority of Richmond's army is a conclusive proof that his cause was not a preeminently popular one. After landing at Milford Haven (Aug. 6. 1485), he proceeded by a circuitous route through Wales, in the hope, which was not disappointed, of profiting by his Welsh blood and connexions. On arriving at Shrewsbury, the gates, after a short parley, were opened to him by Mitton, the sheriff, who had sworn fidelity to Richard, but fortunately discovered a mode of breaking his oath without hurt to his conscience. He had sworn that Richmond should go over his belly before entering the tower, meaning of course that he would die in its defence, 'soe when they entered, the sayd Mitton lay alonge the ground wyth his belly upwards, and soe the said Earle stepped over hym and saved his othe.'

On Tuesday August 16th Richard quitted Nottingham at the head of all the forces he could collect, and entered Leicester the same evening a little after sunset. He took up his quarters in a large half-timber house, standing within living memory; and slept in a bed, the remains of which were recently in existence. It had a false bottom, in which a large sum of money could be concealed, and did duty as a military chest.\* He pass-

\* The 'Battle of Bosworth Field,' &c. &c., by W.



ed the night of the 17th at Elmsthorp, eleven miles from Leicester; and on the 18th pitched his camp at a place called the Bradshaws, a mile and a half from Bosworth Field. Richmond advanced by Lichfield and Tamworth to Atherstone, close to the Field; where he arrived on the 20th, after having held a private council with the Stanleys on the way. Judging from the result, their plan is concluded to have been that, whilst Richmond marched directly to the field, Lord Stanley should take up a position on the right, and Sir William on the left, so that, when the four armies were marshalled, they would form a hollow square; the two brothers to remain neuter unless their aid should prove indispensable. There were good reasons for this saving clause; for Lord Strange, Lord Stanley's eldest son, was a hostage in the hands of Richard; and though the usurper might be defeated, it did not follow that he would be killed, or lose all future chance of taking full vengeance on false friends. According to Hutton's estimate, Richard brought into the field twelve thousand men, Richmond more than seven, Lord Stanley five, and Sir William Stanley three. The same impartial and well-informed writer succinctly sums up the respective merits and pretensions of the rivals: 'Were I allowed to treat royalty with plainness, Richard was an accomplished rascal, and Henry not one jot better. Which had the greatest right to the crown, is no part of the argument; neither of them had any. Perhaps their chief difference of character consisted in Richard's murdering two men for Henry's one; but as a small counter-balance, Richard had some excellencies, to which the other was a stranger.'

The powers of upper air may therefore be supposed to have remained neuter, and each of the combatants passed probably an equally agitated night. We learn from an anecdote that Richard had lost nothing of his vigilance or unrelenting sternness. Going the rounds he found a sentinel asleep, and stabbed him with the remark, 'I found him asleep, and have left him as I found him.' For summary administration of martial law, this beats Frederick the Great's famous postscript to the subaltern's letter to his wife.

The influence of omens on the English of all classes is mentioned by Philip de Commines, and Richard is reported to have been peculiarly subject to it. 'During his abode at Exeter,' says Holingshed, 'he went about

the citie, and viewed the seat of the same, and at length he came to the castle; and when he understood that it was called Ruge-mont, suddenlie he fell into a dumpe, and (as one astonied) said, "Well I see my daies be not long." He spake this of a prophecy told him that when he came once to Richmond, he should not long live after.' He had more rational cause for alarm when Jockey of Norfolk produced the doggerel warning found in his tent, for it clearly indicated the desertion and treachery that were about to prove fatal to him.

Shakespeare's representation of the battle is unaccountably tame, for he has made little or no use of the many stirring episodes and incidents supplied by the chroniclers. Early in the morning, Sir Robert Brakenbury delivered this message to Lord Stanley: 'My lord, the King salutes you, and commands your immediate attendance with your bands, or, by God, your son shall instantly die.' About the same time, Sir Reginald Bray came with a pressing message from Richmond. Stanley replied to Brakenbury: 'If the King stains his honour with the blood of my son, I have more; but why should he suffer? I have not lifted a hand against him. I will come at a convenient time.' When this answer was brought to Richard, he exclaimed: 'This is a false pretence. He is a traitor, and young Strange shall die. Catesby, see to it.' Strange was brought forth, and the executioner was getting ready the axe and the block, when Lord Ferrers of Chartley warmly remonstrated, and extorted a reprieve, mainly by urging that Lord Stanley might be still undecided. This is rather weakly rendered by —

'Send out a pursuivant at arms

To Stanley's regiment; bid him bring his power  
Before sun rising, lest his son George fall  
Into the blind care of eternal night.

What says Lord Stanley? Will he bring his power?

*Mess.* My lord, he doth deny to come.

*Rich.* Off instantly with his son George's head.

*Nor.* My lord, the enemy has passed the marsh: After the battle let George Stanley die.'

The vanguard of Richard's army was commanded by the Duke of Norfolk; the centre and main body by the King himself, who rode at their head, mounted on his celebrated milk-white steed,—

'Saddle White Surrey for the field to-morrow,—

and arrayed in the splendid suit of armour which he had worn at Tewkesbury. Like Henry V. at Agincourt, he wore a golden

Hutton, F.A.S.S.; the second edition by J. Nicholls, F.S.A., p. 37. Engravings of the house and bedstead are given in this book.

crown, not (as Hutton takes care to tell us) as a man would wear a hat or cap, but by way of crest over his helmet, instead of the grinning boar's head in which Sir E. Bulwer Lytton portrays him scattering dismay at Barnet. Richmond, too, bore himself gallantly, and rode through the ranks, marshalling and encouraging his men, arrayed in complete armour, but unhelmeted. His vanguard, commanded by the Earl of Oxford, began the battle by crossing the low ground towards the elevated position where Richard prudently waited the attack. 'The trumpets blew, and the soldiers shouted, and the King's archers courageously let fly their arrows. The earl's bowmen stood not still, but paid them home again; and the terrible shot once passed, the armies joined, and came to hand strokes.\*' The leaders of those days deemed it a point of honour to fight hand to hand, if possible, and Oxford and Norfolk managed to engage in a personal encounter, which would form a fitting subject for an Ariosto or a Scott. After shivering their spears on each other's shields or breastplates, they fell to with their swords. Oxford, wounded in the arm by a blow which glanced from his crest, returned it by one which hewed off the vizor of Norfolk's helmet, leaving the face bare; and then, disdaining to follow up the advantage, drew back, when an arrow from an unknown hand pierced the duke's brain. Surrey, hurrying up to assist or avenge his father, was surrounded and overpowered by Sir Gilbert Talbot and Sir John Savage, who commanded on the right and left for Richmond —

'Young Howard single with an army fights;  
When, moved with pity, two renowned knights,  
Strong Clarendon and valiant Conyers, try  
To rescue him, in which attempt they die.  
Now Surrey, fainting, scarce his sword can hold,  
Which made a common soldier grow so bold,  
To lay rude hands upon that noble flower,  
Which he disdaining, — anger gives him  
power, —  
Erects his weapon with a nimble round,  
And sends the peasant's arm to kiss the  
ground.'†

If we may credit tradition or the chroniclers, all this was literally true. When completely exhausted, Surrey presented the hilt of his sword to Talbot, whom he requested to take his life, and save him from

\* Grafton, vol. ii. p. 154. Balls of about a pound and a half weight have been dug up on the field, but none of the chroniclers speak of artillery as used by either side.

† Bosworth Field, by Sir John Beaumont, Bart., quoted by Mr. Jesse from Weever's Funeral Monuments, p. 554.

dying by an ignoble hand. He lived to be the Surrey of Flodden Field, and the worthy transmitter of 'all the blood of all the Howards.'

Hutton contends that, although Norfolk had fallen and Lord Stanley had closed up whilst the vanguard were engaged, no decisive advantage had been gained, when Richard made that renowned charge, which historians describe as the last effort of despair. He was bringing up his main body when intelligence reached him that Richmond was posted behind the hill with a slender attendance. His plan was formed on the instant; nor, although fiery courage or burning hate might have suggested it, was it ill-judged or reckless. Three-fourths of the combatants, if we include the Stanleys, were ready to side with the strongest. Richmond's army, without Richmond, was a rope of sand. His fall would be the signal for a general scattering or a feigned renewal of hollow allegiance to the conqueror. Neither did the execution of the proposed *coup de main* betoken a sudden impulse inconsiderately acted upon. Richard rode out at the right flank of his army, and ascended a rising ground to get a view of his enemy, with whose person he was not acquainted. He summoned to his side a chosen body of knights, all of whom, with the exception of Lord Lovell, perished with him, and he paused to drink at a spring, which still goes by his name. It must have been here, if anywhere, that Catesby, a civilian, called his attention to Sir William Stanley's suspicious movements, and urged him to fly, offering a fresh horse; but there is no authority for making Catesby exclaim to Norfolk, slain an hour ago: —

'Rescue, my lord of Norfolk, rescue, rescue!  
The king enacts more wonders than a man,  
Daring an opposite to every danger.  
His horse is slain, and all on foot he fights,  
Seeking for Richmond in the throat of death.'

For aught that is known, it was White Surrey that, like Hotspur's roan, was to bear him like a thunderbolt against the bosom of his foe; and it was spear in rest that he dashed amongst Richmond's surprised and fluttered body-guard. 'Richard was better versed in arms, Henry was better served. Richard was brave, Henry a coward. Richard was about five feet four, rather runted, but only made crooked by his enemies; and wanted six weeks of thirty-three. Henry was twenty-seven, slender, and near five feet nine, with a saturnine countenance, yellow hair, and grey eyes.'

Such is Hutton's estimate of the personal prowess of the pair who were now contend-

ing for a kingdom. What follows sounds fabulous, unless we bear in mind the reflection with which Scott accompanies his sketch of Claverhouse unhorsing Balfour of Burleigh. 'A wonderful thing it was afterwards thought that one so powerful as Balfour should have sunk under the blow of a man, to appearance so slightly made as Claverhouse, and the vulgar of course set down to supernatural aid the effect of that energy which a determined spirit can give to a feebler arm.' We all recollect the Countess of Auvergne's wonder at the sight of Talbot, whom she calls 'a weak and writhled shrimp;' and the hero of one of the most spirited feats of arms recorded by Froissart, is a humpbacked little knight, whose head and shoulders only just appeared over his raised saddle-bow. According to Grafton, Richard, so soon as he descried Richmond, 'put spurs to his horse, and like a hungry lion ran with spear in rest towards him.' He unhorsed Sir John Cheney, a strong and brave knight,\* and rushing on Sir William Brandon, Henry's standard-bearer, cleft his skull, tore the standard from his grasp, and flung it on the ground. 'He was now,' says Humie, 'within reach of Richmond himself, who declined not the combat.' Others say Richmond drew back, as a braver man might have done in his place—

'No craven he, and yet he shuns the blow,  
So much confusion magnifies the foe.'

Fortunately for him, Sir William Stanley came up at the very nick of time 'with three thousand tall men,' and overpowered Richard, who died, fighting furiously, and murmuring with his last breath, *treason! treason! treason!* So nicely timed was Stanley's aid, that Henry afterwards justified the ungrateful return he made for it by saying: 'He came time enough to save my life, but he stayed long enough to endanger it.' Richard received wounds enough to let out a hundred lives; his crown had been struck off at the beginning of the onset: and his armour was so broken, and his features were so defaced, that he was hardly to be recognised when dragged from beneath a heap of slain—

\* Sir John Cheney, of Sherland, personally encountering King Richard, was felled to the ground by the monarch, had his crest struck off and his head laid bare: for some time, it is said, he remained stunned; but recovering after awhile, he cut the skull and horns off the hide of an ox which chanced to be near, and fixed them upon his head to supply the loss of the upper part of his helmet: he then returned to the field of battle, and did such signal service that Henry, on being proclaimed king, assigned Cheney for crest the bull's scalp, which his descendants still bear.' (*Sir Bernard Burke, Vicissitudes of Families*, p. 350.)

'His hand still strained the broken brand,  
His arms were smeared with blood and sand;  
Dragg'd from among the horses' feet,  
With dinted shield and helmet beat,  
The falcon crest and plume gone,—  
Can that be haughty Marmion?'

And can that stripped and mutilated corpse be the crowned monarch who at morning's rise led a gallant army to an assured victory, who had recently been described by a distinguished foreigner as holding the proudest position held by any king of England for a hundred years? Nothing places in a stronger light the depth of moral degradation and insensibility, fast verging towards barbarism, to which men's minds had been sunk by the multiplied butcheries of these terrible conflicts, than the indignities heaped upon the dead king, with the sanction, if not by the express orders, of his successor. The body, perfectly naked, with a rope round the neck, was flung across a horse, like the carcass of a calf, behind a pursuivant at arms bearing a silver boar upon his coat, and was thus carried in triumph to Leicester. It was exposed two days in the Townhall, and then buried without ceremony in the Gray Friars Church. At the destruction of the religious houses the remains were thrown out, and the coffin, which was of stone, was converted into a watering-trough at the White Horse Inn. The best intelligence that Mr. Hutton, who made a journey on purpose in 1758, could collect concerning it, was that it was broken up about the latter end of the reign of George the First, and that some of the pieces had been placed as steps in a cellar of the inn. 'To what base uses we may return, Horatio!' The sign of the White Boar at Leicester, at which Richard slept, was forthwith converted into the Blue Boar; and the name of the street, called after it, has been corrupted into Blubber Lane.

As to the person of Richard, we agree with Buck and Walpole. 'The truth (says Walpole) I take to have been this: 'Richard, who was slender and not tall, had one shoulder a little higher than the other, a defect by the magnifying-glasses of party, by distance of time, and by the amplification of tradition, easily swelled to shocking deformity.' The impression left by a marked personal peculiarity may be unconsciously heightened and transmitted till it becomes inextricably woven into the web of history. Thus Lord Macaulay, a warm admirer of both Luxembourg and William, winds up a brilliant paragraph by the remark that amongst the 100,000 men engaged at Lau-

\* Philip de Commines.

den, 'perhaps the two feeblest in body were the humpbacked dwarf who urged on the fiery onset of France, and the asthmatic skeleton who covered the slow retreat of England.' The strongest argument in favour of Richard's personal appearance is that drawn from Dr. Shaw's address to the citizens of London preparatory to the usurpation. After contending that the illegitimacy of Edward IV. and Clarence was obvious from their likeness to persons with whom their mother had intrigued, he went on: 'But my Lord Protector, that very noble Prince, the pattern of all heroic deeds, represents the very face and mind of the great Duke his father. His features are the same, and the very express likeness of that noble Duke.' At these words the Protector was to enter as if by chance; and although the point was missed by his non-appearance till a few minutes later, such a *coup de théâtre* would hardly have been hazarded if Richard either presented no resemblance or a miniature and caricature one of his father. A Scotch prelate, one of the commissioners for concluding the marriage between Prince James of Scotland and the Lady Anne de la Pole, thus alludes to Richard's stature in his address:—

'He (the King of Scotland) beholds in your face a princely majesty and authority royal, sparkling with the illustrious beams of all moral and heroic virtue. To you may not unfitly be applied what was said by the poet of a most renowned prince of the Thebans:—

"Nunquam tantum animum natura minori  
Corpore, nec tantas visa est includere vires.  
Major in exiguo regnabat corpore virtus." \*

He had a habit of gnawing his under lip and a trick of playing with his dagger, which, although misconstrued into signs of an evil disposition, were probably mere outward manifestations of restlessness. Polydore Virgil speaks of his 'horrible vigilance and celerity.' It was the old story of the sword wearing out the scabbard; and the chances are that he would not long have survived Bosworth Field had he come off unscathed and the conqueror.

ART. II.—1. *L'Individu et L'État*. Par M. DUPONT-WHITE. 2<sup>me</sup> ed. Paris: 1858.  
2. *La Centralisation; suite à L'Individu et*

\* Buck, in Kennet, p. 573. The address was in Latin, and is rather freely rendered by Buck. *Facies* may mean *form* or *air* as well as *face*. The prelate's quotation from Statius, too, is somewhat garbled. See the *Thebaid*, L. 1. v. 416 and L. 6. v. 845.

*L'État*. Par M. DUPONT-WHITE. Paris: 1860.

3. *De la Centralisation et de ses Effets*. Par M. ODILON-BARROT. Paris: 1861.

THESE works express the opinions of two able and accomplished writers, taken from opposite points of view, on that one among the political questions of the age which bears the strongest marks of being destined to remain a question for generations to come—Centralisation; or in other words, the limits which separate the province of government from that of individual and spontaneous agency, and of central from local government. The importance of this question is constantly tending to increase, by the perpetual growth of collective action among mankind, and the progress made in the settlement of other questions which stand before it in the natural order of discussion. The more noisy and exciting subject of Forms of Government, which has for so many ages occupied the front rank of political controversy, is likely, with all its difficulties, to be much sooner, at least theoretically, settled; both as being simpler in itself, and because it admits, in any given country, of a more definite answer; whereas the answer to the question between governmental or central, and private or local, action is perpetually varying; depending not on any single principle, but on a compromise between principles, the elements of which are not exactly the same in any two applications. The degree in which political authority can justly and expediently interfere, either to control individuals and voluntary associations, to supersede them by doing their work for them, to guide and assist, or to invoke and draw forth their agency, varies not only with the wants of every country and age, and the capabilities of every people, but with the special requirements of every kind of work to be done.

The most despotic government, indeed, must leave by far the greatest part of the world's business to be transacted by the individuals whom it directly concerns; while in the freest countries there is much which is and must be undertaken by governments, because it is indispensable that it should be done, and impossible that individuals should do it. But between these limits there is a vast extent of debateable ground, on which the question is merely one of degree, turning upon a comparison of advantages; and so great are the advantages of either mode of proceeding, where circumstances and habits have brought it into vigorous and well-directed action, that inexhaustible arguments may be found on each side of the

question. Unfortunately it is not on the merits of either individual or government agency at its best, that the question depends, but on the imperfections and shortcomings of both in their average condition; by far the strongest arguments of each side being drawn, not from the excellence of the kind of agency it advocates, but from the infirmities of its rival.

There can, among English thinkers, be no doubt, and there is at present as little among the principal thinkers on the other side of the Channel, that in all the great civilised countries of the world, except England and the United States, the governmental and central element is the one in excess, and that in a prodigious degree. Englishmen are accustomed to think that the nations of the Continent—and France the most conspicuously, as being in all other respects the most advanced—have been kept in a state of political infancy by over-government: that the concentration of the entire direction of national affairs in a bureaucracy has been more crushing in its effects on the character and capabilities of the nation than tyranny itself, and the main instrument by which tyranny has been established and maintained: that the government, by doing everything through its own officers, which it can possibly contrive so to do—by regulating minutely whatever it allows to be done by others, and requiring, in all cases which involve the smallest collective action, its own previous assent formally obtained, not only to the thing to be done, but to every item of the means proposed for doing it—has dwarfed not only the political, but in a great measure the entire practical, capacity of the people, and even their intellectual activity and moral inspirations in every field of mental action except pure theory. This, which had long been an established opinion in England, has now (with some abatement for exaggeration) become also the opinion of France; or, at all events, of the great majority of French thinkers, who are likely in the long run to form and guide the national sentiment.

The reaction in France against governmentalism and centralism, and in favour of individual and local agency, is at present intense. There was an undercurrent in this direction, when the general stream of opinion was setting strongest towards the opposite side. In the first years of the Restoration, the best of the Liberals and the leaders of the Ultra-Royalists joined for a time in demanding local franchises and a limitation of the powers of government. As M. Odilon-Barrot truly says (p. 12.), men of such opposite opinions as MM. de Villèle,

de Corbière, Benjamin Constant, Fiévée, Châteaubriand, Royer-Collard, were in this one respect unanimous. Unfortunately the movement slackened when the two great parties, at that time equally in opposition against the *just milieu* policy of Louis XVIII., conceived the hope of getting into their own hands the powers which they had been desirous of restraining. The renewed and more serious movement in this beneficent direction is usually dated from the publication of the great work of M. de Tocqueville. That eminent and deeply to be lamented thinker, more than any other person, took the lead in the new tendency of opinion. It was promoted by the writings and exertions of that valuable body of men, the political economists of France; almost the only writers on political and social subjects who were able to continue their teaching without reserve during the first years of the present French Government; and to whose opinion their recent triumph on the comparatively limited subject of Free Trade, has given an importance which they had long merited, but had not previously attained. The spontaneity and unfettered action of the individual, and of voluntary association, are, as all know, the life of modern political economy. Of all persons, a political economist is the one to whose opinions and associations any avoidable intervention of government in the affairs of society is the most repugnant. Accordingly the non-intervention theory is, by some French political economists (men of great talents and virtues, such as M. Dunoyer), carried to a length which even in England would be accounted excessive. They allow no post-office, no government roads, no public provision for the poor, no aids to education. They rely solely on the voluntary principle for meeting requirements, which even in the countries where individual enterprise, public spirit, and capacity of voluntary co-operation are at the highest, it has been found or thought necessary that the government should take under its care.

But far beyond any writings, in producing the change now manifesting itself in French opinion, is the operation of political events. If anything could alleviate the painful regret with which we regard the despotic government of Napoleon the Third, it would be the mode in which that despotism is purging the vision and ripening the political judgment of the French mind. A few years have done the work of generations, in making the chief representatives of French intellect understand what it is in the social system and national habits of their country, which made it possible for them, in the

sixty-second year of their struggle for freedom, to be thrown back for an indeterminate period into a political servitude no less complete than before its commencement. Since that time it has become the habitual theme of the principal leaders of opinion in France that liberty is a more precious thing than equality; that equality in slavery makes slavery still more slavish; and that a people are not and cannot be free, unless they have learnt to dare and do for themselves, not fitfully, at intervals of a generation, by turning out one set of masters and putting in another, but in the practice of daily life: that a government which is allowed to meddle in everything, let its forms be never so free, is at all times little different from a despotism, and a word of command to a file of soldiers may at any time convert it into an avowed one: and that a national character capable of maintaining the control of the nation over the great affairs of State, is not consistent with the habit of looking to rulers for authorisation and guidance at every step in the smaller concerns of life. This doctrine is now earnestly taught by almost every French writer who has either retained or acquired reputation as a political thinker during the ten years that have elapsed since the *coup d'état*. The great Review which numbers among its contributors, either habitual or occasional, nearly all the first minds in France, and which from the sustained ability as well as the quantity of its matter (a bulk equal to that of an English Review once a fortnight) takes rank as the most important organ of French intellect, is pervaded everywhere by anti-centralisation principles. Not content with this, the more ardent and energetic spirits determined to have a Review, of which anti-centralism and the principle of individual liberty should be the main and governing feature; and they founded, in November, 1860, the '*Revue Nationale*,' also published fortnightly, a work in general character inferior only to the '*Revue des Deux Mondes*,' and not surpassed even by that in the merit of its principal articles, and in its treatment of the greater questions of politics and society.\*

\* It seems invidious to single out particular writers for commendation where the general level is so high; yet we may be permitted to name the two contributors, who, more even than the rest, have hitherto given to this Review the tone and character which distinguish it: M. Edouard Laboulaye, who of the rising celebrities of France is the most peculiarly identified with the philosophy of individual liberty: and M. Launfrey, not only one of the most enlightened politicians, but one of the most powerful political writers in France. Among their auxiliaries may be numbered some of the principal representatives of French Protestantism, to which Europe

No reader of these Reviews can mistake for a moment either the direction or the intensity of the present movement in French public opinion. Those who still adhere to the banner of centralisation, 'the most splendid conquest of our Revolution,' as writers of M. Thiers' school delighted to call it, are as fully aware as others that the tide is against them. 'We are saturated with government' was the expression, on a late occasion, of one of the most enlightened and intellectual of their number. 'It requires,' he added, 'a great strength of conviction to enable me to write as I do,' namely, in favour of centralisation and state interference.

The work of M. Odilon-Barrot of which we have transcribed the title, is one of the manifestations of the new tendency. It belongs to a series of publications which, under the title of '*Études Contemporaines*,' have been commenced by a body of known and distinguished lovers of liberty; two of which, M. de Haussonville's '*Lettre au Sénat*,' and that entitled '*Les Anciens Partis*,' for which M. Prévost-Paradol was sentenced to fine and imprisonment, have, from their bearing on the affairs of the moment, attracted some attention from newspaper writers and readers in England. M. Odilon-Barrot's book is short, and aims at being popular rather than philosophical; but it puts forth clearly, with earnest conviction and strong feeling, the leading points of the case; the evils of over-government, both as a matter of theory and principle, and, in France, of sad practical experience.

M. Dupont-White's two treatises, or rather one treatise in two parts, are of higher pretensions, which their author is quite competent to support. With a wide range of knowledge, and great resources applicable to illustration, M. Dupont-White combines a force and liveliness of expression, which recall the manner of the best French writers; and, what is of still greater importance, he has that habit of seeking and power of perceiving general truths, which enables him to place the opinions he supports, whether right or wrong, on the truest and least exceptionable grounds which their nature admits of. In the present case, he has taken the side which we regard as, on the whole, wrong: he has placed himself in opposition to a

already owes so much, and which is now zealously reasserting its place in the ranks both of speculative and of practical thought; in particular M. de Presenée, the best known, out of France, of living French Protestant theologians, and the founder and leader of that portion of the French Protestant Church which rejects pecuniary assistance from the State.

movement which we hold to be, within its present limits, eminently wise and salutary. Nevertheless we consider his performance to be, both in a philosophical and a practical point of view, of real value. There is much that may be truly and reasonably said on his side of the question; and it is a service to truth, when the tendency of opinion is in one direction, to give a *résumé* of the real *other side* of the matter—the valid reasons which have a claim to be taken into consideration, and estimated at what they are worth, apart from the fallacies and nonsense of more vulgar advocates, which, when they have ceased to carry the general opinion with them, an opponent can afford to disregard. This we find in M. Dupont-White's work; and it is well that a book should exist, which supplies in some respects a needful limitation and correction to the ideas now prevalent, and tends to prevent the reaction against State and central agency from running into a contrary excess, not only in itself injurious, but naturally provocative of a counter-reaction.

To these merits of M. Dupont-White's book is to be added that of entire candour. He not only never misrepresents, but he never slurs over, or purposely understates, the arguments on the other side. In our opinion, he often—indeed generally—undervalues them; but he is scrupulous in bringing them forward, and stating them with as much force and plausibility as if they were his own. This candour in statement is naturally accompanied by similar candour in judgment. Doing careful justice to the reasons of his opponents, he is almost necessarily led to do a considerable measure of justice to their conclusions. His concessions, accordingly, are great and numerous; and though his premises are mostly favourable to State interference, and those of M. Odilon Barrot unfavourable, there is a much less amount of divergence than would naturally be expected in their practical conclusions. The following, for instance, is M. Odilon-Barrot's statement of grievances,—of the principal evils which he denounces in the French administrative system:—

'We do not seek to impair that splendid unity of France, which a powerfully concentrated government may have helped to constitute, but which liberty alone can cement and preserve. What we reject in centralisation is its excess. We regard as excessive a centralisation, which by the confusion of spiritual and temporal power, or by their alliance, infringes directly or indirectly, either for religious or political purposes, upon freedom of conscience and worship. We object to a centralisation which, sometimes on the plea of guardianship and sometimes of police, subjects to its preventive control the collective and even the indi-

vidual rights of the citizens; which, for example, on the pretext that the communes are incapable of managing their own affairs, manages them through its own agents, appoints their mayors, their tax-collectors, their schoolmasters, their *cures*, and almost their *guardes champêtres*; will not suffer their councils to assemble without its permission; reserves to itself the framing of their annual estimates, and even after an outlay has been voted and sanctioned, claims to govern its execution, by imposing on the unfortunate communes who pay the cost, its own plans, its own engineers, its own architects. I hold as excessive a centralisation which so ties up almost every act of a citizen by the necessity of a previous authorisation, that he is not permitted to pray to God, nor to move from one place to another, unless at its good pleasure. I denounce as an abuse, a centralisation which, while giving to the agents of the Government all this power over private citizens, refuses to them all judicial redress against those agents, who are declared inviolable under the protection of a Council of State chosen by the Government; a centralisation which, by means of conflicts which it raises and resolves at its own option, supersedes the regular tribunals, and evokes to itself the decision of every cause in which it declares itself to have an interest. I, lastly, reject a centralisation of which the appetite, always excited and never satisfied, incessantly menaces every thing resembling an independent existence which may still remain in the country; extending its hand, now over the estates of hospitals, now over those of communes, now over the great railway and insurance companies. A centralisation such as this, which would end by reducing the individual to the condition of an automaton, is what I attack, and I will attempt to portray its fatal effects.' (Barrot, pp. 63-6.)

Now, to almost every article of this programme M. Dupont-White has given, in some part or other of his two volumes, either an express or an implied adhesion. That worst tyranny of all, the emancipation of Government officers from responsibility to the courts of justice,—the impossibility of suing or prosecuting a public functionary for any illegal act of power, without the previous consent of the Government, through its organ, the 'Conseil d'État,'—M. Dupont-White calls an 'enormity;' and says that its continuance during thirty years of constitutional government is only intelligible, because the publicity inherent in representative institutions was a sufficient practical guarantee against its mischiefs; thus showing with sufficient plainness what he thinks of the mode in which it must operate under the present French Government. We give M. Dupont-White credit for being kept right, by his feelings as a lover of liberty, on the principle of an institution which places the executive openly above the laws. But his notion that such an institution was or might be innocuous under a Parliamentary form of government, would almost lead us to think



of him as one who only cares for protecting the collective body of the nation from great acts of high-handed oppression by the chiefs of the State, against which free discussion and representative institutions really are a considerable security; but thinks nothing of the universal habit of trembling before every petty public officer, which, beyond almost everything else that can be named, renders a people incapable of liberty. How should they not be slavish, when any one wearing a Government uniform, so long as he takes care to be servile to all persons of station who are on good terms with the Government, can domineer at will over all the rest,—well knowing that instead of laying a complaint before the nearest magistrate, they have no refuge but an appeal to his own, perhaps distant, employer? What protection are a free press and Parliamentary government to them? Who will hear, or who will attend to, their complaints? It is a most significant fact, that, of this exclusive right to judge in its own cause, no French Government, however constitutional or liberal in its professions, has been able to make up its mind to divest itself. This alone, of the promises of the Charter of 1830, remained through the eighteen years of the reign of Louis Philippe unredeemed.

M. Odilon-Barrot's treatise falls in so thoroughly with the reigning tone of sentiment in this country, that we deem it needless to give any analysis of its contents; but we propose to do this rather fully in the case of M. Dupont-White. To understand a mode of thought different from our own, is always a valuable acquisition; and on a subject where everything depends on a correct balancing of opposite considerations, there is a peculiar propriety in studying the face of the question with which most of us are least familiar. It must be said, however, that the work of M. Dupont-White, though rich in matter, does not entirely satisfy us by the mode in which this matter is presented and disposed. There is true French point and felicity in the manner in which each thought is separately expressed. But we miss, in some degree, that well-marked separation of the various particulars of which the case is made up, ranging each idea or argument under the most appropriate head, which usually distinguishes the expositions and discussions of French thinkers,—that skilful marshalling of topics and arguments, which gives to their best works at once a scientific and an artistic character,—one thought never jostling or encumbering another, but appearing to occupy the position which is at once the most natural

to it, and that in which it groups most impressively with, and lends the most effective support to, the rest. The titles of M. Dupont-White's chapters point to an arrangement of topics, but in the execution he almost loses sight of it; allowing a mind, full of the subject, to pour forth, in every one of the divisions, matter from all the rest, so profusely that though much of what he says is excellently well said, the general impression is almost one of confusion; and after a first reading, one rather feels that the writer has a great deal to say, and has brought forward many strong arguments, than knows exactly what these are, and to which of the difficulties of the subject they especially apply. We shall endeavour,—not adhering to the writer's own order, but taking his ideas where we find them, and his arguments and illustrative statements where he has expressed them best,—to give some conception of the general purport of his observations.

According to M. Dupont-White, the absorption of the last few generations in the work of establishing the control of nations over their rulers, together with the exaggerated claims made in behalf of governments by Socialists in theory, and by despotisms in practice, have engendered a prejudice in the contrary direction, which regards the intervention of the State in the affairs of society as inherently an evil and a danger. He looks upon the State as, in all stages of civilisation, the main instrument and organ of Progress; a strong and earnest faith in which is one of the most marked as well as the most honourable features of his treatise. Man (he says), as a being whose selfish are ordinarily stronger than his moral feelings, naturally requires to be governed. He requires it more, not less, as society advances. For though, on the one hand, improvement, the result of experience, renders his selfishness in many respects more enlightened, yet, on the other, the advance of civilisation holds out to selfishness ever new opportunities and fields of action, to which the lessons of the past do not strictly apply, and in which the process of instructing and disciplining selfishness has to be continually renewed. Under these conditions, the conflicting self-interest of individuals, and, above all, of classes, requires an arbiter, deciding not on the impulses of the particular occasion, but on general rules and comprehensive views; and the Government, when properly constituted, and duly responsible to the nation, is that arbiter: being, by its position, more impartial than any separate section of society can possibly be, and therefore qualified to sit in judgment on the con-

fictitious pretensions of each, and to make a fairer and better compromise between them than it is at all to be expected that they would be able to work out by a hostile struggle.

Against this doctrine, while confined to generals, there is nothing to be said. All theories permit the State to establish whatever laws are necessary to protect the legitimate rights of persons and classes against the selfishness of one another. But to prove that this is a growing exigency, that the demand for legal intervention is an increasing demand as society advances, which is the essential point of our author's case, his argument is as follows.

The first and greatest duty of the State, in all stages of society, is to protect the weak against the strong. Now, the operation of Progress is to give to the State ever new duties of this description to discharge. We can look back to a time when the State exerted very little power over the great majority of the community. But is it supposed that because the State did not, nobody else did? Quite the reverse. The State did not concern itself about the multitude, because they were under the absolute power of masters, who could be made responsible for them. Law and government recognised, as legally existing, only the few in authority: the slave-masters, the heads of families, the patriarchal chiefs of tribes or clans. Improving civilisation changes this state of things — relieves man from the power of man, and brings him under that of the law. Has not the State necessarily a wider range of action, when it is expected to protect the slave, the wife, the child, the debtor, instead of leaving them to the will and pleasure of masters, husbands, fathers, and creditors? These primitive superiors once had power of life and death over those who were subject to them. It was the State which freed the weaker party from this despotism. The State alone could have done it, and on the State rests the duty of doing it, wherever it still remains to be done.

All this is admitted, and forms no part of the debateable ground. The power here claimed for the State is within its acknowledged functions. As long as any wrongful authority is exercised by human beings over one another, the State has still the duty of abolishing it. As long as any, even necessary, authority can be tyrannically abused, it is incumbent on the State to repress and punish the tyranny. To protect all human beings against injury from those who are stronger than themselves, whether the superiority of strength is physical or the gift of the law, is a function conceded to govern-

ments by those who are most eager to restrict their action. But does it follow that by extending the protection of law to classes unjustly excluded from it, the business of protection is made more difficult or operose? It may require more tribunals, but why should it need more laws? What more need be done for the emancipated classes, than merely not to refuse to them the legal remedies which are open to all others?

M. Dupont-White answers: The State cannot leave the newly enfranchised classes to shift afterwards for themselves. Though enfranchised, they are still the weakest, unable to contend on equal terms with their former masters. These will be struggling to exert their old authority by new means, and take all advantage which the new social relations allow, of the superior strength which still remains to them. The State must be prepared to meet every such attempt at encroachment by fresh precautions and acts of guardianship.

Whenever (for example) the depressed classes of society are striving upwards, the constitution of property will infallibly require modification. The first use which the emancipated classes endeavour to make of their liberty, is to acquire property; but the organisation of society has previously been such as to make property inaccessible to them. Generations or even ages may pass, before the descendants of serfs are enabled to exert their labour and enterprise on terms of fair equality with their former masters. Nor has this ever been effected but through a succession of laws or edicts, and by holding out at every step the helping hand of the State. The history of modern Europe is a series of such legislative acts, of which the great changes made at the French Revolution were the culmination. The nations of our own day have experienced the same necessity when emancipating their colonial slaves. And we may remark in confirmation, that the question of property forms the principal difficulty in that great work of justice and civilisation now in progress, the enfranchisement of the Russian serfs. M. Dupont-White has an easy victory while he confines himself to barbarous or backward countries. The nominal emancipation of the peasants of Esthonia and Livonia left them nearly as much serfs as before. But he is mistaken in supposing that in the British West Indies it has been necessary to retain any State protectorship over the negroes. The measures of that character which he specifies were all antecedent to emancipation. They were the incidents and consequences of slavery, and ceased with it. The conclusion which they justify is directly op-

posite to that of M. Dupont-White. They illustrate a tendency, the reverse of that which he alleges; the diminished need of State action as institutions improve. They are an example, from how much minute supervision, from how many cares and labours for the protection and general benefit of the less favoured classes, the State can exempt itself by doing them complete justice once for all; how much of the energy and forethought of society in behalf of individuals, is only needed because it does not choose to set free their own.

When our author argues that many relations between man and man, which were once left to the arbitration of force or the authority of a master, become the subject of legal regulation in a more advanced state, he says what nobody denies; and it is only to make clear the general scope of his argument that we dwell on this portion of the subject. But we now come upon controverted ground. M. Dupont-White says:—

‘When the State has put an end to the oppression of law, it has still to prevent *l’exploitation naturelle*, the unfair use of natural advantages. . . . Merely not to subordinate and sacrifice some to others as if they were an inferior species, cannot be the *dernier mot*, the last achievement of civilisation. Can we forget what an amount of difference exists between human beings, and think only of their general resemblance? Can it be overlooked, that these differences, left to themselves, would subject all weakness, bodily or intellectual, to the ascendancy of the strongest, the ablest, the most persevering; and that this domination by virtue of nature, would be as oppressive as that which was formerly exercised by virtue of the law? Nature itself requires to be rectified, as well as institutions. But who shall correct the abuse of natural superiorities except the State? And how can the State do so, unless by an accession of strength and of attributions?’ (*L’Individu et l’État*, pp. 54, 55.)

Here commences the great divergence between our author’s doctrine and that of nearly all English thinkers. These concede to the State the right and duty of regulating, and, when possible, abolishing, the artificial inequalities of which it is itself the author. But they do not admit that it should concern itself with natural inequalities. That ‘the abuse’ of these should be corrected they willingly admit, for who will affirm that abuses of any kind ought not to be interfered with? But they consider nothing as an abuse of natural superiority, except force or fraud. Provided these are abstained from, they hold it good that the strong should be allowed to reap the full advantage of their strength. It is only thus, they think, that all the members of the community are incited to exert their strength, and to cultivate

it. Those who take this ground have on their side much of the reason of the case; yet not all of it; for in racing for a prize, the stimulus to exertion on the part of the competitors is only at its highest when all start fair, that is, when natural inequalities are compensated by artificial weights; and the complaint is, that in the race of life all do not start fair; and that unless the State does something to strengthen the weaker side, the unfairness becomes utterly crushing and dispiriting.

According to M. Dupont-White, as productive industry advances, there is a natural and growing antagonism of conflicting interests—land, capital, and labour. Ought there, he asks, to be no moderator in these conflicts; no one to arbitrate between jarring self-interests, each equally inconsiderate of the reasonable claims of the others—and to prescribe, and if necessary enforce, some just rule, or to say the least, some admissible terms of compromise? To this question English thinkers almost unanimously answer—No. All that the State should do is to maintain the peace. Competition in a free market, can alone show what terms of accommodation are reasonable, and enforce those terms on the contending parties. If this were universally true, there would be an end to the question. That it is true for the most part, and that the onus of making out a case rests on those who contend for an exception, is indisputable. But M. Dupont-White easily proves, from the example of England itself, that exceptions in growing numbers do from time to time manifest themselves. From the period when England began to feel the effects of the astonishing growth of her manufacturing industry, new authoritative interferences with freedom of contract have been forced upon her every few years. Parliament has regulated the hours of labour. It has prohibited the employment of children under a certain age. It has interdicted, in mines, the employment of women as well as children. It has imposed upon manufacturers precautions against accident and unhealthiness, instead of depending on the operatives to enforce such precautions by refusal to work. It has insisted on a certain amount of professional competency in masters of merchantmen, lest people should voluntarily entrust themselves or their property to incapable seamanship. It has made imperative on owners of emigrant ships to carry medical officers, and not to crowd their vessels beyond certain limits, that the greed of gain or the competition for cheapness may not avail itself of the opportunities which the poverty, ignorance, or recklessness of intending emigrants holds

out. It has made unlawful the construction of houses which it deems unfit for the habitation of human beings, though the pure doctrine of competition would leave it to the poor to correct the evil by refusing to live in them.

M. Dupont-White argues, that it may be the duty of government to protect those who depend on labour for their subsistence, against excess of suffering from those industrial improvements, which in the first instance are only beneficial to employers and unproductive consumers. Again, he observes, every great industrial improvement is, or is thought to be, detrimental to some individual interests, which, left to the mere operation of the law, would have power to thwart the improvement, or to exact, as the price of acquiescence, terms extremely onerous to society. England has had cause to know this in the case of railways, docks, harbours, roads, town improvements. The intervention of the State is necessary, to quell the resistance of those private interests, and fix the compensation due to them. Such enterprises, also, often require pecuniary aid from the State. Even in England, ocean steam navigation and marine telegraphs are not able to dispense with it.

If it be said that civilisation, by diffusing knowledge and strengthening the moral sentiments, diminishes the necessity for government, inasmuch as it causes men to identify more and more their interest and feelings with the general good, M. Dupont-White, to a certain extent, admits the fact; but urges, that since the same progress makes society and its interests more complicated, greater compass and elevation of mind become necessary for comprehending them; while the amount of those qualities in society, instead of increasing with the need, rather tends to fall off, as the subdivision of labour, and increasing speciality of men's particular occupations, restrict the attention and accurate knowledge of each individual to a narrower circle of ideas. It is more necessary, therefore, in an advanced than even in a primitive state, that the more comprehensive interests should be taken charge of by persons who, being expressly dedicated to them, can make the study and understanding of them a speciality of their own (pp. 280-2.). Besides, advancing civilisation constantly demands new public services, to which individuals and associations are not competent; and even in the case of those to which they are competent, government intervention is required to repress the abuses, negotiate the compromises, and decide the conflicts, to which that

very fact gives rise. 'Association easily passes into monopoly as regards the public, dictatorship as towards the shareholders' (p. 350.). The State is essential as the protector of both against the recklessness or knavery of managers. Railways can be made and worked by private companies; but the State does not find it superfluous to limit the fares, and impose precautions for the safety of travellers, the commercial interests of the community, and in some respects (as by publicity and an audit) even that of the shareholders. Thus the increasing activity of the individual, in an improving society, does not take place at the expense of the activity of government. On the contrary, the more is done by the people themselves, the more there is for government to watch and superintend, and, if need be, to regulate.

If material progress thus tends to enlarge instead of narrowing the province of the State, this, in our author's opinion, is fully as true of moral progress. One of the surest results of improvement is to develop the conscience of society. The ethical requirements of mankind tend to increase. Acts which once seemed to them permissible or venial, they now feel prompted to repress; they are more sensitive to wrong, and require to extend the sphere, not only of social discountenance, but of prohibition and penalty. Judicial statistics show that while crimes of the old types tend to diminish, there is a steady increase of the general sum of offences, principally because legal punishment is from time to time extended to forms of fraud or injury which the previous laws did not reach. Not only does the general conscience become more delicately perceptive of wrongs, but of rights; as in the case of literary property, and property in designs or inventions. How much new action of governments has been rendered necessary by the determination of modern societies to suppress the slave-trade! What a world of labour and regulation has been imposed upon governments, since the conscience of nations became sensitive to the well-being and the reformation of criminals undergoing punishment! The laws against cruelty to animals bring an entire province of human conduct for the first time within the pale of law. Not content, too, with enforcing stricter justice, the requirements of the improved public conscience extend to increase of beneficence. Here, indeed, our author holds with all the world, that the proper sphere of coercive authority comes to an end. It is not for the State to enforce philanthropy by law. But what it cannot exact, improving

morality demands that it shall itself practise. Not to speak of the obligation to supply the indigent with work or subsistence, a duty not universally admitted, though recognised by the English Poor Laws—

'The State may make provision for certain of the wants of the individual; public worship, education, roads, administration of justice; erecting the services of the minister of religion, the school-master, the judge, the engineer, into public functions. This is a bounty to the poor, who benefit by these public services in proportion to their need, but contribute to them only in proportion to their means. . . . The State also practises beneficence to the poor when it acts as their unpaid agent, receiving their small savings, paying them interest, and refunding the principal on demand. . . . Or its beneficence may take the form of direct charity; either permanent, such as assistance to hospitals, gratuitous schooling, &c. or by such occasional measures as are often required in civilised countries, in times of dearth, epidemics, inundations, or commercial crises.'—(*L'Individu et l'État*, p. 86.)

Our abstract of M. Dupont-White's case would be too much prolonged, were we to include the arguments which he draws from the particular circumstances and national character of France. We shall mention, one for which there is, at least, so much foundation as to make it plausible: that the love of distinction, in France, is a more powerful motive to action, and incentive to enterprise, than the desire of profit;—that to erect certain branches, even of private industry, into public services (as is the case in France with mining, civil engineering, and others), instead of being, as it would be in England, a sure way of perpetuating routine and stifling improvements, is in France the most effectual means of promoting them;—that persons are much more powerfully stimulated to bring to perfection industrial inventions and improvements, by the hope that decorations and honours will be conferred on them for it, than by what might seem the more natural prospect of enriching themselves and their families. However this may be, and even were it literally correct, the question remains whether this tendency of the national mind is not in great part created by the institutions and practices which it is invoked to defend.

Having stated his own side of the case, our author proceeds to the opposite side: the limitations which his theory requires, the objections to which it is liable, and the capacity and sufficiency of individual agency to carry on the progress of society, without the instrumentality of the State.

The limitations with which M. Dupont-White propounds his doctrine are great and important. His practical conclusions are not at all proportioned to the startling breadth and generality, and the occasionally paradoxical form, of his theoretical premises. He generally gives a full adhesion to the limiting principles, however he may or may not assign to them their just weight. Again and again he urges that there ought to be no State action which would really tend to impair the full development of the faculties of the individual.\* The individual (he says) is the final object of all government; and his capacities and powers the fountain-head of all social good. What our author desires is not a government strong by the weakness and compression of individualities, but individuals active and strong in a strong State. The State must not interfere with thought, nor with its free expression. Some mere *modes* of expression, such as the theatre, clubs, public meetings, may require regulation; but such of them alone as Thought can afford to dispense with. The press must be free to do everything but defame character, or unnecessarily outrage feelings. In the matter of public instruction, the State may teach its own doctrines, but must allow full license of competition to those of others. In economical affairs, the State must not interfere with the right of the labourer to the free employment of his labour. Its regulative functions must be confined to those great aggregations of labour by the aid of large capitals, which are not a mere means of subsistence, but a power in society. In all things, the State is bound, no less than individuals, by the moral law. The rights of private property must be sacred to it. Confiscation, bankruptcy, alteration of the monetary standard, all modes of either open or disguised spoliation, are on its part a crime. But to define and limit the rights of property,—to decide what matters shall or shall not be allowed to become subjects of property, and under what limitations property may be transmitted,—all this is within State functions, and a most important part of them: a doctrine not likely to be questioned in England, though esteemed very heretical in France, where the foundation of the laws of property, and the answers to all disputed questions respecting it, are usually rested not on the obvious consideration of public good, but on a metaphysical abstraction called *le droit*.

The objections to his theory are discussed

\* See particularly '*L'Individu et l'État*,' pp. lxiii. lxiv.; 53. 282, 283.; 308-11.; and '*La Centralisation*,' pp. 127-30.

by M. Dupont-White at great length; especially if we count, in the reply to objections, his strictures on the efficacy of individual agency as an instrument of progress. The interest of the individual (he says) is an ample security for the interest of the individual. But it is scarcely a security at all for collective interests. To begin with one, the greatest of these, though not commonly classed under the head of interest—not *l'utile*, but *le vrai, le beau, et le bien*,—the pursuits, of which the reward is inward, not outward, and the external fruits only in a distant future. How can these prosper, without inducements held out, or, at the lowest, without means supplied, from other sources than the private interest of individuals? Private interest is not a sufficient stimulus in the sphere of the most ordinary utility, when that utility is collective, not individual. The strongest of all cases of coincidence between public and private interest, is that of protection against open violence. Is this, or can it be, anywhere left dependent on individual self-interest? The want in this case, it may indeed be said, is one which private individuals *cannot* provide for; but how many others are there which they can, but will not?

'It is precisely the collective character of an interest which turns men back from the pursuit of it. Men do even that which concerns them most, only when it can be carried through by their own efforts, and when the benefit is for themselves alone. Self-interest is an adequate motive to the cultivation of the earth, for success in this is the private concern of the individual; he and his take all the trouble, and reap the entire fruit. But the paving and lighting of a town, however important it may be to each, still, since he cannot accomplish it alone, and has no assurance that others will do the same as he—since his own effort avails nothing unless as a portion of the general effort—he remains inactive. Thus a collective interest is neglected by individuals, even though their own is included in it. The individual abstains from things the most advantageous to himself, when he is unable to execute them alone, and has no power of compelling others to do their part.' (*L'Individu et l'État*, p. 268.)

Besides, individuals may be too low placed to feel the stimulating influence of self-interest. Inaction and torpidity as often result from the absence of aid and encouragement, as from their excess.

'Love of personal comfort, and impatience of privations, are not an incentive capable of operating upon every one. These sentiments do not spring up in persons so steeped in misery that they care only to forget their condition, instead of improving it. The services which Necessity renders to Progress are limited; it can only develop what exists. Without it the qualities

of the most privileged natures might never come to light; but it does not endow average human beings with courage and forethought; on the contrary, it plunges them and keeps them in a state of reckless self-abandonment. What is a stimulus to the strong, is to the ordinary man only a cause of despair. The education of necessity was never wanting to the Irish, or the North American Indians; to keep themselves alive was to them the business of life. Yet it did not teach either to the Irishman or the Iroquois the lesson of forethought. . . . Governments, wiser than sectarian theorists, have understood that it was their business, not indeed to take complete charge of the individual, but to offer him facilities, awaken his hopes, and lead him *towards*, though not *to*, the end. . . . Do you dread the effect of such assistance in enervating those vigorous characters which can do without it? But a degree of tutelage may be imagined, beneficial to the greater number, yet not damaging to the more gifted natures. To find the limit and keep to it, may be a delicate point; but the path of all truth applicable to human uses, is one of compromise. Do you prefer to steer by only one principle, instead of combining several? Conclude, then, if you are bold enough, for the suppression of hospitals—the ultimate and perfectly legitimate consequence of the individualist principle, and the doctrine of leaving people to necessity.'—(Pp. 297-9.)

One of the objections anticipated is, that the State is only the aggregate of individuals, and its rights their united rights; it can therefore have no right to employ force, but that which individuals have, namely, the right of self-defence. Repression of violence and fraud are hence the only rightful functions of the State. It is instituted for order only, not for progress.

Our author answers, that the State is more than a mere aggregation of individuals. 'This is the definition of a caravanserai, of a place like Baden or Homburg, not of a society' (p. 168.). The State is not the sum of the individuals comprising it, merely *as* individuals; each of them, in becoming a part of society, becomes something more than an individual. From the union of human beings in society, arise relations and necessities other than those of mere individuals; and it is not strange if there arise also rights which only the social state renders legitimate. Placing within the reach of man innumerable ends not else attainable, it warrants the use of additional means.

But (it may be said) since governments are composed of individuals, if individuals are not competent to carry on the great interests of the human race, why should better be expected from the individuals who compose the government? To this it is answered, first, that those individuals are, or ought to be, the *élite*; and, next, that

they are, as a matter of course, more competent than others to what is made their especial business. In addition to this, the mere fact of their more elevated position (provided they are chosen indiscriminately, and not identified with castes or classes having separate interests,) tends of itself to give them a higher degree of impartiality,—an identity of interest with the community, as to all that concerns the relations of citizens among themselves, though not as to their relation with the government. In its position, what in individuals would require heroic virtue, demands no more than ordinary good sense and good intention. It costs but a small effort to a government to lay on a tax for supporting schools; while, for individuals to endow them from their own funds, requires real virtue. 'For a master to set free his slaves, supposes a certain greatness of mind; but the commonest sense of morality in a State is enough to make it abolish slavery' (p. 346.). It militates somewhat against this doctrine that slavery took so many ages to abolish. We must at least suppose that the government is not composed of slaveholders, nor under their influence; or that the ruler is a despot like Caracalla, to whose tyranny slave and citizen were much the same. Such (adds our author) is the effect of a commanding position, in elevating the ruler above the narrow interests which pervert mankind, that many of the worst sovereigns have made excellent laws, and enforced them between their subjects, while retaining for themselves the liberty of not obeying them. 'Even Cæsar Borgia tolerated in his dominions no other poisoner than himself' (p. 308.). With this remark, we close our summary of the first and most important of M. Dupont-White's two volumes.

Of the second, '*La Centralisation*,' it is not necessary to give so copious an abstract. It completes the theory of State influence, as contrasted with individual agency, by a corresponding theory of central, as preferable to local, government agency. The two questions, in truth, are fundamentally one. Whatever advantages, in promoting the general interest, governments have over individuals, the central government has over any local body; while local bodies stand nearer to the merits as well as the defects which belong to the spontaneous energies of the private citizen.

Of central contrasted with local authority, as of government contrasted with the individual, M. Dupont-White holds that it is more impartial. Local functionaries are too near to those over whom they administer; too much implicated in their interests and

partialities; often identified, personally or by class, with a particular section among them. But to this idea M. Dupont-White adds another, different, but allied to it. The central government is naturally the organ of a more advanced portion of the nation. The public whose opinion acts upon governments, is principally that of the capital city. Local bodies are immediately amenable to an inferior, perhaps a very backward, part of the public. The ascendancy of central administration over local is, in our author's conception, that of the active and enlightened van of the community, over the more ignorant, more narrow-minded, and less public-spirited rear-guard. The central power, of which he is anxious to maintain the predominance, is quite as much that of Paris as of the executive. Accordingly, he would assign to the capital a number of representatives, not smaller, as in England, but much larger than in the ratio of its population:—

'Suppose that, twelve or fifteen years ago, when there was a Chamber of 450 deputies, Paris had returned forty-five representatives instead of twelve; suppose (which is no strained hypothesis) that all these had voted and acted, as the twelve usually did, with the Opposition; a certain majority (there is every reason to think) would not have been formed, a certain Cabinet would not have lasted eight years, a certain Revolution, with all its consequences, would not have broken out.' (*La Centralisation*, p. 277.)

A suggestion curiously illustrative of one of the many political differences between England and France. It would occur to few persons in England that giving eighty or a hundred members of the metropolis would be the way to obtain a government of greater wisdom, and less exposed to revolution. But then, there is not that superiority of political capacity and intelligence in the middle and working classes of London over those of Warwickshire or Lancashire, which nearly all authorities concur in ascribing to those of Paris over every other part of France.

M. Dupont-White certainly mentions some astonishing exhibitions of folly and ignorance by mayors of great provincial towns. We wish he had told us whether these specimens of local functionaries were elected by their fellow-citizens, or actually nominated by the government. A government which has all the educated intelligence of the country against it, must often find itself under the necessity of appointing ignorant men. We cannot, without further information, accept these as examples of the working of free local institutions. It is



more to the purpose, when our author states that neither elementary schools nor local roads (*chemins vicinaux*) could be got established in most of the localities, until the government of Louis Philippe enforced them by an act of authority.

Another of his arguments in recommendation of central control, is its necessity for the protection of minorities. In local as well as general affairs, the majority has a perpetual tendency to tyrannise over the rest. In justice to the minority, who may be taxed for purposes of which they very reasonably disapprove, an arbitrator is indispensable. Any arbitrator is preferable to the mere despotism of number; but the central government, from its distance and its elevated position, is in general an impartial umpire. Even in England, the chosen soil of freedom and individual spontaneity, there is a growing tendency to associate with local administration an organ of central control. Parochial or district management of the Poor Laws is now subordinated to a Poor Law Board. Charitable endowments, which formerly—as far as superintended at all—were under the superintendence of corporations and other local bodies, have been withdrawn from them, and placed under Charity Commissioners appointed by the State.

M. Dupont-White does not seek to annihilate provincial and municipal institutions. He acknowledges their value for cultivating the intelligence of the citizens, and familiarising them with the management of interests not private and personal; but (he contends) it is not necessary for this purpose that the localities should have the complete control of their own affairs. It is not sovereignty they require, but a veto and an initiative; the power of rejecting, and that of proposing. That they should be at liberty to do anything of themselves, without leave from a superior, does not enter into his idea of their use. But he admits that the interference with them, at present, passes all reasonable bounds, and is not *de la tutelle*, but *de la pédagogie*.\* He declares for a great relaxation of this despotism, and is, upon occasion, as severe as any one upon the *manie réglementaire* of the French national mind.

It is often objected that the State, by meddling in everything, takes on itself the blame of everything, and concentrates upon its own head all animosities (*toutes les haines*). Our author treats this objection very lightly. He replies that there will always be *haine*, and that the State is the

very properest quarter upon which it can discharge itself. It is far better that men whose interests are crossed should lay the blame on the Government, than on hostile classes, or on one another. Besides, hatred directed against a distant object is always less intense. In confirmation of which it might have been said, that the vengeance of a rude people falls less upon the original author of a supposed wrong, than upon the comparatively harmless subordinate instrument. A dispossessed Irish cottier did not shoot at his landlord, but at his landlord's agent, or the mere incoming tenant. Wherever there is not a strong central government, society, says our author, is all broken up by hatreds. Like the cities of Italy or Flanders in the Middle Ages, every town, family, or individual is the bitter enemy of its nearest neighbour (pp. 118, 119.). The perpetual causes of jarring which necessarily arise, are envenomed into animosity by the absence of an authorised arbitrator.

Our author, though a zealot for liberty, distinguishes between political and what he calls civil liberty. Many writers have drawn this distinction, and have lavished their praises on civil, their suspicion and distrust on political, liberty. M. Dupont-White does the reverse. He is a vigorous partisan of political liberty—the control of the nation over the government. But he sets no value on civil liberty, which he considers to be synonymous with not being governed. By this paradoxical use of language he needlessly flies in the face of opinion, and renders his doctrines unpopular in a much greater degree than the practical use he makes of them will be found to warrant. For in reality he would release the private liberty of the citizen from most of the irksome restraints to which in Continental countries it is still subject: and his doctrine, in so far as different from that of moderate politicians in England, is chargeable not so much with repressing individual spontaneity, as with giving fatal facility and encouragement to its voluntary disuse.

Our author is weakest where he attempts to show that a people under a centralised government may be free; and that France, having always manifested a strong love of liberty, is no instance of the contrary. The security he relies on, to prevent a centralised government from overpowering political freedom, is that resistance is also centralised in the metropolis: a doctrine at which we may well wonder, in a book written subsequently to December 1851. It was then seen what this centralisation of resistance is good for, against a numerous and well disciplined army. Resistance is cen-

\* *La Centralisation*, p. 86.

tralised, as Caligula wished his enemies to be centralised, that they might all be cut off at one blow. Uncentralised Spain is not a bright example of the influences of freedom; but her resistance to the first Napoleon when in full military possession of her capital, was a different thing; it must be confessed, from the resistance of France to his living imitator and representative.

Those who have accompanied us through our necessarily meagre abridgment of M. Dupont-White's pleading for State interference as an unavoidable consequence and indispensable instrument of progress, cannot have failed to observe one great deficiency, which cuts down his case to something far smaller in reality than in appearance. He does not distinguish, or distinguishes only casually and incidentally, between one mode of State interference and another. His main argument can at most only prove, that as society advances there is a frequent demand for new laws. This proposition most English opponents of centralisation would admit, without thinking that they made any great concession. When there were no railways, there needed no Railway Acts. When there were no joint-stock companies, no laws were needed for their formation, their winding up, or the responsibility of their shareholders or directors. When there was no insurance, no banks, no bills of exchange, there was no need of a great part of our mercantile law. But the new laws commonly require, to insure their execution, only the ordinary tribunals. Extension of legislation in itself implies no fresh delegation of power to the executive; no discretionary authority, still less control, still less obligation to ask permission of the executive for every new undertaking. It does, at times, imply some increase of public functionaries and patronage. Many laws which protect collective against individual interests, would remain unexecuted if volunteer agency were solely relied on for carrying them into effect.\* When Parliament made laws to be observed by schools, manufactories, or endowed charities, it had to create a staff of Inspectors or Commissioners to watch over the observance of those laws. But it is not necessary that these officers should have administrative control. Their business is to warn the chiefs of establishments when certain specified legal obligations are departed from, and to put the law

in force against the offenders if the violations are persisted in. This is the kind of additional State interference, some amount of which is useful and inevitable as improvement proceeds. But this form of it does not, or at least need not, weaken the stimulus to individual effort. There may indeed be over-legislation, as well as over-administration. A legislature, as well as an executive, may take upon itself to prescribe how individuals shall carry on their own business for their own profit. It may bind the operations of manufacture to an unchangeable routine, by all the *minutieux* regulations of Colbert. But when, instead of protecting individuals against themselves, it only protects them against others, from whom it would be either difficult or impossible for them to protect themselves, it is within its province. This is the principle which legitimates laws against false weights and measures, and the adoption of a common standard of them for the whole country; which justifies the legal regulation of emigrant ships, and of the professional qualification of masters of merchant vessels; which requires that employers and parents shall not, by conspiring together, selfishly overwork children for their private gain, or work them at all, at times or in modes inconsistent with their proper education; which forbids that individuals should be allowed to build, and let out for dwelling in, places such as human beings cannot inhabit with decency or safety to their health. For though it may be alleged that, in this last case, acceptance of the conditions is voluntary, it is so only as regards the head of the family, who, being oftenest absent, suffers least from the evil; and it is not voluntary at all when better residences are not to be had; while, if bad ones are prohibited, the spontaneous provision of good ones follows as a matter of course.

It must, then, be granted that new legislation is often necessitated, by the progress of society, to protect from injury either individuals or the public: not only through the rising-up of new economical and social phenomena, each accompanied with its own public and private inconveniences; but also because the more enlarged scale on which operations are carried on, involves evils and dangers which on a smaller scale it was allowable to overlook. One among a thousand illustrations which might be adduced of this incident of mere growth, is the vast trouble which society is now obliged to take in order to prevent its principal sources of water supply from being poisoned. As respects such new laws, and as much new agency as is needed to insure their observ-

\* This, M. Dupont-White says, is the case in France, with the laws for limiting the hours of children's labour in factories; even in a country which, unlike our own, attaches to every court of justice a public prosecutor.

ance, the function of the State naturally does widen with the advance of civilisation. But this part of the case, though sometimes undervalued, is seldom, by English thinkers, denied : and to this extent only can English practice be cited in evidence that State intervention is, or ought to be, a growing fact.

Our author makes a stand on another doctrine, quite unassailable in principle—that the State may be required to render all such services as, being unnecessary or important to society, are not of a nature to remunerate any one for their performance. Thus, the State, or some public authority, must build and maintain light-houses and lay down buoys, it being impossible to make those who benefit by these essential requisites of navigation pay any compensation for their use. But though necessities of this description exist, it cannot be admitted that they tend, on the whole, to multiply as society advances. Though the progress of civilisation is constantly requiring new things to be done, it also multiplies the cases in which individuals or associations are able and willing to do them gratuitously. Our author, having pointed out many needful things which would never be done by the mere self-interest of individuals, does not seem to be aware that anything can be expected from their public spirit ; apparently because public spirit in this form is almost entirely stifled in the countries with which he is most familiar, by the centralisation which he applauds. But in our uncentralised country, even such a public want as that of life-boats is supplied by private liberality, through the agency of a voluntary association. Societies are formed to watch even over the execution of laws, in the enforcement of which no individual is sufficiently interested ; such as the laws against cruelty to animals. Naval expeditions for purposes of science or philanthropy have been fitted out by subscription ; and private associations undertake on a large scale the education of the poor. For this, indeed, both here and in other countries, individual munificence had already made a large provision. For centuries past there have existed numerous endowments, by which not only the elements of letters, but the most complete intellectual education known when they were founded, was given without remuneration to a far larger class than has ever by any other means received it. M. Dupont-White fails to show that the province of government in works of public utility receives accessions at one end, greater than what private zeal and benevolence subtract from it at the other ; even though he swells his cata-

logue of things which can only be accomplished by the Government, with objects so exceptional as acquisition of territory for colonisation or commerce. And even as to these, his theory does not always hold. A company of merchant adventurers acquired India for Great Britain. France had the start of England in that part of the world ; the empire which is now British was very near being French, and would have been so if the matter had not depended on the State but on individuals—if the central government would but have let Dupleix and Bussy alone. All the functions of Government which do not consist in affording legal protection, are in reality greatest when civilisation is at the lowest ; when the poverty of individuals, their ignorance, and inaptness for combination, leaves society no resource but State action for anything requiring large means, co-operation of numbers, or elevated views. There was a time when neither roads, nor canals, nor drainage, nor irrigation, nor banks, nor schools, nor encouragement of arts, letters, or science, could possibly exist except as the work of the government. In an advanced stage of civilisation these things are better done by voluntary associations, or by the public indiscriminately ; though we do not deny that, when so done, they create a necessity for new laws, inasmuch as all new good which arises in the world must be expected to bring new evil as its accompaniment.

A second oversight, which, as it seems to us, goes through the whole extent of M. Dupont-White's argument, is that he assumes the government, for whose prerogatives he is contending, to be an ideal government, bearing very little affinity to any actual one. He has a perfect right to exclude the despotism of one man, or the rule of a class or caste, which may have a positive interest in unjust laws and administration. He is entitled to stipulate for an elective government, with a free press, in which the opinion of the nation, collected in some fair manner, decides everything in the last resort. He is free to say, as he does\*—If the government does not leave open to public discussion the whole range of politics, religion, and philosophy, it is not the kind of government which I contemplate. But after accepting these postulates, there is an additional assumption, which M. Dupont-White tacitly asks us to admit,—that the government is an embodiment of the *élite* of the nation. Now, exists there any such government ? Can we at present foresee a time when there will be any such ? Our

\* *L'Individu et l'État*, p. xlix.

author has not pointed out how it must be constituted to effect this object; and takes, indeed, anything but an enthusiastic view of the efficacy of forms of government, and of political contrivances generally. Yet he virtually assumes that under the government which his theory supposes, the persons at the head of affairs will be the choice spirits of the community. But this state of things is a mere ideal, to be unremittingly striven for, but seldom with any approach to attainment. The nearest approximation to it is usually found at those great national crises, which impose silence on petty jealousies, frighten away the herd of mediocrities from the arena, and call forth the great souls in all their strength. But the only permanent governments by men of capacity known to history, are some of the bad aristocracies, the Roman or Venetian, which our author, we presume, would sternly reprobate. That democracy is very far from realising this ideal, America is a sufficient example. If its conditions could be supposed present anywhere in our own age, it would probably be in England; yet does any Englishman believe that the members of the Cabinet are usually the ten or fifteen ablest and most enlightened members of the community, or that the Houses of Lords and Commons embody, or even reflect, the thoughts and opinions of the most eminent men in the country? Do we not think ourselves well off, if the majority of the Ministers are tolerable public speakers, and half of them or thereabouts moderately assiduous and competent men of business? Do we expect more from Parliament than that it should be a rather favourable representation of the average sentiments and opinions of the classes possessing influence in the country? The moving power of Government and Parliament is the sentiment of the majority; not indeed hitherto in mere numbers, but in numbers and social importance combined. Sometimes the government is a little better, sometimes a little worse, than the general opinion of society; but in most cases, much the same. To suppose, therefore, that Government will do, better than individuals, anything which individuals are able and willing to do, is to suppose that the average of society is better than any individual in it, which is both a mathematical and a moral absurdity. Though the *élite* of society are not often found in the government, yet, when anything worthy of their efforts is open to fair competition, they will generally be competitors. The persons most capable of winning are among those who start in the race; and if society has any capacity of judging of work after it has been performed,

these are more likely than others to be the successful competitors. Whatever is done by individuals, without a monopoly, has thus a considerable chance of being done by those who can do it best; and such will generally do it better than the government, which only represents the average.

A third defect in M. Dupont-White's argument is the very inadequate sense which he entertains of the manner in which individual capacity and efficiency are blunted, by being dependent, in nearly every effort they make, on leave from a superior. He asks, Have the French been, throughout their history, or are they now, a people devoid of energy, activity, and mental life? Yet we need quote no other opinion than his own, as to the *kind* of those qualities which generally characterises his countrymen. He has himself unconsciously pronounced the severest judgment upon them, as to this particular point. He says\* that they are deficient in initiative; that they are energetic and active only in doing what is set down for them, and marked out by authority. He discusses this peculiarity, philosophises on it, makes theories about it, but steadily affirms it. The greatest enemies of centralisation have said nothing more stringent against the theory of national progress by government agency. To M. Dupont-White this deficiency proves that the French require to be much governed. Others see in it a proof and an effect of too much government. He asks, If a people will not make roads, or keep up schools, except on compulsion, is leaving them to themselves the way to make them do it? Certainly not. They are in a state of prostration from which they cannot rise without help. Let help be given to them. They require to be urged, not only by the government, but by everyone else to whom they look up. But urged to what? To let the government act for them? No; but to act for themselves. This is, at least, the ultimatum to which it should be endeavoured to bring them.

Turning now from the general question of government interference, to the comparative merits of central and of local government, we must admit that M. Dupont-White's doctrines on this subject are not only a legitimate corollary, but an indispensable corrective, of his opinions on the more fundamental point. Any despotism is preferable to local despotism. If we are to be ridden over by authority, if our affairs are to be managed for us at the pleasure of

\* *L'Individu et l'État*, pp. 354, 355. *La Centralisation*, pp. 306. *et seq.*

other people, heaven forefend that it should be at that of our nearest neighbours. To be under the control, or have to wait for the sanction, of a Minister or a Parliament, is bad enough; but defend us from the leading-strings of a Board of Guardians or a Common Council. In the former authorities there would be some knowledge, some general cultivation, some attention and habitual deference to the opinions of the more instructed minds. To be under the latter, would be in most localities, unless by the rarest accident, to be the slave of the vulgar prejudices, the cramped, distorted, and short-sighted views, of the public of a small town or a group of villages. It is only affairs of a simple character and on a humble scale, not exceeding the levying of a local rate, and the application of it to purposes strictly predetermined, that can with impunity be left to the unassisted and unchecked management of the representatives of a narrow locality. The most strenuous English champion of local liberties would probably admit, that the localities should do little more than execute, and provide the means for executing, laws and instructions laid down by the legislature of the empire. The parish, or the quarter-sessions, fix the local taxation; but they would not be permitted to levy it by an income-tax, or to assess it in any manner but the one authorised by Parliament, a percentage on the rent.

But it does not follow, because the local authority ought not to be supreme and absolute, that the central ought; or that the latter should be able, by an act of authority, to overrule the resistance, or dispense with the assent, of the former, in matters on which the legislature had not declared itself. Respecting the degree in which the central executive should co-operate with the localities in the control of local affairs, there are great differences of opinion amongst us. Our author is in the right in saying that our recent legislation has associated central with local authority in a far greater degree than before. The reason is, that the characteristic of the present age is the reform of abuses, and their reform could not be trusted to the persons and the institutions that had introduced them. But our author imagines the tendency, which really exists, to be much stronger than it is. He never wearies of repeating that England has found it necessary to centralise the relief of the poor. He is perhaps not aware that the relief of the poor in England is not central, but local, under central supervision; and that the Poor Law of 1834, which established the Central Board, also created the first tolerably-constituted Local Boards of Poor Law

Administration which England has ever possessed.

Enlightened English opinion was never more hostile than now to the actual management of local affairs by central authority. The centralisation which it approves is that of knowledge and experience, rather than of power. It would not be content with what M. Dupont-White allows to local authorities, *le veto et l'initiative*. The cases are few in which, by our recent legislation, the local authority has to ask permission of the central. Within the limits of its attributions, it generally has complete discretion, subject to central interference only when it infringes the distinctly expressed commands of Parliament.

It is further to be considered that if the authorities of a small rural district are unfit to be trusted with difficult public duties, it is not indispensable that local authorities should be on this contracted scale. There are provincial authorities as well as municipal. Our Quarter Sessions are such an authority. The Councils-General of French departments are another,—an institution which M. Dupont-White, M. Odilon-Barrot, and other writers of authority, represent as the only one of modern introduction which has struck root in the country, and under all political changes has continued to work wisely and beneficently. The French system errs, not solely in giving too little power to local bodies, but in having those bodies too numerous and too insignificant. It is not the law in England for every village to have its mayor and municipal council. Every parish, indeed, has its vestry, but the duties of this are now almost limited to the affairs of the parish church. Our *chemins vicinaux* are not made by parishes, but by the justices in sessions. The far greater number even of our towns are not corporate, and their local affairs are managed by the county magistrates, except when Parliament, by a Private Act, has provided a set of Commissioners or a Paving Board. A moderately sized town, or a Poor Law Union, is perhaps the smallest district which ought to have a local representation; and a great part of the business even of these would be better intrusted, if not to the Quarter Sessions, to a representative County Board, or some combination of both. Boards of this range of jurisdiction, composed as they would probably be, could be trusted to do whatever business was assigned to them, without subjection to the central executive; whose functions in regard to them might be limited to collecting and diffusing information, and calling the localities to account if they violated the rules

laid down by Parliament for their observance, or usurped powers not confided to them by law.

Another point to which M. Dupont-White does not attach due importance, is the danger to liberty, from the increase of the power and patronage of government, inseparable from every extension of its superintendence over individuals and local bodies. One of the highest French authorities on constitutional government, M. Royer-Collard, long ago proclaimed that an administration strongly centralised is sure to be master of the assembly appointed to control it. In a speech delivered under the Villèle ministry, he asked—

‘Who votes at elections? The electors? No: very often it is only the ministry. The ministry votes by the whole mass of places and salaries in its gift, all, or almost all, directly or indirectly, the reward of proved docility; by the whole mass of the business and interests which centralisation brings under its control; by all the establishments, religious, civil, military, scientific, which the localities fear to lose, or solicit to obtain; by roads, bridges, canals, town-halls, since the satisfaction of every public want is a favour of the administration, to attain which, the public, a courtier of a new description, must *please*. In a word, the ministry votes by all the weight of the Government, which is brought to bear with its whole force on every department, every commune, every profession, I might say every individual. And this Government, what is it? The Imperial Government, curtailed of no one of its hundred thousand arms; having, on the contrary, acquired new vigour from the struggle it has had to sustain against a few forms of freedom, and always recovering in case of need the instincts of its cradle, cunning and force.’ (Quoted by M. Léonce de Lavergne in the ‘Revue des Deux Mondes’ for October 1. 1861, p. 586.)

A government with all this mass of favours to give or to withhold, however free in name, wields a power of bribery scarcely surpassed by an avowed autocracy; rendering it master of the elections in almost any circumstances but those of rare and extraordinary public excitement. It is true that, even thus armed, it may break down; the Villèle and Polignac governments were defeated at two successive general elections. But this does not affect the practical truth of M. Royer-Collard’s proposition. The Government remained master of the Chambers until the storm of public disapprobation had become equivalent to a revolution, and, when resisted, produced one. The public opinion which was strong enough to outvote the ministry, sufficed to turn out the king and the royal family in three days. The public opinion which eighteen years later, was again able to expel a king and his dynasty, had failed six months before to

carry a general election against a minister. So completely does recent history bear out the assertion, that an over-centralised government is amenable to no check short of a revolution; and is lured to its ruin by an appearance of unlimited power, up to the very moment when it is abandoned by all mankind.

We have not yet noticed the great moral and political mischief of training a people to be one vast tribe of place-hunters. Yet if there be a fact respecting which all French thinkers—M. Dupont-White not excepted—are unanimous, it is that from the days of the First Empire this is the character which centralisation has impressed upon France. Our author, indeed, relies on the rewards of productive industry as a rival temptation to that of place. But if all the higher and more dignified pursuits, even those of literature and science, are organised (which he seems to approve) as branches of the public service, what must be the consequence? That the ambitious and active part of the nation is divided into two classes, place-seekers and money-seekers.

It is from a sense of these evils, fully as much as from the fortunate national habit of distrusting the Government, that nearly all English thinkers regard the presumption as always unfavourable to any extension of governmental functions, and hold as a rooted conviction that not only are there many of the greatest public concerns from which, as soon as the nation has emerged from the swathing bands of infancy, the State should hold its hand, but that even where no general principle forbids its interference, nothing should be done by it except what has been clearly proved to be incapable of being done by other means. Opinion in England only consented to national grants for education, after private associations had tried their hand for many years, and had shown the limits of what they could be expected to do. The regulation of emigrant ships was only undertaken by government, after the horrors which arose from leaving them unregulated had become a scandal to the country, which there was no mode of stopping except by recourse to government. The creation of the Poor Law Board was only feasible, because the abuses of the Poor Laws had reached a height of mischief which the country could no longer tolerate, while two centuries had proved that the qualities necessary for cleansing that Augean stable were only found in about one parish out of a thousand, and that even there the reform scarcely ever outlasted the life of its individual author. The general tone of English feeling on these subjects is on the whole,

we think, very much what it ought to be. There is no blind prejudice against having recourse to the State, such as reaction against over-government seems to have raised up in some of the more thorough French reformers. But there is a strong persuasion that what can be tolerably done in any other way, had better be done in that way than by the government. State action is regarded as an extreme remedy, to be reserved, in general, for great purposes; for difficult and critical moments in the course of affairs, or concerns too vital to be trusted to less responsible hands. Few Englishmen, we believe, would grudge to the government, for a time, or permanently, the powers necessary to save from serious injury any great national interest; and equally few would claim for it the power of meddling with anything, which it could let alone without touching the public welfare in any vital part. And though the line thus indicated neither is, nor can be, very definitely drawn, a practical compromise of this sort between the State and the individual, and between central and local authority, is, we believe, the result which must issue from all prolonged and enlightened speculation and discussion on this great subject.

We should not be doing justice to M. Dupont-White, were we to dismiss his writings without giving a few specimens of the acute, and often finely expressed, incidental thoughts, in which his volumes abound beyond most of even the better class of contemporary works. Neither can we acquit our conscience without entering a protest against some opinions and sentiments, to which we regret that such a writer should have lent the authority of his talents. Of these, the following is the worst:—

‘Consider for an instant: if liberty is a principle of moral elevation, it is because it means power. A free man finds in the power which he enjoys over himself, the space necessary for his faculties, and a sentiment which exalts him in his own eyes. But, if so, how can the supreme power, with all the careers, all the horizons which it opens, all the sentiments which it awakens, fail to be a principle of exaltation analogous and even superior to liberty?’ (*L’Individu et l’État*, p. xxi.)

We look upon this confounding of the love of liberty with the love of power, the desire not to be improperly controlled with the ambition of exercising control, to be both a psychological error, and the worst possible moral lesson. If there be an ethical doctrine which more than all others requires to be taught, and has been taught with deepest conviction by the great moral teachers, it is, that the love of power is the most evil passion of human nature;

that power over others, power of coercion and compulsion, any power other than that of moral and intellectual influence, even in the cases where it is indispensable, is a snare, and in all others a curse, both to the possessor and to those over whom it is possessed; a burthen which no rightly constituted moral nature consents to take upon itself, but by one of the greatest sacrifices which inclination ever makes to duty. With the love of liberty it is wholly the reverse. The love of liberty, in the only proper sense of that word, is unselfish; it places no one in a position of hostility to the good of his fellow-creatures; all alike may be free, and the freedom of one has no solid security but in the equal freedom of the rest. The appetite for power is, on the contrary, essentially selfish; for all cannot have power; the power of one is power over others, who not only do not share in his elevation, but whose depression is the foundation on which it is raised. Accordingly the love of power is the passion of the *τυραννικὰ φύσις* — of those, in all ages, who have inflicted on the human race its greatest miseries: the love of liberty is usually that of its most illustrious benefactors.

‘The prosperity of England is greatly due to two institutions, the Navigation Laws and the Poor Laws; the former protecting British ships by excluding foreign vessels from British ports; to the latter. . . . British industry owes the security it enjoys, and above all a rate of wages which allows it to produce and to sell at prices inaccessible to its competitors, and triumphant in almost all the markets of the world.’ (*L’Individu et l’État*, pp. 127. 129.)

We need not, at this time of day, say one word about the Navigation Laws, except that English commerce and navigation seem to have thriven wonderfully well since they were abolished. But we have rarely seen a greater amount of error as to fact, compressed into a few words, than in the three statements, that wages are lower in England than on the Continent, that their lowness is owing to the Poor Laws, and that low wages are what enable her to sell her products at a lower price than other countries.

‘Why is the penal law applied without scruple to the most ignorant and stupid malefactor? Because he is reputed to know it. And how can he know it except by that divine ray [of conscience] which is the original patrimony of every intelligence?’ (*L’Individu et l’État*, p. 226.)

M. Dupont-White surely does not mistake a mere presumption of law for a fact, and believe that instinctive morality really reveals the lowest of the low every important prohibition of the penal law! They



neither know nor anticipate a particle more of it than what they have been taught. Conscience does not suggest to them what might seem its most obvious dictates, as that they should not wantonly ill-treat their wives (for example) or their animals.

M. Dupont-White approves and applauds religious liberty, and even equality carried to the length of providing churches, and state payment for all tolerably numerous communions. But he thinks it right that these favours should be conditional upon abstinence from doing anything to spread their opinions:—

‘The laws of France require of them, in return for these bounties, that they should keep the peace, should not trouble one another, should abstain from propagandism, and not reawaken the passions of other times, in an age which has quite enough to do in managing its own.’ (*La Centralisation*, p. 291.)

When this is the price of state assistance to religion, assuredly M. de Pressensé and his friends have done well and wisely in repudiating it; though this refusal is about the greatest offence which as a body they could have given to the Imperial Government, insuring them its covert hostility, and as much quiet persecution as that Government or its functionaries think it prudent to venture on. For, in France, churches or communions not recognised by the law, in other words not paid and controlled by the State, are not considered as having a right to the same religious freedom as other people.

We proceed to the pleasanter task of extracting a few of the valuable or striking thoughts which are scattered through M. Dupont-White’s pages.

The nations which arrive earliest at a certain stage of human advancement are apt to stop short there:—

‘In general, the peoples which arrive the first at any kind of religious or political greatness, are liable to halt permanently at that point; whether it be that the influences of race, climate, and position which accelerated their development, have also the power to arrest it; or whether, being at first superior to those who surround them, they mistake their relative excellence for an absolute one, their superiority for perfection.’ (*L’Individu et l’État*, p. xxx.)

The separation between spiritual and temporal power a more important discovery than printing:—

‘The grand discovery of Western Europe is not the press, but the division of spiritual from temporal; printing, by itself, would only have served to multiply the Koran and the Vedas.’ (P. xxix.)

The things in which mankind chiefly im-

prove, are those which admit of being, either literally or virtually, stored up:—

‘Whatever can be accumulated and capitalised, steadily increases: riches, science, and even morality. But poetry, eloquence, sculpture, are those of our own day superior to the Iliad, the Parthenon, the Athenian Bema? . . . The constituent elements of human nature, as of that of other animals, do not change. But certain human faculties yield products susceptible of being accumulated and transmitted: and from thence comes progress.’ (P. 361.)

Privileged classes the original source of elevated sentiments:—

‘The feudal lord, with his lofty idea of himself, rose to pride, which is the beginning of virtue. When such individuals are numerous, and compose a class, the class creates for the education of the country a grand type, capable of elevating all the rest. There is of course a great distance between sentiments and conduct, between the device and the exploit; but it is much to exalt the ideal standard of a society. No great soul is born into the world which does not become greater by striving after this model. From a heroic mask, something permanently remains, and passes into the features of a people. It is a great deficiency in the Russians, never to have had chivalry. The sentiment even of honour came to us from the feudal period. . . . Society cannot afford to part with anything which stiffens up to a greater stature the poverty of human nature—*qui peut guinder notre indigène espèce*.’ (*La Centralisation*, pp. 15 and 112.)

We cannot end more appropriately than with one other quotation, which gives an emphatic rebuke to a sentiment deeply engrafted on the French mind, and until lately predominant in nearly all its marked manifestations; but of which we should have expected to find a denunciation, anywhere rather than in a defence of centralisation. ‘Unity,’ says M. Dupont-White, ‘is but another word for intolerance’ (p. 188.). Unity, indeed, is a phrase, which, as it comes from the lips of a politician, either theoretical or practical, nurtured in the stifling governmentalism of the Imperial school, is one of the curses of Europe. It stands for the negation of the main determining principle of improvement, and even of the permanence of civilisation, which depends on diversity, not unity. ‘One God, one France, one King, one Chamber,’ was the exclamation of a member of the first Constituent Assembly. Sir Walter Scott appended to it as an appropriate commentary, ‘one mouth, one nose, one ear, and one eye.’ And if the jest sets in a strong light the ridiculousness, it does nothing like justice to the mischievousness, of the wretched propensity, which, in order that all the affairs of mankind may be cut after a single pattern, tends irresistibly to subject all of them to a single will.

ART. III.—*Les Anciens Poètes de la France.*

Publiés sous les auspices de S. Exc. M. le Ministre de l'Instruction Publique et des Cultes, et sous la direction de M. Fr. GUESSARD.

1. *Gui de Bourgogne, Chanson de Geste.* Publiée d'après les MSS. de Tours et de Londres. *Otinel*, d'après les MSS. de Rome et de Middlehill. *Floovant*, d'après le MS. unique de Montpellier. Par MM. Fr. GUESSARD et H. MICHELAN. Paris: 1859.
2. *Doon de Maïence.* D'après les MSS. de Montpellier et de Paris. M. A. PUY. Paris: 1859.
3. *Gaufrey.* D'après le MS. unique de Montpellier. Par MM. Fr. GUESSARD et P. CHABAILLE. Paris: 1859.
4. *Huon de Bordeaux.* D'après les MSS. de Tours, de Paris et Turin. Par MM. Fr. GUESSARD et C. GRANDMAISON. Paris: 1860.
5. *Fierabras.* D'après les MSS. de Paris, de Rome et de Londres. Par MM. KRÆBER et G. SERVOIS. *Parise la Duchesse.* Par MM. Fr. GUESSARD et L. LARCHEY. 12mo. Paris and London: 1860.

THESE volumes form the first instalment of a work of great interest for the literary and social history of the Middle Ages, which is in the course of publication under the auspices of the Imperial Government of France, and which will include a very important and considerable body of the Medieval poetry of Western Europe. Although this poetry belongs, strictly speaking, to France, it has sufficient relation to the literature of other nations to communicate its interest to them; and its character and extent are so imperfectly known in our own country, that we shall perhaps be performing an acceptable service in making our readers better acquainted with it.

Eginhard tells us of Charlemagne, how that great monarch caused to be committed to writing 'the barbarian and most ancient poems, in which the acts and wars of the old kings were sung,' in order that they might be handed down to posterity; and, in the life of Alfred, ascribed to Bishop Asser, we are informed that the king of the Anglo-Saxons 'listened with great attention to the Saxon poems which he often had recited before him,' and that he eagerly committed them to his memory. The first of these writers is a contemporary and trustworthy witness; and, though the authenticity of Asser's Life of King Alfred admits of considerable doubt, yet, at whatever date it was written, it proves at least the tradition-

ary belief that King Alfred, in this particular like Charlemagne, loved the national poetry of his people.

Neither of these monarchs attained the object at which he aimed; it is tolerably certain that long after this period the old poetry was not committed to writing, either among the Franks or the Saxons, and that this was especially the case in France; for while we have one nearly complete Anglo-Saxon poem of the class to which these writers allude, and fragments of several others, not a line has been preserved of those ancient Frankish poems which Charlemagne so earnestly wished to hand down to posterity. The age, indeed, had not yet arrived, when the popular literature was to be preserved on paper or vellum; but it cannot be doubted that this national poetry lived vigorously in men's minds, though it passed through various modifications which were influenced by the changes in the forms of society itself. Charlemagne's Franks were Germans in spirit and language, and the capital of his empire was a Roman city on the immediate borders of Germany, Aix-la-Chapelle; but, in the course of four centuries, these Franks, severed from the great German stock, became more identified with the peoples of the South, their capital was removed to Paris, and the language they spoke was changed from Teutonic to that debased form of Latin which the Middle Ages called Roman, and which we know by the name of French. With the conversion of the people to Christianity, in all the branches of the Teutonic race (and the same thing happened in other races), the poems relating to the gods disappeared, while those relating to the heroes remained; or, in other words, the mythology of the race was in a great measure abandoned, while the family mythology was preserved. No longer, at the festal board of the great chieftain, the bard was called in to sing of the cosmogony, or of the adventures of the gods and the giants, but his place was taken by the family minstrel, who told true, though perhaps exaggerated, stories of recent battles, or sang of the fabulous deeds of the heroes of old, from whom the chieftains, present at the feast, claimed their descent. As the period to which these songs belonged became more and more remote and less understood, and the races or tribes migrated and settled in other lands, the space of time since the supposed date of the stories was abridged, the scene was continually changing, and thus arose in different countries narratives ascribed to well-known periods, which were taken by those who listened to them for historical truths, though they were in reality mere

romance. In Saxon England, where the only great national change had as yet been that of religion, we find several such narratives interwoven into English history, while we also have sufficient remains left to show us that the poems themselves—such of them as had continued to exist—had not undergone any very material change since they were first brought into our island by the Teutonic settlers.

But the case was different in Gaul, where the Franks had carried their old national poems into their new language, and, as they gradually ceased to be German themselves, these poems, transmitted orally, underwent no doubt great modifications, which were unknown to the Anglo-Saxon poetry; and we may perhaps conclude from the anxiety displayed by Charlemagne to collect and preserve them, that they were already yielding to the influence of the flood of new ideas and new sentiments which was then setting in. Of the history of this national poetry in France, through three centuries more, we know nothing, except that a few stories preserved in Latin chronicles and in Latin verse-writers show us that it continued to exist in some form or other. It must be remarked, however, that a great portion of these stories, as found in the chronicles, are transferred to the age of the earlier Carolingian monarchs. During the three centuries to which we have alluded, amid the confusion and distress created by frightful misgovernment within, and savage invasions of the Northmen from without, a vast change was caused in the whole frame of society by the establishment of feudalism, a change which it is not for us here to describe. It is sufficient to say that, from the centralisation which Charlemagne had laboured to establish in imitation of the Roman Imperial rule, society had fallen back into that sort of dislocation—and in an exaggerated form—which had characterised it before it was drawn together under the absolutism of royalty; that the great feudal chiefs now lived apart in turbulent independence in their strongholds, like the old Teuton patriarchs in their homesteads, though more proudly and tyrannically, and that they felt the same necessity of amusements at home to fill up their domestic life. Among these amusements, one of the principal was that of sitting at table over their cups, and listening to minstrels, who chanted the same sort of legendary histories as those contained in the poems which Charlemagne wished to preserve, and hand down to posterity.

From causes, all of which it would not be easy to define, though they are understood without much difficulty when we consider the political changes through which society

had passed, the feudal chieftains seldom carried their legendary histories farther back than the beginning of feudalism itself; and curiously enough, they placed their mythic age in that of Charlemagne, and looked upon that prince and his paladins as the gods of feudalism. Under the influence of this belief, a new band of heroes, and a new cycle of exploits, might be expected to have replaced those of the original Teutonic poetry; and accordingly, when the feudal poetry first becomes known to us, that is about the close of the twelfth and early in the thirteenth century (the age at which it probably began to be committed to writing extensively), it presents to us that well-known series of what we call romances, which tell the exploits of the mythic Charlemagne, and his no less mythic 'peers.'

We agree entirely in the opinion held by M. Paulin Paris, the first French scholar who attempted to edit any of these romances in a scholarlike manner, that the story of the fight of Roncevaux was not the foundation upon which these romances were built, but that it was merely one of the series, and not one of the earliest of them in the date of its formation. The Latin version of it ascribed to a legendary Turpin, only proves that these romances existed in the eleventh century, when the book of the pseudo-Turpin appears to have been written. But the stories alluded to above as found in Latin writers show that Charlemagne had already assumed his legendary character before the end of the tenth century. When, with this knowledge of the history of the poems themselves, we examine carefully this poetry as we find it in the manuscripts of the thirteenth century, we can hardly admit a doubt of its real character, namely, that it is that very poetry of the old Frankish race, which Charlemagne sought to preserve in its original form, but of which he had become not the preserver but the hero, after it had gone through a great metamorphosis in language and form, a metamorphosis which had been the result, not of design, but of the gradual and continual influence of great social changes upon a literature which was not written, but existed only orally. Moreover, many of the adventures attributed to Charlemagne and his chieftains belong really to Teutonic and northern legend; there are frequent allusions, and some of them not obscure, to the Teutonic mythology; Teutonic mythic names, such as that of Weland, the northern Vulcan, occur in them; and there are other circumstances, just such as we should expect to find preserved in the old German poems after they had gone in oral tradition through the three great changes of religious belief, of

language, and of the constitution of society. With this view of their history, we look upon this cycle of poems as preeminently the early national literature of France, and they therefore deserve the attention which has been lately given to them in that country; and the publication of the whole of them is a patriotic undertaking worthy in every respect of the encouragement which the French Government is giving to it. These poems were called by the minstrels who composed and chaunted them *chansons de geste*, because they were believed to commemorate historic deeds (*gesta*); but we prefer speaking of them by the title of the *Carlovingian Romances*, as more familiar to the ears of the general reader.

At the time when these *Carlovingian romances* took their present form, the old alliterative verse of the Teutonic race had evidently long disappeared in France, for not the least traces of it are to be found in them. They are composed in the earliest form of rhyming verse known in the French language, consisting of lines sometimes of ten, and sometimes of twelve syllables, which, instead of rhyming in couplets, run on the same rhyme for many lines together, and then change to another rhyme which in the same manner is carried on through many lines, not at all defined in number. The rhymes are frequently imperfect, and often mere assonances. The poems themselves are, in a majority of cases, long, yet there can be no doubt, from frequent allusions in them, that they were chaunted by the minstrels to the accompaniment of a musical instrument. It is not, however, to be supposed that a whole poem was necessarily recited on each occasion. These long poems were made up of incidents and episodes, which could easily be separated and detached, so that the host or his guests might call upon the minstrel to recite, not a whole romance, but one of these parts, containing perhaps some obstinate combat, or some other exciting adventure; for they contain comparatively few of the gentler or more domestic pictures of human life. The feelings of the age called for more stirring themes, bold actions, great efforts of bodily strength, cowardly treasons as well as generous acts of devotion, and even at times the exhibition of extraordinary fortitude under great calamities. The minstrel is thus sometimes introduced in the romances themselves as called upon, or offering voluntarily, to sing in this manner detached portions of particular legends. Resting places in the recital are also not unfrequently marked in the poem, with the intimation, that if those to whom the minstrel was addressing him-

self wished to hear more, he was ready to continue, coupled with a sufficiently strong hint that a contribution from the purses of his hearers would be acceptable. Thus in the romance of *Gui de Bourgogne*, the minstrel stops in the middle of an exciting scene of warfare to intimate without much delicacy that whoever wished to hear more of the poem must lose no time in opening his purse, 'for now,' says he, 'it is high time that he give me something.'

'Qui or voldra chançon oïr et escouter,  
Si voist inselement sa bourse desfermer,  
Qu'il est huimès bien tans qu'il me doie doner.'  
(*Gui de Bourgogne*, l. 4136.)

So again, in the romance of *Huon de Bordeaux*, the minstrel, after having recited nearly five thousand lines, makes his excuse for adjourning to the following day. He reminds his auditors that it is near vespers, and that he is himself weary, and asks them to return next day after dinner; 'and I beg each of you to bring with him a maille (half-penny) tied up in the skirt of his shirt; for there is little liberality in those poitevines (a very small coin); he was miserly and mean that had them made, or whoever gave them to the courteous minstrel.'

'Et si vous proi cascuns m'ait apporté  
U pan de sa chemise une maille noué;  
Car en ces poitevines a poi de largeté;  
Avers fu et escars qui les fit estorer,  
Ne qui ains les donna à cortois menestrel.'  
(*Huon de Bordeaux*, l. 4958.)

After having repeated some two or three hundred lines of the next day's recital, the minstrel introduces another formula of appeal to the purses of his hearers, evidently on the supposition that they have not offered him their maille at the commencement. 'Take notice,' he goes on to say, 'as may God give me health, I will immediately put a stop to my song; and I at once, by my own authority, and by the power of Oberon (the fairy who figures largely in this romance), and by his dignity, excommunicate all those who shall not visit their purses in order to give something to my wife.'

'Mais saciés bien, se Dix me doinst santé,  
Ma cançon tost vous ferai definer;  
Tous chiaus escumenie, de par m'atorité,  
Du pooir d'Auberon et de sa disnité,  
Qui n'iront à lour bourses pour ma femme donner.'  
(*Ibid.* l. 5482.)

When, leaving the question of style, of composition, and of metrical forms, we turn to the stories themselves, the first object that strikes us is the figure which stands out in bold relief in most of them—that of the great emperor around whose name they are

grouped. He is no longer the Charlemagne of history, but in his mythic character he appears before us as a man of commanding deportment, of superhuman strength, and of a very indefinite age; for it would be almost impossible to form any exact notion of the age of the Charlemagne of romance at any given time; he stands like the representative of one of the demi-gods, a Thor perhaps, of Scandinavian mythology. He lives through several generations of less divine heroes. At the opening of the romance of *Huon de Bordeaux*, Charlemagne is introduced telling us that he was just a hundred years old when he begat his eldest son 'Charlot,' and this prince had then nearly completed his twenty-fifth year, so that his father was about a hundred and twenty-six years of age. This is the only direct estimate of his years that we have met with in the published romances; if we attempt to ascertain the age of the mythic Charlemagne by comparing poem with poem, or even the various statements in one poem with each other, we always get as the result some long though indefinite period. Thus, taking the romance of *Doon de Mayence*, we learn (l. 5384.) that Doon, Garin de Montglane (another of the great heroes of this cycle), and Charlemagne, were all born on the same day. When, in the sequel of this romance, Charlemagne is assisting Doon to conquer Vauclerc, and obtain possession of the fair Flandrine, the Emperor talks of his own great age. At the end of the war, Doon marries Flandrine, and she bears him twelve children in six years. Garin at the same time marries Mabirette, and has by her an eldest son Ernaut. The sixth son of Doon had two sons who fell with Rolland at Roncevaux; and the eighth was the grandfather of Huon de Bordeaux, of whom we have just spoken. Thus Doon de Mayence, who was born on the same day as Charlemagne, was the great grandfather of Huon de Bordeaux, who was himself an object of Charlemagne's persecution, and the latter must thus have lived through three generations and into a fourth. Again, Ernaut, the son of Garin de Montglane, was also with Charlemagne in Spain; and in one of the romances he is introduced immediately after the disastrous day of Roncevaux, complaining of his own great age, and making it an excuse for resigning the task of conquering Narbonne to his son Aimeri, who was also a celebrated hero of these romances by the name of Aimeri de Narbonne. Thus Charlemagne had already lived through the ages of two *old* men, and into a third generation of fighting men, and he is still represented as acting with the force and vigour of middle

age. These chronological contradictions and paradoxes, occurring within the last thousand years in the legendary history of modern Europe, illustrate the same tendency to prolong the duration of human life, and to multiply the representatives of heroic dynasties, which characterise the traditions, monuments, and records of the dynasties of Egypt and Assyria.

The geography of these romances is not much more intelligible than their chronology, but the confusion may be explained partly by the two different points of view in which the memory of Charlemagne's exploits presented itself to the popular mind. On the one hand, were the historical facts, his wars with the Saxons and other unconverted tribes of Germany and the conquest of the Huns; and on the other, the great struggle between the Christians of Gaul and the Arabian invaders of the South, of all which Charlemagne was personally accepted as the hero. Very generally, the feudal minstrel confounded pagan with infidel, mixed them all together under the name of Saracens, or, in the poems of later composition, Turks, and invented names of towns and countries, as well as of kings and emperors, which were never heard of elsewhere. The traditions are thus far correct, that Charlemagne and his chiefs are introduced fighting with the Saracens only in Spain, in the South of France, and on the coast of Italy, and within these bounds countries and towns are in a majority of cases properly described as to name and situation; but even among these, and within the territories of the great feudal chiefs for whose entertainment the poems were composed, names of places are introduced, which certainly never existed, and when we get beyond these limits everything almost is unreal. This would seem to show that the mass of the Carlovingian romances had taken their received forms before the geography of the East had become known through the expeditions of the Crusaders. When one of Charlemagne's barons carries his adventures far beyond the limits of Italy, we find him wandering in lands which are simply fabulous. The Saracens themselves, as described in these poems, are indeed a fabulous race; or rather they are a people whose character extends between two extremes, from the mythic—in which they appear as a race of giants, the eternal enemies of the feudal Thor—and the semi-historical. They are always boastful and insolent, cruel towards their enemies, endowed with extraordinary force and ferocious courage, and at the same time passingly treacherous and cunning. They often use charms and enchantments against their ene-

mies, and are not unfrequently described as men of gigantic stature. In the romance of Otinel (l. 1329.), the Saracen king Clarel is fourteen feet high; and in that of Gaufrey, the *mal païen*, Nasier, is not only fifteen feet in height, but he is described as being so greedy of the flesh of Christians that 'when he caught one, he roasted and broiled him a little, and then eat him with more relish than he would have devoured flesh of swan or plover.'

'S'un crestien tenist, chen vous os tesmoignier,  
Mès qu'il l'éust i. poi rosti et brasillier,  
Plus saverement le menjast l'aversion  
Qu'il ne fèist la char de chiane ou de plouvier.'  
(*Roman de Gaufrey*, l. 2964.)

In Fierabras there are both giants and giantesses. The Saracens in the romances are so proud and self-confident, that they revered their own gods, Mahom, Tervagant, and the rest, only as so many objects which it was their business to defend against the Christians, but which in a moment of irritation they abused and threatened. Thus, in Fierabras, when that hero, before his conversion, fails in a blow aimed at his adversary, he accuses his god Mahom of being asleep, because he had not assisted him. Nor in this do the Saracen chiefs differ much from Charlemagne himself, who, in this same romance, deliberately threatens the Virgin Mary that, if she allowed his nephew Oliver to die of his wounds, he would abolish her worship in France, and overthrow all the altars and crucifixes in the churches. But the punishment with which the Saracens threatened their gods was of a still more substantial description. When the 'Amiral,' in Fierabras, beholds his men giving way in the battle, he cries aloud to his god, 'Ah! Mahomet, sir, how you have forgotten me! you have shown me bad love this day. If ever I arrive safely in Spain, you shall be so beaten in the sides and ribs, that there is not a man in the world who will not pity you: I will esteem you ever after more vile than a stinking dead dog.'

'A sa vois qu'il ot haute commença à crier:  
Ali! Mahomet, sire, com m'avés oublié!  
Mauvais amour m'avés en cest jor démontré.  
Se jamais en Espagne venoie à sauté,  
Tant vous seroit batus li flanc et li costé,  
Qu'i n'a homme en cest siècle qui n'en presint  
pité;  
Plus vous tenrai mais vil c'un paant cien tué!  
(*Fierabras*, l. 5781.)

And when the same Amiral is informed of the conversion of his son to Christianity, he threatens, if the news prove true, to cleave Mahomet's skull.

The Saracens of the Carlovingian roman-

ces are, indeed, as we have just remarked, mythical in their character, but when we turn to the Christian chieftains, we meet a picture which presents not much more of historic truth. The great favour which these *chansons de geste* so long enjoyed during the feudal Middle Ages is easily explained, when we consider that they represent feudalism in its most distinct and boldest form—we may perhaps venture to call them the apotheosis of feudalism, and there can be no doubt that the feudal barons regarded them as a sort of mirror of their order. They saw there the models they were to emulate, and they valued them the more as they considered the actors in them as the founders of most of the great fiefs of which they held; for the various branches of this old cycle of romance were severally identical with the great feudal houses, such as Burgundy, Mayence, Narbonne, Vienne, Orange, Bordeaux, Anjou, and Lorraine, of those ages when the crown, whether royal or imperial, had only a nominal power. The great chieftains in the romances are, like Charlemagne himself, remarkable for their immense force and courage, as well as for their haughty pride and turbulence; they possess in excess all the virtues and all the vices of the true feudal lord. Always at war with one another, or with their sovereign, their continental feuds, kept up by the old and deeply rooted principle of the duty of avenging blood, which prevailed among all the branches of the Teutonic race, furnished in abundance those exciting scenes to which the minstrel found ready listeners. Thus, several of these romances, such as those of the family of Lorraine, of Raoul de Cambrai, and of the four sons of Aimon, are devoted entirely to the feuds and wars between the great chiefs in their independent characters, in which the king appears hardly otherwise than as an ally or mediator. Towards his chieftains, indeed, Charlemagne loses the majestic mien which he displays against the infidels, and, though still retaining the physical characteristics of a superior baron, he is debased into the character to which the feudal barons always sought to reduce the possessor of the sovereign power. The Charlemagne of romance is the perfect image of the feudal notions of royalty. He is greedy and avaricious, easily influenced by bribes, weak-minded and vacillating, led first by one council and then by another, but always inclined to listen to traitorous advisers. At the same time he is arbitrary and tyrannical, and acts justly towards individuals only when drawn to it by interest or compelled to it by force, while he is supported only in his injustice as far as he

can secure the alliance of one baron against another. There are, as a sort of necessary parts in the *dramatis personæ* of these stories of Carolingian mythology, certain great families of traitors, and the one which became most celebrated in mediæval romance, was descended from one of the most perfect of the Carolingian heroes, Doon de Mayence. Doon had, as already stated, twelve sons, all pure heroes, with one exception, that of his third son Grifon, a base man, who first betrayed his father and brothers, by giving false intelligence and treacherous counsel to Charlemagne, and afterwards became a traitor to Charlemagne himself. Grifon had several sons, all of them equally wicked with himself, and one of them was the celebrated Guenelon, who betrayed the *douze pairs*, and caused their slaughter in the disastrous battle of Roncevaux, and whose name became in aftertimes proverbial for a traitor. Yet, these sons of Grifon stood high in Charlemagne's court, and their counsels were often listened to when those of better men were rejected. As this family increased, the same stain appears attached to all their descendants. It is worthy of remark, too, that we generally find the 'felon' race distinguished by personal beauty, as well as by superior mental gifts: superiority of intelligence was not the quality most esteemed by men who sought the decision of all disputes in the chance of battle.

Amid the contention of factions, and the injustice of the palace, the court and council chamber often present scenes of violence, in which one chief strikes and even kills another, and unseemly threats and even blows pass between the Emperor and his barons. Many of the great feuds which form the subject of the *chansons de geste* arise out of the unjust and arbitrary acts of Charlemagne. Perhaps the most instructive of all these poems are those which relate the adventures of the chieftains of the feudal house of Lorraine. This series commences with the romance of Hervis of Metz, the first of these chieftains who distinguished himself in any remarkable degree; and this is followed by a second romance, the hero of which is Garin le Loherain, the son of Hervis, in which commences a long series of private wars between the great feudal houses of Lorraine and Bordeaux, which are continued through the third romance, that of Girbert de Metz, in which the chieftains of the Bordelais call in the aid of the Saracens to support their party, and ends in the fourth, that of Anséis, Girbert's son. They present a long succession of feudal vengeance in which one great crime is

alternately retaliated by another. These romances of the family of Lorraine ought to be carefully studied by every one who wishes to obtain a correct knowledge of the Middle Ages.\* They are full of pictures of mediæval manners and sentiments. It is here that we see the great baron in all the energy of his character; everywhere he displays the same distinguishing qualities, he is invariably arbitrary and oppressive, and often cruel; his best qualities are reckless courage, faithfulness, and generosity. The latter is thought more worthy of praise, as it becomes more extravagant; and, as is shown in the case of Hervis of Metz, careless expenditure and prodigality are even virtues in a man of noble blood; they were, in fact, the contrast to the unaristocratic qualities of the burgher, who loved to gain and save money. Nor were their feelings on other subjects much more refined. Eating and drinking largely, especially the latter, were also qualities favourably spoken of. Ogier le Danois is described as an enormous eater; and Gui de Bourgogne, when a captive, astonished the Saracens by eating enough for four ordinary knights, on which one of his companions indignantly defended him, asserting that 'a man who eats so much will never do a cowardly act.'

'Hom qui si bien menjue ne fera jà lasté.'  
(*Gui de Bourgogne*, l. 2249.)

Doon de Mayence, under similar circumstances, astonishes the Saracens by his capacity for drinking. In their quarrels, the barons and knights address each other in the most violent and coarsest language, and show a talent for vituperation which is sometimes most extraordinary. Their actions are usually the result rather of impulses than of reason, and they give way continually to extraordinary outbursts of passion. Even Charlemagne himself is subject to these passionate impulses; in Fierabras, where counsels are pressed upon him contrary to his inclination, he sheds tears; and in Gui de Bourgogne, the Emperor 'cries tenderly,' in consequence of a dream. Doon de Mayence, in an access of grief, not only cries and sobs, but faints. In the same romance, Charlemagne, closely besieged in Vauclerc, laughed with joy, on receiving intelligence of the approach of succour, and Robastre danced and sung. In Parise la

\* Yet only a small portion of them has yet been printed; the earlier part of the romance of Garin le Loherain, edited some years ago by M. Paulin Paris, and the latter portion of the same romance, comprising the death of Garin, edited subsequently by M. Edéstand du Méril.



Duchesse, when the aged Clarembaut recognises young Hlugh, and his own sons, he is so overjoyed, that he faints four times. The display of tenderness towards the fair sex is by no means so common; on the contrary, the feudal knights of the Carlovingian romances show a want of gallantry towards the ladies, which contrasts singularly with the sentiments we meet with in the more artificial stories of the cycle of King Arthur. Raoul de Cambrai not only rejects the advice of his mother, but grossly insults her for offering it. In *Doon de Mayence*, the wicked steward not only knocks the beautiful countess down, when she offers resistance to his base designs, but kicks her when on the ground. In *Garin le Loherain*, when Pepin's empress expostulates against his measures, he gives way so far to his rage, that he strikes her in the face with his gauntlet so hard as to draw blood from her nose. The ladies themselves are much wanting in feminine qualities; and they appear frequently as the excitors of feuds, and prompters of vengeance. In *Fierabras*, the beautiful Floripas displays, on many occasions, a cruel and vindictive temper, and never hesitates in putting people to death. The ladies, moreover, show little refinement in their relations with the other sex; in love, they almost always make the advances, and the knights receive them as a matter of course. Nor are these advances made with much delicacy, for the young lady, when she has fixed her affection on one of the other sex, often asks him at once to take her for his wife or his mistress. In *Fierabras*, when the Christian princes have gained possession of their 'dungeon,' but are closely besieged in it, though not in danger of being soon taken, the young princess Floripas, while reserving herself for Gui di Bourgogne, tells the barons to take her five noble maidens and enjoy themselves with them.

'Chaiens a v. pucies de moult grant signourie;  
Je ne sai plus que dire; cascuns praigne s'amie,  
Tant que nous i serons, menerons boine vie.'  
(*Fierabras*, l. 3916.)

To which Rolland replied, 'Truly you have spoken courtesy; I never saw a maiden of such noble behaviour.'

'Certes, ce dist Rollans, dis avés courtoisie;  
Ains ne vi mais puciele de si grant signourie.'  
(*Ibid.*)

The clergy are not introduced into these romances so largely as might be expected, but they are sometimes employed in treacherous plots, and they appear more frequently as inciting to evil and encouraging and ap-

proving violence, than as opposed to them. They assist in converting the Saracens by fear, but not often by persuasion. We have the grand type of the feudal prelacy in the character of Archbishop Turpin, who is quite as skilful in the use of the sword as in that of the cross, and in battle-fields rivals the strongest of the Paladins in the terrible blows he deals around him. In the romance of *Gui de Bourgogne*, Turpin encounters one of the Saracen chieftains in battle, and urges him to yield and obtain baptism, but the Saracen refuses in insulting terms. 'When Turpin heard him,' says the romance, 'he raised high his brand of steel, and gave him such a great blow on the middle of the head, that it clove him down to the breast. "Truly, there is a good priest!" cried Huidelon the Free. "Yes," said his son Dragolans, "and he knows well how to confess people, though the man whom he has confessed has no reason to be glad of his penitence."'

As poetical compositions, these *chansons de geste* have also their peculiar interest, and that by no means a slight one. They form a distinct class in themselves, having its own marked peculiarities, which may fairly be termed the Homeric literature of the Middle Ages, for they not only sprang out of the national songs of an earlier age, as the *Iliad* originated, but they present many resemblances to it. There is, indeed, much of Homeric grandeur in these metrical romances of the Frankish race, and it may be remarked that this is especially the case in *Garin le Loherain*, and in several which have for their subjects the great feudal wars. The episodes in the battles, the character of the fighting, the personal intercourse between the chieftains, will all bear comparison with similar scenes in the Grecian epic. As in Homer, the warrior not unfrequently stops to utter a sarcasm or an insult over the body of the foe he has slain. Thus, in *Doon de Mayence*, when in an engagement in the early morning, the Saracenic chief Aubigant falls under the irresistible blows of Robastre, the victor apostrophizes his corpse, as it lies stretched on the ground: 'Don't trouble yourself about getting up: you rose early this morning, and you have a right to repose yourself.'

'Puis li a dit après: Ne vous caille à lever;  
Vous levastes matin, bien devez reposer.'  
(*Doon de Mayence*, l. 11,265.)

Somewhat in the same style as in the Homeric poems, the Christian and the Saracen chiefs are introduced on the field of battle, offering up invocations to their several gods; and in these invocations, which are

sometimes rather long when we consider the occasion, the deity is reminded of a number of acts and qualities which distinguish him from all other deities. Thus, when Oliver is engaged in combat with Fierabras, and feels himself hard pressed by his enemy, he addresses a long prayer to God, in which he reminds the Almighty of the creation of Adam and Eve, of their trespass and expulsion from Paradise, of the Annunciation and of various circumstances in the history of the Saviour, and of his passion and descent into Hell; and Fierabras expresses his curiosity to know what he has been saying in so long an invocation. This all takes place in the heat of the combat.

It will be understood, by what we have already stated, that the interest of these romances, as literary compositions, consists much less in the plot than in the details, and in the episodes which the plot serves to link together, and which admitted easily of being recited in detached portions; nevertheless the plot itself is often conducted with considerable skill, and is by no means so tiresome or monotonous, as some writers on literary history, who are imperfectly acquainted with the poems themselves, have supposed. The plot, it is true, is not usually conducted with much art; it is a simple narrative of events, which, no doubt, the composer himself believed to be history; and so far was he from attempting to take his hearers or readers by surprise, by introducing sudden and unexpected dénouements, that on the contrary the poet not unfrequently interrupts the thread of his story to give in advance a brief summary of the events he is going to relate. As to the incidents themselves, they follow each other naturally, and are told naïvely, and in simple language. They boast, indeed, of very few attempts at artificial embellishment of any kind. Many passages are strikingly beautiful, simply because they are natural: the descriptions, especially of persons, are sometimes elaborate; epithets are used freely, and are, indeed, the principal poetical ornaments; but metaphors, and other more elaborate embellishments of poetry, are almost unknown. Even similes or comparisons are rarely introduced; and are of a very simple, and often trivial character; as when the poet describes defeated enemies as flying 'like partridges from the falcon' (*Fierabras*, l. 1662.); a skilful robber, who stole into a fortress by night, as climbing the tower 'more swiftly than the squirrel can mount an oak in the leafy forest' (ib. l. 3016.); the water of a rapid river as running 'more swiftly than an arrow' (ib. l. 4356.); or insolent enemies as being 'proud-

er than lions or serpents' (*Otinel* l. 1334.). These comparisons are sometimes so trivial as to become ludicrous. In *Fierabras*, when the amiral Balan is informed of his son's conversion to Christianity, he becomes violently enraged, and we are told that 'his blood boiled and fried like bacon in frying-pans.'

'Li sans li bout et frit comme larsen paieles.'  
(*Fierabras*, l. 1897.)

And the beautiful Floripas, in a transport of affection, says to her lover, Gui de Bourgogne, 'Gentle duke, come kiss me, and I shall have my fill as much as if I had eaten fowls in sauce!'

'Gentix dus, car me baise, si serai saolée  
Com s'avoie mengié gelines en pevrée.'  
(*Fierabras*, l. 5888.)

It is not now possible to fix the exact date of the composition of these poems in their present form; but it appears most probable that it extended through the twelfth and the greater part of the thirteenth centuries. The oldest poem of the cycle we have, the '*Chanson de Roland*,' is certainly as old as the first half of the twelfth century, as it is contained in a manuscript of that period in the Bodleian Library at Oxford; but the great mass of the older manuscripts of the *Carlovingian romances* belong to the thirteenth century. We suppose that the earlier *chansons de geste* belong to the twelfth century, but it is uncertain whether these were not founded upon poems of still older date; for on the other hand it is certain that, through a considerable space of time, new poems of this kind continued to be compiled and published, or, older ones, of which the originals are now lost, were remodelled. There was a reason for this increase of the number of the *chansons de geste*, independent of the natural love of novelty; for as in the turbulent movement of feudal society, new families were continually rising to greatness, these sought to attach their traditions also to the history of the *Carlovingian* paladins, and minstrels were easily found to gratify this ambition with new *chansons de geste*. Hence, in the exordium of particular romances, we often hear the minstrel, on one hand boasting of the origin of his history, telling how it had been preserved in parchment in some obscure corner of an abbey or church until he dragged it from its hiding place, staking his own credit upon its authenticity, and speaking scornfully of the *old* minstrels for their ignorance of it; or, on the other hand, complaining of the *new* minstrels, and accusing them of incapacity and presumption. These statements and pretensions must generally be looked

upon as no better than a little harmless boasting; but still there appears in many of these complaints a general feeling of jealousy against 'new minstrels,' which would lead us to believe that, perhaps, early in the thirteenth century, a considerable number of compilers of new *chansons de geste* began to appear, not known to the minstrels who had been in the habit of repeating a cycle of romances familiar to the preceding generations. This multiplying of the romances easily arose out of their peculiar character, for it must be understood that when we say that this mass of poetry is the representative of the early Teutonic poetry of the Franks, we do not mean that each of the *chansons de geste* represents a Frankish poem; nor do we suppose that any of the Carlovingian romances was a direct translation into French of a Frankish original. Some of the earliest of these French poems, in their first forms, may have represented in their details portions of those barbarian poems which Charlemagne would have rescued from oblivion; but these, as well as the Frankish poems they represented, are now irrevocably lost, the latter with the language in which they were compiled. But these traditions, and much of their spirit, though modified from time to time, lived in people's minds, in that vast collection of popular tales which formed so large a portion of the oral literature of mediæval Europe, and which were continually insinuating themselves into its history. The same stories appeared at different times and in different places under a variety of names, and they naturally attached themselves to the annals of families. They were the old legends of the race, which, when their original character was forgotten, wandered about in search of a resting place, and clung to any object which suited them. In this way, there were few families of any degree of distinction in which such stories of the past were not current, and the minstrel had not to seek far for materials for his narrative. It is in this manner that we must account for the frequent repetition, both in the Carlovingian romances, and in the other numerous cycles of mediæval romance, of the same incidents. Thus the incident of a Saracen princess assisting the escape of her father's prisoners is repeated on many occasions. The stories of Queen Berte and of Parise la Duchesse, as well as that of the mother of Garin de Montglane, are identical. That of the youth of Doon de Mayence is also one of frequent recurrence; it is told of Garin de Montglane and of other heroes of mediæval romance, of which, perhaps, the best known example is that of Percival, belonging to the cycle of King Arthur.

The incident of the murder by poisoned apples, introduced in the romance of 'Parise,' is repeated in that of 'Gaydon.' In the romance of 'Gaufrey,' and in that of 'Jehan de Lanson,' the same story is told of a town taken by the stratagem of carrying into it a coffin, supposed to contain the body of a chieftain, and taking advantage of its passage to gain possession of the gateway; it is the well-known story of the capture of Luna on the coast of Italy by the Normans, where it is probably as little historical as in the romances. In this manner the character of Robastre and his axe appears again in that of Fromer and his pestle in the romance of 'Gaufrey,' of Raynouart and his staff in the romance of 'Guillaume au cort nez,' and of Gautier the vavasor and his axe in that of 'Gaydon;' and all these bear personally a rather striking resemblance to the character of Skarpheddin who figures so considerably with his axe in the Icelandic story of 'Burnt Njal.' It is probable, indeed, that a great mass of these stories are derived from Teutonic and Northern legend. There is so much general resemblance between the incidents of the Carlovingian romance of 'Garin le Loherain,' and the old German romance of the 'Niebelungen,' that it has been suggested that both are derived from the same legend of a more primitive age.

It would not be difficult to analyse the Carlovingian romances, so as to show which are the more modern compilations, and how they were compiled; but it would require more space than we have at our disposal. The great antiquity of some of them seems to be proved by the circumstance that they describe a state of society which had already undergone a considerable change even in the twelfth century; and we have abundant evidence that the older *chansons de geste* were often republished by minstrels, under whose care the story expanded itself greatly and received very extensive additions; and, curiously enough, the expansion and additions increase as we come down in date. Thus the early text of the romance of 'Jourdain de Blaives,' which has been edited in Germany by Conrad Hoffman, consists only of 4200 lines, while there is in the library of the Arsenal in Paris a manuscript of this poem, written in the fifteenth century, in which it extends to 23,700 lines! As we have already stated, the secret of the great popularity of these romances must be sought in the circumstance that they present what may be called the apotheosis of feudalism; and their popularity began to increase at the very moment when feudalism itself began to decline. The shadow was grasped at when the substance was disappearing. In

the fifteenth century, when feudalism was at its last gasp, so great a taste for these Carlovingian romances had grown up, that, as the language and poetry had already become obsolete, they were paraphrased and spun out into wearisome romances in French prose; yet they retained their popularity long after the invention of printing, and gave great employment to the presses of the earlier typographers; and it may be said that their last appearance in the literature of Europe is traced in the glowing stanzas of Ariosto, the graceful legend of Spenser, and the chivalrous adventures of Don Quixotte.

We have, in the course of our review of these romances, quoted a certain number of them by their titles, and hinted that these are still but a small number of those which have been preserved; but no one who is not acquainted with the vast extent and riches of mediæval literature in general, can form any adequate notion of the place which these *chansons de geste* hold in it. They differ much in their dimensions, several of them not exceeding from 1500 to 2000 lines, but these short poems are rare exceptions to the rule. 'Ogier le Danois' extends to 13,000 lines; 'Foulques de Candie' and the 'Four sons of Aimon' each to 15,000 lines; 'Garin de Monglane' to 14,000; 'Garin le Loherain' to 18,000; 'Aubri le Bourgoing' to 22,000. We have before us the titles of nearly seventy different romances of this series, containing altogether very little short of *six hundred thousand lines!* and in making this calculation we take generally the earliest and shortest texts. This, too, must only be considered as the remains of what once existed; for other romances of this class, now no longer existing, are alluded to by mediæval writers, so that many must be entirely lost; and of those which are preserved not a few exist only in single and unique copies.

To print the whole body of this literature would be a great undertaking, evidently too great to be ventured upon by any publisher; yet they are of considerable interest for our knowledge of the literary history of the Middle Ages, as well as for the history of social and mental progress, and they are, strictly speaking, the original literature of France, and form the primitive monuments of her language. The French Government has therefore become convinced that such an undertaking is one of national importance, and requires to be taken up as a national work. We believe that, rather early in the history of the Committee for the publication of the Historical Monuments of France established by M. Guizot and attached to

the Ministry of Public Instruction, a plan was under consideration for printing all the romances of this great cycle found in the manuscripts scattered through libraries public and private over a large portion of Europe; but the execution of this design was prevented by political events. Attention has, however, again been called to it since the establishment of the Empire; and on the 12th of February, 1856, M. Fortoul, then Minister of Public Instruction, obtained the Emperor's signature to a decree ordering the publication, at the expense of the nation, not only of the *chansons de geste*, but of the whole mass of mediæval French poetry, which was to include the cycle of the Carlovingian romances, that of King Arthur, the other metrical romances, the lyric poetry, and the fabliaux. This scheme has since been carried on by Mr. Guessard in the volumes before us.

It may be remarked, in conclusion, that these Carlovingian romances appear never to have enjoyed a great popularity in mediæval England, or even among the Normans. One reason may, perhaps have been the comparatively late introduction of feudalism into England, and the less intense character it assumed there. We believe that, with the exception of the 'Chanson de Roland,' there is no known manuscript of any of the *chansons de geste*, written in the Norman or Anglo-Norman dialect, and there are hardly any very early English translations from them. It is a curious circumstance, however, that after the establishment of the Normans in England, our own older Anglo-Saxon legendary poems began to undergo a similar transformation, in the course of a somewhat similar change of language (the temporary substitution of Norman for Saxon), as we have been describing in France, and that a cycle of Anglo-Norman poems was produced which we may most correctly call our *chansons de geste*. Of these the original Anglo-Norman texts of five, — 'Bevis of Hampton,' 'Gui of Warwick,' 'Havelock,' 'Horn,' and 'King Atla,' — are preserved, and there are later English metrical translations of all but the one last mentioned. A collection of the Anglo-Norman texts of these romances, well edited, would be a most acceptable work to the English historical inquirer. It is a work which might, we think, deserve the attention of the Master of the Rolls.

ART. IV.—*Le Bouddha et sa Religion.* Par J. BARTHÉLEMY SAINT-HILAIRE, Membre de l'Institut. Paris: 1860.

IF the command of St. Paul, 'Prove all things, hold fast that which is good,' may be supposed to refer to spiritual things, and, more especially, to religious doctrines, it must be confessed that few only, whether theologians or laymen, have ever taken to heart the apostle's command. How many candidates for holy orders are there who could give a straightforward answer if asked to enumerate the principal religions of the world, or to state the names of their founders, and the titles of the works which are still considered by millions of human beings as the sacred authorities for their religious belief? To study such books as the Koran of the Mohammedans, the Zendavesta of the Fire Worshipers, the Ly-king of the Confucians, the Tao-te-King of the Taoists, the Vedas of the Bráhmans, the Tripitaka of the Buddhists, the Sûtras of the Jains, or the Granth of the Sikhs, would be considered by many mere waste of time. Yet St. Paul's command is very clear and simple; and to maintain that it referred to the heresies of his own time only, or to the philosophical systems of the Greeks and Romans, would be to narrow the horizon of the apostle's mind, and to destroy the general applicability of his teaching to all times and to all countries. Many will ask what possible good could be derived from the works of men who must have been either deceived or deceivers, nor would it be difficult to quote some passages in order to show the utter absurdity and worthlessness of the religious books of the Hindus and Chinese. But this was not the spirit in which the apostle of the Gentiles addressed himself to the Epicureans and Stoics, nor is this the feeling with which a thoughtful Christian and a sincere believer in the divine government of the world is likely to rise from a perusal of any of the books which he knows to be or to have been the only source of spiritual light and comfort to thousands and thousands among the dwellers on earth.

Many are the advantages to be derived from a careful study of other religions, but the greatest of all is that it teaches us to appreciate more truly what we possess in our own. When do we feel the blessings of our own country more warmly and truly than when we return from abroad? It is the same with regard to religion. Let us see what other nations have had and still have in the place of religion; let us examine the prayers, the worship, the theology even of the most highly civilised races,—the

Greeks, the Romans, the Hindus, the Persians, and we shall then understand more thoroughly what blessings are vouchsafed to us in being allowed to breathe from the first breath of life the pure air of a land of Christian light and knowledge. We are too apt to take the greatest blessings as matters of course, and even religion forms no exception. We have done so little to gain our religion, we have suffered so little in the cause of truth, that however highly we prize our own Christianity, we never prize it highly enough until we have compared it with the religions of the rest of the world.

This, however, is not the only advantage; and we think that M. Barthélemy Saint-Hilaire has formed too low an estimate of the benefits to be derived from a thoughtful study of the religions of mankind when he writes of Buddhism:—'Le seul, mais immense service que le Bouddhisme puisse nous rendre, c'est par son triste contraste de nous faire apprécier mieux encore la valeur inestimable de nos croyances, en nous montrant tout ce qu'il en coûte à l'humanité qui ne les partage point.' This is not all. If a knowledge of other countries and a study of the manners and customs of foreign nations teach us to appreciate what we have at home, they likewise form the best cure of that national conceit and want of sympathy with which we are too apt to look on all that is strange and foreign. The feeling which led the Hellenic races to divide the whole world into Greeks and barbarians is so deeply engrained in human nature that not even Christianity has been able altogether to remove it. Thus when we cast our first glance into the labyrinth of the religions of the world, all seems to us darkness and the shadow of death. It sounds like a degradation of the very name of religion to apply it to the wild ravings of Hindu Yogis or the blank blasphemies of Chinese Buddhists. But as we slowly and patiently wend our way through the dreary prisons, our own eyes seem to expand, and we perceive a glimmer of light where all was darkness at first. We learn to understand the saying of one who more than anybody had a right to speak with authority on this subject, that 'there is no religion which does not contain a spark of truth.' Those who would limit the riches of God's goodness and forbearance and long suffering, and would hand over the largest portion of the human race to inevitable perdition, have never adduced a tittle of evidence from the Gospel or from any other trustworthy source in support of so unhallowed a belief. They have generally appealed to the devilries and orgies of hea-

then worship; they have quoted the blasphemies of oriental Sufis and the immoralities sanctioned by the successors of Mohammed; but they have seldom, if ever, endeavoured to discover the true and original character of the strange forms of faith and worship which they call the work of the devil. If the Indians had formed their notions of Christianity from the soldiers of Cortes and Pizarro, or if the Hindus had studied the principles of Christian morality in the lives of Clive and Warren Hastings; or, to take a less extreme case, if a Mohammedan, settled in England, were to test the practical working of Christian charity by the spirit displayed in the journals of our religious parties, their notions of Christianity would be about as correct as the ideas which thousands of educated Christians entertain of the diabolical character of heathen religion. Even Christianity has been depraved into Jesuitism and Mormonism, and if we, as Protestants, claim the right to appeal to the Gospel as the only test by which our faith is to be judged, we must grant a similar privilege to Mohammedans and Buddhists, and to all who possess a written, and, as they believe, revealed authority for the articles of their faith.

But though no one is likely to deny the necessity of studying each religion in its most ancient form, and from its original documents, before we venture to pronounce our verdict, the difficulties of this task are such that in them more than in anything else, must be sought the cause why so few of our best thinkers and writers have devoted themselves to a critical and historical study of the religions of the world. All important religions have sprung up in the East. Their sacred books are written in Eastern tongues, and some of them are of such ancient date that those even who profess to believe in them, admit that they are unable to understand them without the help of translations and commentaries. Until very lately the sacred books of three of the most important religions, those of the Bráhmans, the Buddhists, and the Parsís, were totally unknown in Europe. It was one of the most important results of the study of Sanskrit, or the ancient language of India, that through it the key, not only to the sacred books of the Bráhmans, the Vedas, but likewise to those of the Buddhists and Zoroastrians, was recovered. And nothing shows more strikingly the rapid progress of Sanskrit scholarship than that even Sir William Jones, whose name has still a more familiar sound than the names of Colebrooke, Bournouf, and Lassen, should have known nothing of the Vedas; that he should never

have read a line of the canonical books of the Buddhists, and that he actually expressed his belief that Buddha was the same as the Teutonic deity Wodan or Odin, and Sákya, another name of Buddha, the same as Shishac, King of Egypt. The same distinguished scholar never perceived the intimate relationship between the language of the Zendavesta and Sanskrit, and he declared the whole of the Zoroastrian writings to be modern forgeries.

Even at present we are not yet in possession of a complete edition, much less of any trustworthy translation, of the Vedas; we only possess the originals of a few books of the Buddhist canon; and though the text of the Zendavesta has been edited in its entirety, its interpretation is beset with greater difficulties than either the Vedas or the Tripitaka. A study of the ancient religions of China, those of Confucius and Laotsé, presupposes an acquaintance with Chinese, a language which it takes a life to learn thoroughly; and even the religion of Mohammed, though more accessible than any other Eastern religion, cannot be fully examined except by a master of Arabic. It is less surprising, therefore, than it might at first appear, that a comprehensive and scholarlike treatment of the religions of the world should still be a desideratum. Scholars who have gained a knowledge of the language, and thereby free access to original documents, find so much work at hand which none but themselves can do, that they grudge the time for collecting and arranging, for the benefit of the public at large, the results which they have obtained. Nor need we wonder that critical historians should rather abstain from the study of the religions of antiquity than trust to mere translations and second-hand authorities.

Under these circumstances we feel all the more thankful if we meet with a writer like M. Barthélemy Saint-Hilaire, who has acquired a knowledge of Eastern languages sufficient to enable him to consult original texts and to control the researches of other scholars, and who at the same time commands that wide view of the history of human thought which enables him to assign to each system its proper place, to perceive its most salient features, and to distinguish between what is really important and what is not, in the lengthy lucubrations of ancient poets and prophets. M. Barthélemy Saint-Hilaire is one of the most accomplished scholars of France;\* and his reputation as

\* M. de St. Hilaire resigned the Chair of Greek literature at the College de France after the *coup d'état* of 1851, declining to take the oath of allegiance to the existing Government.

the translator of Aristotle has made us almost forget that the Professor of Greek Philosophy at the Collège de France is the same as the active writer in the 'Globe' of 1827, and the 'National' of 1830; the same who signed the protest against the July ordonances, and who in 1848 was Chief Secretary of the Provisional Government. If such a man takes the trouble to acquire a knowledge of Sanskrit, and to attend in the same Collège where he was professor the lectures of his own colleague the late Eugène Burnouf, his publications on Hindu philosophy and religion will naturally attract a large amount of public interest. The Sanskrit scholar by profession works and publishes chiefly for the benefit of other Sanskrit scholars. He is satisfied with bringing to light the ore which he has extracted by patient labour from among the dusty MSS. of the East-India House. He seldom takes the trouble to separate the metal from the ore, to purify or to strike it into current coin. He is but too often apt to forget that no lasting addition is ever made to the treasury of human knowledge unless the results of special research are translated into the universal language of science and rendered available to every person of intellect and education. A division of labour seems most conducive to this end. We want a class of interpreters, men such as M. Barthélemy Saint-Hilaire, who are fully competent to follow and to control the researches of professional students, and who at the same time have not forgotten the language of the world.

In his work on Buddhism, of which a second edition has just appeared, M. Barthélemy Saint-Hilaire has undertaken to give to the world at large the really trustworthy and important results which have been obtained by the laborious researches of Oriental scholars from the original documents of that interesting and still mysterious religion. It was a task of no ordinary difficulty, for although these researches are of very recent date, and belong to a period of Sanskrit scholarship posterior to Sir W. Jones and Colebrooke, yet such is the amount of evidence brought together by the combined industry of Hodgson, Turnour, Csoma de Körös, Stanislas Julien, Foucaux, Fausbøll, Spence Hardy, but above all, of the late Eugène Burnouf, that it required no common patience and discrimination in order to compose from such materials so accurate, and at the same time so lucid and readable a book on Buddhism as that which we owe to M. Barthélemy Saint-Hilaire. The greater part of it appeared originally in the 'Journal des Savants,' the time-honoured organ

of the French Academy, which counts on its staff the names of Cousin, Flourens, Villemain, Biot, Mignet, Littré, &c., and admits as contributors sixteen only of the most illustrious members of that illustrious body, *la crème de la crème*.

Though much had been said and written about Buddhism, enough to frighten priests by seeing themselves anticipated in auricular confession, beads, and tonsure by the Lamas of Tibet\*, and to disconcert philosophers by finding themselves outbid in positivism and nihilism by the inmates of Chinese monasteries, the real beginning of an historical and critical study of the doctrines of Buddha dates from the year 1824. In that year Mr. Hodgson announced the fact that the original documents of the Buddhist canon had been preserved in Sanskrit in the monasteries of Nepal. Before that time our information on Buddhism had been derived at random from China, Japan, Burmah, Tibet, Mongolia, and Tartary; and though it was known that the Buddhist literature in all these countries professed itself to be derived, directly or indirectly, from India, and that the technical terms of that religion, not excepting the very name of Buddha, had their etymology in Sanskrit, no hope was entertained that the originals of these various translations could ever be recovered. Mr. Hodgson, who settled in Nepal in 1821, as political resident of the East India Company, and whose eyes were always open, not only to the natural history of that little-explored country, but likewise to its antiquities, its languages, and traditions, was not long before he discovered that his friends, the priests of Nepal, possessed a complete literature of their own. That literature was not written in the spoken dialects of the country, but in Sanskrit. Mr. Hodgson procured a catalogue of all the works, still in existence, which formed the Buddhist canon. He afterwards succeeded in procur-

\* The late Abbé Huc pointed out the similarities between the Buddhist and Roman Catholic ceremonies with such *naïveté*, that, to his surprise, he found his delightful 'Travels in Tibet' placed on the 'Index.' 'On ne peut s'empêcher d'être frappé,' he writes, 'de leur rapport avec le Catholicisme. La croix, la mitre, la dalmatique, la chape ou pluvial, que les grands Lamas portent en voyage, ou lorsqu'ils font quelque cérémonie hors du temple; l'office à deux chœurs, la psalmodie, les exorcismes, l'encensoir soutenu par cinq chaînes, et pouvant s'ouvrir et se fermer à volonté; les bénédictions données par les Lamas en étendant la main droite sur la tête des fidèles; le chapelet, le célibat ecclésiastique, les retraites spirituelles, le culte des saints, les jeûnes, les processions, les litanies, l'eau bénite; voilà autant de rapports que les Bouddhistes ont avec nous.' He might have added tonsure, relics, and the confessional.



ing copies of these works, and he was able in 1824 to send about sixty volumes to the Asiatic Society of Bengal. As no member of that society seemed inclined to devote himself to the study of these MSS., Mr. Hodgson sent two complete collections of the same MSS. to the Asiatic Society of London and the Société Asiatique of Paris. Before alluding to the brilliant results which the last-named collection produced in the hands of Eugène Burnouf, we must mention the labours of other students, which preceded the publication of Burnouf's researches.

Mr. Hodgson himself gave to the world a number of valuable essays written on the spot, and afterwards collected under the title of 'Illustrations of the Literature and Religion of the Buddhists. Serampore, 1841.' He established the important fact, in accordance with the traditions of the priests of Nepal, that some of the Sanskrit documents which he recovered had existed in the monasteries of Nepal ever since the second century of our era, and that the whole of that collection had five or six hundred years later, when Buddhism became definitely established in Tibet, been translated into the language of that country. As the art of printing had been introduced from China into Tibet, there was less difficulty in procuring complete copies of the Tibetan translation of the Buddhist canon. The real difficulty was to find a person acquainted with the language. By a fortunate concurrence of circumstances, however, it so happened that about the same time when Mr. Hodgson's discoveries began to attract the attention of Oriental scholars at Calcutta, a Hungarian, of the name of Alexander Csoma de Kőrös, arrived there. He had made his way from Hungary to Tibet on foot, without any means of his own, and with the sole object of discovering somewhere in Central Asia the native home of the Hungarians. Arrived in Tibet, his enthusiasm found a new vent in acquiring a language which no European before his time had mastered, and in exploring the vast collection of the canonical books of the Buddhists preserved in that language. Though he arrived at Calcutta almost without a penny, he met with a hearty welcome from the members of the Asiatic Society, and was enabled with their assistance to publish the results of his extraordinary researches. People have complained of the length of the sacred books of other nations, but there are none that approach in bulk to the sacred canon of the Tibetans. It consists of two collections, commonly called the Kanjur and Tanjur. The proper spelling of their names is Bkah-hgyur, pronounced Káh-gyur, and Bstan-

hgyur, pronounced Tan-gyur. The Kanjur consists in its different editions of 100, 102, or 108 volumes folio. It comprises 1083 distinct works. The Tanjur consists of 225 volumes folio, each weighing from four to five pounds in the edition of Peking. Editions of this colossal code were printed at Peking, Lhássa, and other places. The edition of the Kanjur published at Peking, by command of the Emperor Khian Lung, sold for 600*l*. A copy of the Kanjur was bartered for 7000 oxen by the Buriates, and the same tribe paid 1200 silver roubles for a complete copy of the Kanjur and Tanjur together.\* Such a jungle of religious literature—the most excellent hiding-place, we should think, for Lamas and Dalai-Lamas—was too much even for a man who could travel on foot from Hungary to Tibet. The Hungarian enthusiast, however, though he did not translate the whole, gave a most valuable analysis of this immense bible, in the twentieth volume of the 'Asiatic Researches,' sufficient to establish the fact that the principal portion of it was a translation from the same Sanskrit originals which had been discovered in Nepal by Mr. Hodgson. Csoma de Kőrös died soon after he had given to the world the first fruits of his labours,—a victim to his heroic devotion to the study of ancient languages and religions.

It was another fortunate coincidence that, contemporaneously with the discoveries of Hodgson and Csoma de Kőrös, another scholar, Schmidt of St. Petersburg, had so far advanced in the study of the Mongolian language, as to be able to translate portions of the Mongolian version of the Buddhist canon, and thus forward the elucidation of some of the problems connected with the religion of Buddha.

It never rains but it pours. Whereas for years, nay, for centuries, not a single original document of the Buddhist religion had been accessible to the scholars of Europe, we witness, in the small space of ten years, the recovery of four complete Buddhist literatures. In addition to the discoveries of Hodgson in Nepal, of Csoma de Kőrös in Tibet, and of Schmidt in Mongolia, the Honourable George Turnour presented to the world the Buddhist literature of Ceylon, composed in the sacred language of that island, the ancient Páli. The existence of that literature had been known before. Since 1826 Sir Alexander Johnston had been engaged in collecting authentic copies of the Mahāvansa, the Rājavalī, and the Rājaratnākari. These copies were translated at his

\* Die Religion des Buddha, von Küppen, vol. ii. p. 282.

suggestion from Pāli into modern Singhalese, and thence into English. The publication was entrusted to Mr. Edward Upham, and the work appeared in 1833, under the title of 'Sacred and Historical Works of Ceylon,' dedicated to William IV. Unfortunately, whether through fraud or through misunderstanding, the priests who were to have procured an authentic copy of the Pāli originals and translated them into the vernacular language, appear to have formed a compilation of their own from various sources. The official translators by whom this mutilated Singhalese abridgment was to have been rendered into English, took still greater liberties; and the 'Sacred and Historical Books of Ceylon' had hardly been published before Burnouf, then a mere beginner in the study of Pāli, was able to prove the utter uselessness of that translation. Mr. Turnour, however, soon made up for this disappointment. He set to work in a more scholarlike spirit, and after acquiring himself a knowledge of the Pāli language, he published several important essays on the Buddhist canon, as preserved in Ceylon. These were followed by an edition and translation of the *Mahāvamsa*, or the history of Ceylon, written in the fifth century after Christ, and giving an account of the island from the earliest times to the beginning of the fourth century A.D. Several continuations of that history are in existence, but Mr. Turnour was prevented by an early death from continuing his edition beyond the original portion of that chronicle. The exploration of the Ceylonese literature has since been taken up again by the Rev. D. J. Gogerly, whose essays are unfortunately scattered about in Singhalese periodicals and little known in Europe; and by the Rev. Spence Hardy, for twenty years Wesleyan Missionary in Ceylon. His two works, 'Eastern Monachism' and 'Manual of Buddhism,' are full of interesting matter, but as they are chiefly derived from Singhalese, and even more modern sources, they require to be used with caution. In the same manner as the Sanskrit originals of Nepal were translated by Buddhist missionaries into Tibetan, Mongolian, and, as we shall soon see, into Chinese and Mandshu\*, the Pāli originals of Ceylon were carried to Burmah and Siam, and translated there into the languages of those countries. Hardly anything has as yet been done for exploring the literature of these two countries, which open a promising field for any one ambitious to follow in the footsteps of Hodgson, Csoma, and Turnour.

We now return to Mr. Hodgson. His collections of Sanskrit MSS. had been sent, as we saw, to the Asiatic Society of Calcutta from 1824 to 1839, to the Royal Asiatic Society in London in 1835, and to the Société Asiatique of Paris in 1837. They remained dormant at Calcutta and in London. At Paris, however, these Buddhist MSS. fell into the hands of Burnouf. Unappalled by their size and tediousness, he set to work, and was not long before he discovered their extreme importance. After seven years of careful study, Burnouf published, in 1844, his 'Introduction à l'Histoire du Bouddhisme.' It is this work which laid the foundation for a systematic study of the religion of Buddha. Though acknowledging the great value of the researches made in the Buddhist literatures of Tibet, Mongolia, China, and Ceylon, Burnouf showed that Buddhism, being of Indian origin, ought to be studied first of all in the original Sanskrit documents, preserved in Nepal. Though he modestly called his work an Introduction to the History of Buddhism, there are few points of importance on which his industry has not brought together the most valuable evidence, and his genius shed a novel and brilliant light. The death of Burnouf in 1851, put an end to a work which if finished according to the plan sketched out by the author in the preface, would have been the most perfect monument of Oriental scholarship. A volume published after his death, in 1852, contains a translation of one of the canonical books of Nepal, with notes and appendices, the latter full of the most valuable information on some of the more intricate questions of Buddhism. Though much remained to be done, and though a very small breach only had been made in the vast pile of Sanskrit MSS. presented by Mr. Hodgson to the Asiatic Societies of Paris and London, no one has been bold enough to continue what Burnouf left unfinished. The only important additions to our knowledge of Buddhism since his death are an edition of the *Lalitā-Vistara* or the life of Buddha, prepared by a native, the learned Bābū Rājendralāl Mitra; an edition of the Pāli original of the *Dhammapadam*, by Dr. Fausbøll, a Dane; and last, not least, the excellent translation by M. Stanislas Julien, of the life and travels of Hiouen-Tsang. This Chinese pilgrim had visited India from 629 to 645 A.D., for the purpose of learning Sanskrit, and translating from Sanskrit into Chinese some important works on the religion and philosophy of the Buddhists; and his account of the geography, the social, religious, and political state of India at the

\* *Mélanges Asiatiques*, vol. ii. p. 373.

beginning of the seventh century, is invaluable for studying the practical working of that religion at a time when its influence began to decline, and when it was soon to be supplanted by modern Brahmanism and Mohammedanism.

It was no easy task for M. Barthélemy Saint-Hilaire to make himself acquainted with all these works. The study of Buddhism would almost seem to be beyond the power of any single individual, if it required a practical acquaintance with all the languages in which the doctrines of Buddha have been written down. Burnouf was probably the only man who, in addition to his knowledge of Sanskrit, did not shrink from acquiring a practical knowledge of Tibetan, Pāli, Singhalese and Burmese, in order to prepare himself for such a task. The same scholar had shown, however, that though it was impossible for a Tibetan, Mongolian, or Chinese scholar to arrive, without a knowledge of Sanskrit, at a correct understanding of the doctrines of Buddha, a knowledge of Sanskrit was sufficient for entering into their spirit, for comprehending their origin and growth in India, and their modification in the different countries where they took root in later times. Assisted by his familiarity with Sanskrit, and bringing into the field, as a new and valuable auxiliary, his intimate acquaintance with nearly all the systems of philosophy and religion of both the ancient and modern worlds, M. Barthélemy Saint-Hilaire has succeeded in drawing a picture, both lively and correct, of the origin, the character, the strong as well as weak points, of the religion of Buddha. He has become the first historian of Buddhism. He has not been carried away by a temptation which must have been great for one who is able to read in the past the lessons for the present or the future. He has not used Buddhism either as a bugbear or as a *beau idéal*. He is satisfied with stating in his preface that many lessons might be learned by modern philosophers from a study of Buddhism, but in the body of the work he never perverts the chair of the historian into the pulpit of the preacher.

'This book may offer one other advantage,' he writes, 'and I regret to say that at present it may seem to come opportunely. It is the misfortune of our times that the same doctrines which form the foundation of Buddhism meet at the hands of some of our philosophers with a favour which they ill deserve. For some years we have seen systems arising in which metempsychosis and transmigration are highly spoken of, and attempts are made to explain the world and man without either a God or a Providence, exactly as Buddha did. A future life is refused to the yearnings of mankind,

and the immortality of the soul is replaced by the immortality of works. God is dethroned, and in His place they substitute man, the only being, we are told, in which the Infinite becomes conscious of itself. These theories are recommended to us sometimes in the name of science, or of history, or philology, or even of metaphysics; and though they are neither new nor very original, yet they can do much injury to feeble hearts. This is not the place to examine these theories, and their authors are both too learned and too sincere to deserve to be condemned summarily and without discussion. But it is well that they should know by the example, too little known, of Buddhism, what becomes of man if he depends on himself alone, and if his meditations, misled by a pride of which he is hardly conscious, bring him to the precipice where Buddha was lost. Besides, I am well aware of all the differences, and I am not going to insult our contemporary philosophers by confounding them indiscriminately with Buddha, although addressing to both the same reproof. I acknowledge willingly all their additional merits, which are considerable. But systems of philosophy must always be judged by the conclusions to which they lead, whatever road they may follow in reaching them; and their conclusions, though obtained by different means, are not therefore less objectionable. Buddha arrived at his conclusions 2400 years ago. He proclaimed and practised them with an energy which is not likely to be surpassed even if it be equalled. He displayed a child-like intrepidity which no one can exceed, nor can it be supposed that any system in our days could again acquire so powerful an ascendancy over the souls of men. It would be useful, however, if the authors of these modern systems would just cast a glance at the theories and destinies of Buddhism. It is not philosophy in the sense in which we understand this great name, nor is it religion in the sense of ancient paganism, of Christianity, or of Mohammedanism; but it contains elements of all worked up into a perfectly independent doctrine which acknowledges nothing in the universe but man, and obstinately refuses to recognise anything else, though confounding man with nature in the midst of which he lives. Hence all those aberrations of Buddhism which ought to be a warning to others. Unfortunately, if people rarely profit by their own faults, they profit yet more rarely by the faults of others.' (*Introduction* p. vii.)

But though M. Barthélemy Saint-Hilaire does not write history merely for the sake of those masked batteries, which French writers have used with so much skill at all times, but more particularly during the late years of Imperial sway, it is clear from the remarks just quoted, that our author is not satisfied with simply chronicling the dry facts of Buddhism, or turning into French the tedious discourses of its founder. His work is an animated sketch, giving too little rather than too much. It is just the book which was wanted to dispel the erroneous notions about Buddhism, which are still current among educated men, and to excite an interest which may lead those who are na-

turally frightened by the appalling proportions of Buddhist literature, and the uncouth sounds of Buddhist terminology, to a study of the quartos of Burnouf, Turnour, and others. To those who may wish for more detailed information on Buddhism, than could be given by M. Barthélemy Saint-Hilaire, consistently with the plan of his work, we can strongly recommend the work of a German writer, 'Die Religion des Buddha,' von Köppen, Berlin, 1857. It is founded on the same materials as the French work, but being written by a scholar and for scholars, it enters on a more minute examination of all that has been said or written on Buddha and Buddhism. In a second volume the same learned and industrious student has lately published a history of Buddhism in Tibet.

M. Barthélemy Saint-Hilaire's work is divided into three portions. The first contains an account of the origin of Buddhism, a life of Buddha, and an examination of Buddhist ethics and metaphysics. In the second, he describes the state of Buddhism in India in the seventh century of our era, from the materials supplied by the travels of Hiouen-Tsang. The third gives a description of Buddhism as actually existing in Ceylon, and as lately described by an eyewitness, the Rev. Spence Hardy. We shall confine ourselves chiefly to the first part, which treats of the life and teaching of Buddha.

M. Barthélemy Saint-Hilaire, following the example of Burnouf, Lassen, and Wilson, accepts the date of the Ceylonese era 543 B.C., as the date of Buddha's death. Though we cannot enter here into long chronological discussions, we must remark, that this date was clearly obtained by the Buddhists of Ceylon by calculation, not by historical tradition, and that it is easy to point out in that calculation a mistake of about seventy years. The more plausible date of Buddha's death is 477 B.C. For the purposes, however, which M. Barthélemy Saint-Hilaire had in view, this difference is of small importance. We know so little of the history of India during the sixth and fifth centuries B.C., that the stage on which he represents Buddha as preaching and teaching would have had very much the same background, the same costume and accessories, for the sixth as for the fifth century B.C.

In the life of Buddha, which extends from p. 1. to 79., M. Barthélemy Saint-Hilaire follows almost exclusively the *Lalita-Vistara*. This is one of the most popular works of the Buddhists. It forms part of the Buddhist canon; and as we know of a translation into Chinese, which M. Stanislas Ju-

lien ascribes to the year 76 A.D., we may safely refer its original composition to an ante-Christian date. It has been published in Sanskrit by Babu Rajendralal Mittra, and we owe to M. Foucaux an edition of the same work in its Tibetan translation, the first Tibetan text printed in Europe. Few people, however, except scholars, would have the patience to read this work either in its English or French translation, as may be seen from the following specimen, containing the beginning of Babu Rajendralal Mittra's translation.

'Om! Salutation to all Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, A'ryas, S'rāvakas, and Pratyeka Buddhas of all times, past, present, and future; who are adored throughout the farthest limits of the ten quarters of the globe. Thus hath it been heard by me, that once on a time Bhagavat sojourned in the garden of Anāthapindada, at Jetavana, in S'rāvastī, accompanied by a venerable body of 12,000 Bhikshukas. There likewise accompanied him 32,000 Bodhisattvas, all linked together by unity of caste, and perfect in the virtues of *pāramitā*; who had made their command over Bodhisattva knowledge a pastime, were illumined with the light of Bodhisattva dhāranis, and were masters of the dhāranis themselves; who were profound in their meditations, all submissive to the lord of Bodhisattvas, and possessed absolute control over *samādhi*; great in self-command, refulgent in Bodhisattva forbearance, and replete with the Bodhisattva element of perfection. Now then, Bhagavat arriving in the great city of S'rāvastī, sojourned therein, respected, venerated, revered, and adored, by the fourfold congregation; by kings, princes, their counsellors, prime ministers, and followers; by retinues of *kshatriyas*, *brāhmanas*, householders, and ministers; by citizens, foreigners, S'rāmanas, *brāhmanas*, recluses, and ascetics; and although regaled with all sorts of edibles and sauces, the best that could be prepared by purveyors, and supplied with cleanly mendicant apparel, begging pots, couches, and pain-assuaging medicaments, the benevolent lord, on whom had been showered the prime of gifts and applauses, remained unattached to them all, like water on a lotus leaf; and the report of his greatness as the venerable, the absolute Buddha, the learned and well-behaved, the god of happy exit, the great knower of worlds, the valiant, the all-controlling charioteer, the teacher of gods and men, the quincunx Lord Buddha fully manifest, spread far and wide in the world. And Bhagavat, having by his own power acquired all knowledge regarding this world and the next, comprising *devas*, *māras*, *Brāhmyas* (followers of *Brahmā*), *s'rāmanas*, and *brāhmanas*, as subjects, that is both gods and men, sojourned here, imparting instructions in the religion true, and expounding the principles of a *brahma-charya*, full and complete in its nature, holy in its import, pure and immaculate in its character, auspicious in its beginning, auspicious its middle, auspicious its end.'

The whole work is written in a similar style, and where fact and legend, prose and

poetry, sense and nonsense, are so mixed together, the plan adopted by M. Barthélemy Saint-Hilaire, of making two lives out of one, the one containing all that seems possible, the other what seems impossible, would naturally recommend itself. It is not a safe process, however, to distil history out of legend by simply straining the legendary through the sieve of physical possibility. Many things are possible, and may yet be the mere inventions of later writers, and many things which sound impossible have been reclaimed as historical, after removing from them the thin film of mythological phraseology. We believe that the only use which the historian can safely make of the *Lalitavistara*, is to employ it, not as evidence of facts which actually happened, but in illustration of the popular belief prevalent at the time when it was committed to writing. Without therefore adopting the division of fact and fiction in the life of Buddha, as attempted by M. Barthélemy Saint-Hilaire, we yet believe that in order to avoid a repetition of childish absurdities, we shall best consult the interest of our readers if we follow his example, and give a short and rational abstract of the life of Buddha as handed down by tradition, and committed to writing not later than the first century B.C.

Buddha, or more correctly, the Buddha, —for Buddha is an appellative meaning Enlightened, —was born at Kapilavastu, the capital of a kingdom of the same name, situated at the foot of the mountains of Nepal, north of the present Oude. His father, the King of Kapilavastu, was of the family of the S'ákyas, and belonged to the clan of the Gautamas. His mother was Mâyádevi, daughter of King Suprabuddha, and need we say that she was as beautiful as he was powerful and just? Buddha was therefore by birth of the Kshatriya, or warrior caste, and he took the name of S'ákya, from his family, and that of Gautama from his clan. The name of Buddha, or the Buddha, dates from a later period of his life, and so probably does the name Siddhártha (he whose objects have been accomplished), though we are told that it was given him in his childhood. His mother died seven days after his birth, and the father confided the child to the care of his deceased wife's sister, who however had been his wife even before the mother's death. The child grew up a most beautiful and most accomplished boy, who soon knew more than his masters could teach him. He refused to take part in the games of his playmates, and never felt so happy as when he could sit alone, lost in meditation in the deep shadows of the forest. It was there that his father found him, when

he had thought him lost, and in order to prevent the young prince from becoming a dreamer, the King determined to marry him at once. When the subject was mentioned by the aged ministers to the future heir to the throne, he demanded seven days for reflection, and convinced at last that not even marriage could disturb the calm of his mind, he allowed the ministers to look out for a princess. The princess selected was the beautiful Gopá, the daughter of Dandapáni. Though her father objected at first to her marrying a young prince who was represented to him as deficient in manliness and intellect, he gladly gave his consent when he saw the royal suitor distancing all his rivals both in feats of arms and power of mind. Their marriage proved one of the happiest, but the prince remained, as he had been before, absorbed in meditation on the problems of life and death. 'Nothing is stable on earth,' he used to say, 'nothing is real. Life is like the spark produced by the friction of wood. It is lighted and is extinguished—we know not whence it came or whither it goes. It is like the sound of a lyre, and the wise man asks in vain from whence it came and whither it goes. There must be some supreme intelligence where we could find rest. If I attained it, I could bring light to man; if I were free myself, I could deliver the world.' The king, who perceived the melancholy mood of the young prince, tried every thing to divert him from his speculations; but all was in vain. Three of the most ordinary events that could happen to any man, proved of the utmost importance in the career of Buddha. We quote the description of these occurrences from M. Bathélemy Saint-Hilaire.

'One day, when the prince with a large retinue drove through the eastern gate of the city on the way to one of his parks, he met on the road an old man broken and decrepit. One could see the veins and muscles over the whole of his body, his teeth chattered, he was covered with wrinkles, bald, and hardly able to utter hollow and unmelodious sounds. He was bent on his stick, and all his limbs and joints trembled. "Who is that man?" said the prince to his coachman. "He is small and weak, his flesh and his blood are dried up, his muscles stick to his skin, his head is white, his teeth chatter, his body is wasted away; leaning on his stick he is hardly able to walk, stumbling at every step. Is there something peculiar in his family, or is this the common lot of all created beings?"

"Sir," replied the coachman, "that man is sinking under old age, his senses have become obtuse, suffering has destroyed his strength, and he is despised by his relations. He is without support and useless, and people have abandoned him, like a dead tree in a forest. But this is not peculiar to his family. In every creature youth is de-

feated by old age. Your father, your mother, all your relations, all your friends, will come to the same state; this is the appointed end of all creatures."

"Alas!" replied the prince, "are creatures so ignorant, so weak and foolish, as to be proud of the youth by which they are intoxicated, not seeing the old age which awaits them! As for me, I go away. Coachman, turn my chariot quickly. What have I, the future prey of old age,—what have I to do with pleasure?" And the young prince returned to the city without going to his park.

"Another time the prince drove through the southern gate to his pleasure garden, when he perceived on the road a man suffering from illness, parched with fever, his body wasted, covered with mud, without a friend, without a home, hardly able to breathe, and frightened at the sight of himself and the approach of death. Having questioned his coachman, and received from him the answer which he expected, the young prince said, "Alas! health is but the sport of a dream, and the fear of suffering must take this frightful form. Where is the wise man who, after having seen what he is, could any longer think of joy and pleasure?" The prince turned his chariot and returned to the city.

"A third time he drove to his pleasure garden through the western gate, when he saw a dead body on the road, lying on a bier, and covered with a cloth. The friends stood about crying, sobbing, tearing their hair, covering their heads with dust, striking their breasts, and uttering wild cries. The prince, again calling his coachman to witness this painful scene, exclaimed, "Oh! woe to youth, which must be destroyed by old age! Woe to health, which must be destroyed by so many diseases! Woe to this life, where a man remains so short a time! If there were no old age, no disease, no death; if these could be made captive for ever!" Then betraying for the first time his intentions, the young prince said, "Let us turn back, I must think how to accomplish deliverance."

"A last meeting put an end to his hesitation. He drove through the northern gate on the way to his pleasure gardens, when he saw a mendicant who appeared outwardly calm, subdued, looking downwards, wearing with an air of dignity his religious vestment, and carrying an alms-bowl.

"Who is this man?" asked the prince.

"Sir," replied the coachman, "this man is one of those who are called *bhikshus*, or mendicants. He has renounced all pleasures, all desires, and leads a life of austerity. He tries to conquer himself. He has become a devotee. Without passion, without envy, he walks about asking for alms."

"This is good and well said," replied the prince. "The life of a devotee has always been praised by the wise. It will be my refuge, and the refuge of other creatures; it will lead us to a real life, to happiness and immortality."

"With these words the young prince turned his chariot and returned to the city." (P. 15.)

After having declared to his father and his wife his intention of retiring from the world, Buddha left his palace one night

when all the guards that were to have watched him, were asleep. After travelling the whole night, he gave his horse and his ornaments to his groom, and sent him back to Kapilavastu. 'A monument,' remarks the author of the *Lalita-Vistara*, (p. 270.), 'is still to be seen on the spot where the coachman turned back.' Hiouen-Thsang (ii. 330.) saw the same monument at the edge of a large forest, on his road to Kus'inagara, a city now in ruins, and situated about fifty miles E.S.E. from Gorakpur.\*

Buddha first went to Vais'ali, and became the pupil of a famous Bráhmaṇ, who had gathered round him 300 disciples. Having learnt all that the Bráhmaṇ could teach him, Buddha went away disappointed. He had not found the road to salvation. He then tried another Bráhmaṇ at Rājagriha, the capital of Magadha or Behar, who had 700 disciples, and there too he looked in vain for the means of deliverance. He left him, followed by five of his fellow students, and for six years retired into solitude, near a village named Uruvilva, subjecting himself to the most severe penances, previous to his appearing in the world as a teacher. At the end of this period, however, he arrived at the conviction that asceticism, far from giving peace of mind and preparing the way to salvation, was a snare and a stumbling-block in the way of truth. He gave up his exercises, and was at once deserted as an apostate by his five disciples. Left to himself he now began to elaborate his own system. He had learnt that neither the doctrines nor the austerities of the Bráhmaṇs were of any avail for accomplishing the deliverance of man, and freeing him from the fear of old age, disease, and death. After long meditations, and ecstatic visions, he at last imagined that he had arrived at that true knowledge, which discloses the cause, and thereby destroys the fear, of all the changes inherent in life. It was from the moment when he arrived at this knowledge, that he claimed the name of Buddha, the Enlightened. At that moment we may truly say that the fate of millions of millions of human beings trembled in the balance. Buddha hesitated for a time whether he should keep his knowledge to himself, or communicate it to the world. Compassion for the sufferings of man prevailed, and the

\* The geography of India at the time of Buddha, and later at the time of Fahian and Hiouen-Thsang, has been admirably treated by M. L. Vivien de Saint-Martin, in his '*Mémoire Analytique sur la Carte de l'Asie Centrale et de l'Inde*,' in the third volume of M. Stanislas Julien's '*Pélerinage Bouddhistes*.'

young prince became the founder of a religion, which after more than 2000 years, is still professed by 455,000,000 of human beings.\*

The further history of the new teacher is very simple. He proceeded to Benares, which at all times was the principal seat of learning in India, and the first converts he made were the five fellow students who had left him when he threw off the yoke of the Bráhmancial observances. Many others followed; but as the *Lalita-Vistara* breaks off at Buddha's arrival at Benares, we have no further consecutive account of the rapid progress of his doctrine. From what we can gather from scattered notices in the Buddhist canon, he was invited by the King of Magadha, Bimbisára, to his capital, Rájagriha. Many of his lectures are represented as having been delivered at the monastery of Kalantaka, with which the king or some rich merchant had presented him; others on the Vulture Peak, one of the five hills that surrounded the ancient capital.

Three of his most famous disciples, S'áripútra, Kátýáyana, and Maudgalyáyana, joined him during his stay in Magadha, where he enjoyed for many years the friendship of the King. That king was afterwards assassinated by his son, Ajátas'átru, and then we hear of Buddha as settled for a time at Srávastí, north of the Ganges, where Anáthapindada, a rich merchant, had offered him and his disciples a magnificent building for their residence. Most of Buddha's lectures or sermons were delivered at Srávastí, the capital of Kos'ala, and the King of Kos'ala himself, Prasénagit, became a convert to his doctrine. After an absence of twelve years we are told that Buddha visited his father at Kapilavastu, on which occasion he performed several miracles, and converted all the S'á-

kyas to his faith. His own wife became one of his followers, and, with his aunt, offers the first instance of the female Buddhist devotee in India. We have fuller particulars again of the last days of Buddha's life. He had attained the good age of three score and ten, and had been on a visit to Rájagriha, where the King, Ajátas'átru, the former enemy of Buddha, and the assassin of his own father, had joined the congregation, after making a public confession of his crimes. On his return he was followed by a large number of disciples, and when on the point of crossing the Ganges, he stood on a square stone, and turning his eyes back towards Rájagriha, he said, full of emotion, 'This is the last time that I see that city.' He likewise visited Vais'áli, and after taking leave of it, he had nearly reached the city of Kus'inágara, when his vital strength began to fail. He halted in a forest, and while sitting under a sál tree, he gave up the ghost, or, as a Buddhist would say, entered into Nirvána.

This is the simple story of Buddha's life. It reads much better in the eloquent pages of M. Barthélemy Saint-Hilaire, than in the turgid language of the Buddhists. If a critical historian, with the materials we possess, entered at all on the process of separating truth from falsehood, he would probably cut off much of what our biographer has left. Professor Wilson, in his *Essay on Buddha and Buddhism*, considers it doubtful whether any such person as Buddha ever actually existed. He dwells on the fact that there are at least twenty different dates assigned to his birth, varying from 2420 to 453 B.C. He points out that the clan of the S'ákyas is never mentioned by early Hindu writers, and he lays much stress on the fact that most of the proper names of the persons connected with Buddha suggest an allegorical signification. The name of his father means, he whose food is pure; that of his mother, signifies illusion; his own secular appellation, Siddhártha, he by whom the end is accomplished. Buddha itself means, the Enlightened, or, as Professor Wilson translates it less accurately, he by whom all is known. The same distinguished scholar goes even further, and maintaining that Kapilavastu, the birthplace of Buddha, has no place in the geography of the Hindus, suggests that it may be rendered, the substance of Kapila; intimating, in fact, the Sāṅkhya philosophy, the doctrine of Kapila Muni, upon which the fundamental elements of Buddhism, the eternity of matter, the principles of things, and the final extinction, are supposed to be planned. 'It seems not impossible,' he continues, 'that S'ákyas Muni

\* Though truth is not settled by majorities, it would be interesting to know which religion counts at the present moment the largest numbers of believers. Berghaus, in his 'Physical Atlas,' gives the following division of the human race according to religion:

Buddhists . . . .	31.2 per cent.
Christians . . . .	30.7 "
Mohammedans . . . .	15.7 "
Brahmanists . . . .	13.4 "
Heathen . . . .	8.7 "
Jews . . . .	0.3 "

As Berghaus does not distinguish the Buddhists in China from the followers of Confucius and Laotsé, the first place on the scale belongs really to Christianity. It is difficult in China to say to what religion a man belongs, as the same person may profess two or three. The emperor himself, after sacrificing according to the ritual of Confucius, visits a Tao-ssé temple, and afterwards bows before an image of Fo in a Buddhist chapel. (*Mélanges Asiatiques de St. Petersbourg*, vol. ii. p. 374.)



is an unreal being, and that all that is related of him is as much a fiction, as is that of his preceding migrations, and the miracles that attended his birth, his life, and his departure.' This is going far beyond Niebuhr, far even beyond Strauss. If an allegorical name had been invented for the father of Buddha, one more appropriate than 'Clean-food' might surely have been found. His wife is not the only queen known by the name of Mâyá, Mâyádévi, or Mâyávatí. Why, if these names were invented, should his wife have been allowed to keep the prosaic name of Gopá (cowherdess), and his father-in-law, that of Dandapáni, 'Stick-hand'? As to his own name, Siddhártha, the Tibetans maintain that it was given him by his parent, whose wish (artha) had been fulfilled (siddha), as we hear of Déirés in French. One of the ministers of Das'aratha had the same name. It is possible also that Buddha himself assumed it in after life, as was the case with many of the Roman surnames. As to the name of Buddha, no one ever maintained that it was more than a title, the Enlightened, changed from an appellative into a proper name, just like the name of Christos, the Anointed. Kapilavastu would be a most extraordinary compound to express 'the substance of the Sāṅkhya philosophy.' But all doubt on the subject is removed by the fact that both Fahian in the fifth, and Hiouen-Tsang in the seventh centuries, visited the real ruins of that city.

Making every possible allowance for the accumulation of fiction which is sure to gather round the life of the founder of every great religion, we may be satisfied that Buddhism, which changed the aspect not only of India, but of nearly the whole of Asia, had a real founder; that he was not a Bráhmaṇ by birth, but belonged to the second or royal caste; that being of a meditative turn of mind, and deeply impressed with the frailty of all created things, he became a recluse, and sought for light and comfort in the different systems of Bráhmaṇ philosophy and theology. Dissatisfied with the artificial systems of their priests and philosophers, convinced of the uselessness, nay of the pernicious influence, of their ceremonial practices and bodily penances, shocked, too, by their worldliness and pharisaical conceit, which made the priesthood the exclusive property of one caste and rendered every sincere approach of man to his Creator impossible without their intervention, Buddha must have produced at once a powerful impression on the people at large, when breaking through all the established rules of caste, he assumed the privileges of

a Bráhmaṇ, and throwing away the splendour of his royal position, travelled about as a beggar, not shrinking from the defiling contact of sinners and publicans. Though when we now speak of Buddhism, we think chiefly of its doctrines, the reform of Buddha had originally much more of a social than of a religious character. Buddha swept away the web with which the Bráhmaṇs had encircled the whole of India. Beginning as the destroyer of an old, he became the founder of a new religion. We can hardly understand how any nation could have lived under a system like that of the Bráhmaṇic hierarchy, which coiled itself round every public and private act, and would have rendered life intolerable to any who had forfeited the favour of the priests. That system was attacked by Buddha. Buddha might have taught whatever philosophy he pleased, and we should hardly have heard his name. The people would not have minded him, and his system would only have been a drop in the ocean of philosophical speculation, by which India was deluged at all times. But when a young prince assembled round him people of all castes, of all ranks, when he defeated the Bráhmaṇs in public disputations, when he declared the sacrifices by which they made their living not only useless but sinful, when instead of severe penance or excommunications inflicted by the Bráhmaṇs sometimes for the most trifling offences, he only required public confession of sin and a promise to sin no more: when the charitable gifts hitherto monopolised by the Bráhmaṇs, began to flow into new channels, supporting hundreds and thousands of Buddhist mendicants, more had been achieved than probably Buddha himself had ever dreamt of; and he whose meditations had been how to deliver the soul of man from misery and the fear of death, had delivered the people of India from a degrading thralldom and from priestly tyranny.

The most important element of the Buddhist reform has always been its social and moral code, not its metaphysical theories. That moral code, taken by itself, is one of the most perfect which the world has ever known. On this point all testimonies from hostile and friendly quarters agree. Spence Hardy, a Wesleyan missionary, speaking of the Dhamma Padam, or the 'Footsteps of the Law,' admits that a collection might be made from the precepts of this work, which in the purity of its ethics could hardly be equalled from any other heathen author. M. Laboulaye, one of the most distinguished members of the French Academy, remarks in the 'Débats' of the 4th of April, 1853: 'It is difficult to comprehend how men not

assisted by revelation could have soared so high, and approached so near the truth.' Besides the five great commandments not to kill, not to steal, not to commit adultery, not to lie, not to get drunk, every shade of vice, hypocrisy, anger, pride, suspicion, greediness, gossiping, cruelty to animals, is guarded against by special precepts. Among the virtues recommended we find not only reverence of parents, care for children, submission to authority, gratitude, moderation in time of prosperity, submission in time of trial, equanimity at all times, but virtues unknown in any heathen system of morality, such as the duty of forgiving insults and not rewarding evil with evil. All virtues, we are told, spring from Maitrî, and this Maitrî can only be translated by charity and love. 'I do not hesitate,' says Burnouf\*, 'to translate by charity the word Maitrî, which does not express friendship or the feeling of particular affection which a man has for one or more of his fellow-creatures, but that universal feeling which inspires us with goodwill towards all men and constant willingness to help them.' We add one more testimony from the work of M. Barthélemy Saint-Hilaire :—

'Je n'hésite pas à ajouter,' he writes, 'que, sauf le Christ tout seul, il n'est point, parmi les fondateurs de religion, de figure plus pure ni plus touchante que celle du Bouddha. Sa vie n'a point de tâche. Son constant héroïsme égale sa conviction ; et si la théorie qu'il préconise est fautive, les exemples personnels qu'il donne sont irréprochables. Il est le modèle achevé de toutes les vertus qu'il prêche ; son abnégation, sa charité, son inaltérable douceur, ne se démentent point un seul instant ; il abandonne à vingt-neuf ans la cour du roi son père pour se faire religieux et mendiant ; il prépare silencieusement sa doctrine par six années de retraite et de méditation ; il la propage par la seule puissance de la parole et de la persuasion, pendant plus d'un demi-siècle ; et quand il meurt entre les bras de ses disciples, c'est avec la sérénité d'un sage qui a pratiqué le bien toute sa vie, et qui est assuré d'avoir trouvé le vrai.' (P. v.)

There may still be some blurred and doubtful pages in the history of the Prince of Kapilavastu ; but we have only to look at the works on ancient philosophy and religion published some thirty years ago, in order to perceive the immense progress that has been made in establishing the true historical character of the founder of Buddhism. There was a time when Buddha was identified with Christ. The Manichæans were actually forced to abjure their belief that Buddha, Christ, and Mani were one and the

same person.\* But we are thinking rather of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, when elaborate books were written, in order to prove that Buddha had been in reality the Thoth of the Egyptians, that he was Mercury, or, Wodan, or Zoroaster, or Pythagoras. Even Sir W. Jones, as we saw, identified Buddha, first with Odin, and afterwards with Shishak, 'who either in person or by a colony from Egypt imported into India the mild heresy of the ancient Baalhas.' At present we know that neither Egypt, nor the Walhalla of Germany, neither Greece nor Persia, could have produced either the man himself or his doctrine. He is the offspring of India in mind and soul. His doctrine, by the very antagonism in which it stands to the old system of Brâhmanism, shows that it could not have sprung up in any country except India. The ancient history of Brâhmanism leads on to Buddhism, with the same necessity with which Romanism led to Protestantism. Though the date of Buddha is still liable to small chronological oscillations, his place in the intellectual annals of India is henceforth definitely marked : Buddhism became the state religion of India at the time of As'oka, and As'oka, the Buddhist Constantine, was the grandson of Chandragupta, the contemporary of Seleucus Nicator. The system of the Brâhman had run its course. Their ascendancy, at first purely intellectual and religious, had gradually assumed a political character. By means of the system of caste this influence pervaded the whole social fabric, not as a vivifying leaven, but as a deadly poison. Their increasing power and self-confidence are clearly exhibited in the successive periods of their ancient literature. It begins with the simple hymns of the Veda. These are followed by the tracts, known by the name of Brâhmaṇas, in which a complete system of theology is elaborated, and claims advanced in favour of the Brâhmanas, such as were seldom conceded to any hierarchy. The third period in the history of their ancient literature is marked by their Sûtras or Aphorisms, curt and dry formularies, showing the Brâhmanas in secure possession of all their claims. Such privileges as they then enjoyed are never enjoyed for any length of time. It was impossible for anybody to move or to assert his freedom of thought and action without finding himself impeded on all sides by the web of the Brâhmanic law ; nor was there anything in their religion to satisfy the natural yearnings

\* Burnouf, 'Lotus de la bonne Loi,' p. 300.

\* Neander, 'History of the Church,' vol. i. p. 817. *Τὸν Ζαπάδαν καὶ Βουδᾶν καὶ τὸν Χριστὸν καὶ τὸν Μανιχαῖον ἓνα καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν εἶναι.*

of the human heart after spiritual comfort. What was felt by Buddha, had been felt more or less intensely by thousands; and this was the secret of his success. That success was accelerated, however, by political events. Chandragupta had conquered the throne of Magadha, and acquired his supremacy in India in defiance of the Bráhmánic law. He was of low origin, a mere adventurer, and by his accession to the throne the first mesh had been broken in the intricate system of caste. Neither he nor his successors could count on the support of the Bráhmans, and it is but natural that his grandson, As'oka, should have been driven to seek support from the sect founded by Buddha. Buddha, by giving up his royal station, had broken the law of caste as much as Chandragupta by usurping it. His school, though it had probably escaped open persecution until it rose to political importance, could never have been on friendly terms with the Bráhmans of the old school. The *parvenu* on the throne saw his natural allies in the followers of Buddha, and the mendicants, who by their unostentatious behaviour had won golden opinions among the lower and middle classes, were suddenly raised to an importance little dreamt of by their founder. Those who see in Buddhism, not a social but chiefly a religious and philosophical reform, have been deceived by the later Buddhist literature, and particularly by the controversies between Buddhists and Bráhmans, which in later times led to the total expulsion of the former from India, and to the political re-establishment of Bráhmanism. These, no doubt, turn chiefly on philosophical problems, and are of the most abstruse and intricate character. But such was not the teaching of Buddha. If we may judge from 'the four verities,' which Buddha inculcated from the first day that he entered on his career as a teacher, his philosophy of life was very simple. He proclaims that there was nothing but sorrow in life; that sorrow is produced by our affections, that our affections must be destroyed in order to destroy the root of sorrow, and that he could teach mankind how to eradicate all the affections, all passions, all desires. Such doctrines were intelligible; and considering that Buddha received people of all castes, who after renouncing the world and assuming their yellow robes, were sure to find a livelihood from the charitable gifts of the people, it is not surprising that the number of his followers should have grown so rapidly. If Buddha really taught the metaphysical doctrines which are ascribed to him by subsequent writers—and this is a point which it is impossible to settle—not one in

a thousand among his followers would have been capable of appreciating those speculations. They must have been reserved for a few of his disciples, and they would never have formed a nucleus for a popular religion.

Nearly all who have written on Buddhism, and M. Barthélemy Saint-Hilaire among the rest, have endeavoured to show that these metaphysical doctrines of Buddha were borrowed from the earlier systems of Bráhmánic philosophy, and more particularly from the Sánkhyá system. The reputed founder of that system is Kapila, and we saw before how Professor Wilson actually changed the name of Kapilavastu, the birthplace of Buddha, into a mere allegory, Kapilavastu meaning, according to him, the substance of Kapila or of the Sánkhyá philosophy. This is not all. Mr. Spence Hardy (p. 132.) quotes a legend in which it is said that Buddha was in a former existence the ascetic Kapila, that the S'ákya princes came to his hermitage, and that he pointed out to them the proper place for founding a new city, which city was named after him Kapilavastu. But we have looked in vain for any definite similarities between the system of Kapila, as known to us in the Sánkhyásútras, and the Abhidharma, or the metaphysics of the Buddhists. Such similarities would be invaluable. They would probably enable us to decide whether Buddha borrowed from Kapila or Kapila from Buddha, and thus determine the real chronology of the philosophical literature of India, as either prior or subsequent to the Buddhist era. There are certain notions which Buddha shares in common not only with Kapila, but with every Hindu philosopher. The idea of transmigration, the belief in the continuing effects of our good and bad actions, extending from our former to our present and our future lives, the sense that life is a dream or a burden, the admission of the uselessness of religious observances after the attainment of the highest knowledge; all these belong, so to say, to the national philosophy of India. We meet with these ideas everywhere, in the poetry, the philosophy, the religion of the Hindus. They cannot be claimed as the exclusive property of any system in particular. But if we look for more special coincidences between Buddha's doctrines and those of Kapila or other Indian philosophers, we look in vain. At first it might seem as if the very first aphorism of Kapila, namely, 'the complete cessation of pain which is of three kinds is the highest aim of man,' was merely a philosophical paraphrase of the events which, as we saw, determined Buddha to

renounce the world in search of the true road to salvation. But though the starting point of Kapila and Buddha is the same, a keen sense of human misery and a yearning after a better state, their roads diverge so completely and their goals are so far apart, that it is difficult to understand how, almost by common consent, Buddha is supposed either to have followed in the footsteps of Kapila, or to have changed Kapila's philosophy into a religion. Some scholars imagine that there was a more simple and primitive philosophy which was taught by Kapila, and that the Sūtras which are now ascribed to him, are of later date. It is impossible either to prove or to disprove such a view. At present we know Kapila's philosophy from his Sūtras only\*, and these Sūtras seem to us posterior, not anterior, to Buddha. Though the name of Buddha is not mentioned in the Sūtras, his doctrines are clearly alluded to and controverted in several parts of them.

It has been said that Buddha and Kapila were both atheists, and that Buddha borrowed his atheism from Kapila. But atheism is an indefinite term, and may mean very different things. In one sense every Indian philosopher was an atheist, for they all perceived that the gods of the populace could not claim the attributes that belong to a Supreme Being. But all the systems of the Brāhmins admit, in some form or other, the existence of an Absolute and Supreme Being, the source of all that exists, or seems to exist. Kapila, when accused of atheism, is not accused of denying the existence of an Absolute Being. He is accused of denying the existence of *I's'vara*, which in general means the Lord, but which in the passage where it occurs, refers to the *I's'vara* of the Yogins, or mystic philosophers. They maintained that in an ecstatic state man possesses the power of seeing God face to face, and they wished to have this ecstatic intuition included under the head of sensuous perception. To this Kapila demurred. You have not proved the existence of your Lord, he says, and therefore I see no reason why I should alter my definition of sensuous perception in order to accommodate your ecstatic visions. The commentator narrates that this strong language was used by Kapila in order to silence the wild talk of the

Mystics, and that, though he taunted his adversaries with having failed to prove the existence of their Lord, he himself did not deny the existence of a Supreme Being. Kapila, however, went further. He endeavoured to show that all the attributes which the Mystics ascribed to their Lord are inappropriate. He used the same arguments which have lately been used with such ability by a distinguished Bampton Lecturer. The supreme lord of the Mystics, Kapila argued, is either absolute and unconditioned (*mukta*), or he is bound and conditioned (*baddha*). If he is absolute and unconditioned, he cannot enter into the condition of a Creator; he would have no desires which could instigate him to create. If, on the contrary, he is represented as active, and entering on the work of creation, he would no longer be the absolute and unchangeable Being which we are asked to believe in. Kapila, like the preacher of our own days, was accused of paving the road to atheism, but his philosophy was nevertheless admitted as orthodox, because, in addition to sensuous perception and inductive reasoning, Kapila professed emphatically his belief in revelation, i.e. in the Veda, and allowed to it a place among the recognised instruments of knowledge. Buddha refused to allow to the Vedas any independent authority whatever, and this shows at once the different character of the two philosophers.

Whether Kapila's philosophy was really in accordance with the spirit of the Veda, is quite a different question. No philosophy, at least nothing like a definite system, is to be found in the sacred hymns of the Brāhmins; and though the Vedānta philosophy does less violence to the passages which it quotes from the Veda, the authors of the Veda would have been as much surprised at the consequences deduced from their words by the Vedāntin, as by the strange meaning attributed to them by Kapila. The Vedānta philosopher, like Kapila, would deny the existence of a Creator in the usual sense of the word. He explains the universe as an emanation from Brahman, which is all in all. Kapila admits two principles, an absolute Spirit and Nature, and he explains the universe as produced by a reflection of Nature thrown on the mirror of the absolute Spirit. Both systems look upon creation, or the created world, as a misfortune, as an unfortunate accident. But they maintain that its effects can be neutralised, and that emancipation from the bonds of earthly existence is possible by means of philosophy. The Vedānta philosopher imagines he is free when he has arrived at the knowledge that

\* Of Kapila's Sūtras, together with the commentary of Vignāna Bhikṣu, a new edition was published in 1856, by Dr. Fitz-Edward Hall, in the *Bibliotheca Indica*. An excellent translation of the Aphorisms, with illustrative extracts from the commentaries, was printed for the use of the Benares College, by Dr. Ballantyne, lately returned to England, as the worthy successor of H. H. Wilson.

nothing exists but Brahman; that all phenomena are merely the result of ignorance; that after the destruction of that ignorance, and of its effects, all is merged again in Brahman, the true source of being, thought, and happiness. Kapila taught that the spirit became free from all mundane fetters as soon as it perceived that all phenomena were only reflections produced by nature, and was able to shut its eyes to the illusory vision. Both systems therefore, and the same applies to all the other philosophical systems of the Bráhmans, admitted an absolute or self-existing Being as the cause of all that exists or seems to exist. And here lies the specific difference between Kapila and Buddha. Buddha, like Kapila, maintained that this world had no absolute reality, that it was a snare and an illusion. The words, 'All is perishable, all is miserable, all is void,' must frequently have passed his lips. But where did he find a reality in comparison with which this world might be called unreal? What remedy did he propose as an emancipation from the sufferings of this life? Difficult as it seems to us to conceive it, Buddha admits of no real cause of this unreal world. He denies the existence not only of a Creator, but of any Absolute Being. According to the metaphysical tenets, if not of Buddha himself, at least of his sect, there is no reality anywhere; neither in the past nor in the future; true wisdom consists in perceiving the nothingness of all things, and in a desire to become nothing, to be blown out, to enter into Nirváṇa. Emancipation is obtained by total extinction, not by absorption in Brahman, or by a recovery of the soul's true estate. If to be is misery, not to be must be felicity, and this felicity is the highest reward which Buddha promised to his disciples. In reading the aphorisms of Kapila, it is difficult not to see in his remarks on those who maintain that all is void, covert attacks on Buddha and his followers. In one place (i. 43.) Kapila argues that if people believed in the reality of thought only, and denied the reality of external objects, they would soon be driven to admit that nothing at all exists, because we perceive our thoughts in the same manner as we perceive external objects. This naturally leads him to an examination of that extreme doctrine, according to which all that we perceive is void, and all is supposed to perish because it is the nature of things that they should perish. Kapila remarks in reference to this view (i. 45.), that it is a mere assertion of persons who are 'not enlightened,' in Sanskrit *a-buddha*, a sarcastic expression in which it is very diffi-

cult not to see an allusion to Buddha himself, or to those who claimed for him the title of the Enlightened. Kapila then proceeds to give the best answer that could be given to those who taught that complete annihilation must be the highest aim of man, as the only means of a complete cessation of suffering. 'It is not so,' he says; 'for if people wish to be free from suffering, it is they themselves who wish to be free, just as in this life it is they themselves who wish to enjoy happiness. There must be a permanent soul in order to satisfy the yearnings of the human heart, and if you deny that soul, you have no right to speak of the highest aim of man.'

Whether the belief in this kind of Nirváṇa, i. e., in a total extinction of being, personality, and consciousness, was at any time shared by the large masses of the people, is difficult either to assert or deny. We know nothing in ancient times of the religious convictions of the millions. We only know what a few leading spirits believed, or professed to believe. That certain individuals should have spoken and written of total extinction as the highest aim of man, is intelligible. Job cursed the day on which he was born, and Solomon praised the 'dead which are already dead, more than the living which are yet alive.' 'Yea, better is he than both they,' he said, 'which hath not yet been, who hath not seen the evil work that is done under the sun.' Voltaire said in his own flippant way, 'On aime la vie, mais le néant ne laisse pas d'avoir du bon;' and a modern German philosopher, who has found much favour with those who profess to despise Kant, Schelling, and Hegel, writes, 'Considered in its objective value, it is more than doubtful that life is preferable to the nothing. I should say even, that if experience and reflection could lift up their voices they would recommend to us the Nothing. We are what ought not to be, and we shall therefore cease to be.' Under peculiar circumstances, in the agonies of despair, or under the gathering clouds of madness, such language is intelligible; but to believe, as we are asked to believe, that one half of mankind had yearned for total annihilation, would be tantamount to a belief that there is a difference in kind between man and man. Buddhist philosophers, no doubt, held this doctrine, and it cannot be denied that it found a place in the Buddhist canon. But even among the different schools of Buddhist philosophers, very different views are adopted as to the true meaning of Nirváṇa, and with the modern Buddhists of Burmah Nigban, as they call it, is defined simply as freedom from old age, disease, and death. We do

not find fault with M. Barthélemy Saint-Hilaire, for having so emphatically pressed the charge of nihilism against Buddha himself. In one portion of the Buddhist canon the most extreme views of nihilism are put into his mouth. All we can say is that that canon is later than Buddha, and that in the same canon\* the founder of Buddhism, after having entered into Nirvāṇa, is still spoken of as living, nay, as showing himself to those who believe in him. Buddha, who denied the existence, or at least the divine nature, of the gods worshipped by the Brahmans, was raised himself to the rank of a deity by some of his followers (the Ais'varikas), and we need not wonder therefore if his Nirvāṇa too was gradually changed into an Elysian field. And finally, if we may argue from human nature, such as we find it at all times and in all countries, we confess that we cannot bring ourselves to believe that the reformer of India, the teacher of so perfect a code of morality, the young prince who gave up all he had in order to help those whom he saw afflicted in mind, body or estate, should have cared much about speculations which he knew would either be misunderstood, or not understood at all, by those whom he wished to benefit; that he should have thrown away one of the most powerful weapons in the hands of every religious teacher, the belief in a future life, and should not have seen, that if this life was sooner or later to end in nothing, it was hardly worth the trouble which he took himself, or the sacrifices which he imposed on his disciples.

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ART. V.—1. *Address of Prince Albert at the Meeting of the Servants' Provident Society.* May 16th, 1849.

2. *Fifteenth Annual Report of the Domestic Servants' Benevolent Institution.* 1861.

3. *The Lady's Guide to the ordering of her Household.* London: 1861.

4. *The Book of Household Management.* By ISABELLA BEETON. London: 1861.

THERE has been a great revival lately of that particular grievance which every generation laments, denounces, and perpetuates,—the grievance arising out of the conditions of domestic service, and the class of domestic servants. The topic is so old, and the complaint is so familiar, that we should not think of troubling our readers or ourselves with either of them, if there were not reason

to believe, from the actual pressure of difficulty, that some social change has taken place, interfering with an important branch of industry, and affecting the relation of employer and employed in half the homes of England. It will be no waste of time and attention to inquire briefly whether anything has happened to diminish the number of domestic servants in proportion to the rest of society, or to restrict the choice of good ones; and, if such a reason for the prevalent discontent is found, to see further what can be done towards placing that domestic relation on a better footing.

The case is altogether graver than of old. When housewives meet now it is not to complain that Sally clandestinely wears a white gown on Sundays, or that John lolls out of the window before he has finished cleaning his plate, or that cook will take her own way about making a traditional pudding: nor is it even that half-pies and odd custards are eaten in the kitchen that ought to have been set by; nor yet that the washerwoman or the greengrocer has been trying to tempt away a servant just trained to the point of serviceableness. It is far worse than this. We are told that it is difficult to obtain good service, or permanent good service, at all. We hear that domestic servants have become so 'insolent,' and even domineering, that it is difficult to deal with them, and impossible to be on comfortable terms with them. Wages are high and still rising; the habits of the kitchen and servants' hall are costly; and, after all the expenditure, the cooks cannot cook, the housemaids do not keep the house clean, and the men-servants take their own way, as if they were so many masters. Such are the complaints heard over half London and in every considerable provincial town; and compassion to the employers, and perhaps justice to both employer and employed, suggests an investigation into the point of view—or perhaps we ought to say the different points of view—from which the case may be regarded.

It is evidently a case in which censure can do no good. There must be some irresistible cause for so wide a disturbance of so old and necessary an institution as that of domestic service. One might as well scold at a grey summer or a bad apple season, as at a change in the temper and manners of a whole class in society. A Sally, or Thomas, or cook will be critically discussed among a certain order of housewives as long as domestic service lasts; but people of wider views have more tolerant tempers, and can investigate an evil without reproaching their neighbours for its existence.

How does the question look to the par-

\* 'L'enfant égaré,' par Ph. Ed. Foucaux, p. 19.

ties most interested in it?—Wealthy people, at the head of large households, say they are willing to pay any price that may be necessary to secure good service. They will make no difficulty about wages, nor about the comforts or indulgences of the servants' hall. Considering this, and that the work is easy, and the comfort and freedom from care greater than in other modes of industry, they feel it hard that they cannot obtain a due return for their offers, and that they are even cheated, or bullied, or ungratefully deserted, after they have well performed their share of the compact. The case is a hard one looked at in this way.

In the next class, the complaints are no less bitter. Where two servants are kept, or three including the nurse, the mistress of the household finds that of half-a-dozen cooks in succession, not one can cook a plain joint. The leg of mutton is red and raw at the bone, or the sirloin comes up in a sheath of burnt outside. The morning rolls are bitter; the potatoes have 'a bone' in them; the soup is sour;—something is wrong at every dinner. Upstairs there is 'slut's wool' under the beds; and if the housemaid is reproved, she says the mistress may sweep the chambers herself, for there is no other way of pleasing her.

If we go one step lower, we find the mistress of the maid-of-all-work in much the same state of mind as in all former times. If herself over busy, she complains that her 'help' cannot do more than is possible. If irritable, she is put out by the breakage which happens under raw hands, and by the awkwardness of mind and manners of a novice from the cottage or the workhouse; she says the girl requires more teaching than she is worth, and that she would sooner do all the work herself, and so forth. If she is sensible and kindly tempered, she remarks that these youthful servants are very trying, certainly, from their imperfect way of doing everything; but what can you expect? Few of them have had any proper training; they see and know nothing better than their own doings; they get very low wages; and it would be absurd to look for finished service from them. Amidst all the complaints heard in this region, we do not encounter, more than formerly, the charge that servants are much worse than they used to be. This lowest class is apparently the least changed.

So much for the employers. Next—how does the question look to the employed? Here it is that we shall probably find the cause of the change. We will look first, however, in the direction of the least change; and this leads us to observe that, in the midst of all the grumbling, there are

a good many persons pretty well, or exceedingly well, satisfied with their servants. We must bear in mind that the discontented are always the noisy and conspicuous people. One family that has grievances with servants, and an occasional catastrophe in the kitchen, is more talked of than half-a-dozen households in which the domestic business goes on smoothly and quietly. We have observed that when the conversation turns upon good servants, there is just the same rivalry among the employers as in their experience of bad domestics. Everybody has, or has had, a treasure of a servant. Everybody has some friend who is singularly fortunate about servants. On the whole, we are disposed to think that, while a larger number of candidates for service are objectionable than formerly, and perhaps more gravely objectionable than ever before, there is still a very considerable proportion of good service among the households of England; and some of it of a higher quality than our grandmothers dreamed of requiring. Our concern, at the moment, however, is with that region of society in which there is the least change; and we find it in ordinary country life, where the squire's house, and the village shop, and the peasant's cottage are pretty much what they were in the last generation and the one before it. Here we may see how domestic service appears at its very source.

When we obtain the details of the Census Returns, we shall find how far above a million the number of domestic servants in England and Wales has now risen. When Prince Albert delivered his interesting Address at the Servants' Institution, in 1849, it was declared that 'the largest of all the classes of Her Majesty's subjects in England is the class of domestic servants;' and by the Census of 1841, they were announced as being little under 1,200,000. Of these nearly two-thirds come out of the rural labourer's cottage, though the agricultural population is scarcely more than half as large as the manufacturing and trading classes. In the labourer's cottage, therefore, we shall find the source of the public opinion about domestic service which we now want to ascertain. What is the view of kitchen life which we shall find in the village alehouse, and among the gossips of the hamlet, and in the cottage itself?

We must put out of our heads altogether the tract distributor's notion of what villagers ought to think and feel. There is no use now in bringing up Hannah More's descriptions of patronising mistresses and docile Rachels and Rebeccas, in neat chintzes



and black mittens on Sundays, praying with some devout young shoemaker — the damsel having four or five pounds a year, and the youth being still an apprentice, immensely thankful for leave to walk round the garden, and to present Rachel with a sprig of jessamine. We do not want the romance of pious patronesses, but the real opinion and sentiment of the class who know the realities of kitchen life. If we look close enough, we shall find it to be something very different from what most employers suppose, or would at all approve.

When the labourer's daughter becomes a sensible burden, from her fine growing appetite and her wear and tear of clothes, something must be found for her to do, some means to support herself. The boys can get work in the field or the stockyard, and few of them therefore think of domestic service, but there is scarcely any other resource for the girl. If there were, she would not be a servant. As it is, she entreats to be sent into the field; and if that is not allowed, she begs that she may learn of the village dressmaker, or of the upholsterer. It makes no difference to her to point out that she will have to pinch and half starve all her life as a dressmaker; whereas, in domestic service she will always be well fed and clothed, and may hereafter lay by money, or help the younger ones forward in life. If she obeys, it is with much reluctance; and she goes to her place with many tears. The reason is, that the training is one of great hardship when it begins, as is usual, in the kitchen of the small farmer. We are told that a great number of young girls are worn out by such a service before they have completed their growth. They are up early, and often late; their work is severe, their treatment coarse; and their earnings are 3*l.* a year. As soon as the girl can get away from such a place, she does; and as she is then supposed to be more or less trained, she is hired at a village shop, or as help where there are so many children that another pair of hands must be called in for the rough work. Here she gets through as she can, with nobody to teach her to do anything in the best way, no leisure for learning, and perhaps no notion of having much to learn. Always on the watch for something better, she escapes, sooner or later, into the kitchen of the curate or the half-pay officer, or the widow or single lady who can afford only a cheap servant. The girl's one hope is 'to better herself'; after the pressure of extreme hardship is left behind; and she really expects to rise to a point of high wages, showy dress, and ease in her place, without any

better reason than that others have done so. She has no idea of her own deficiencies, while she has a very exaggerated notion of the demand for servants. Or, if she has a due consciousness of her inability to do anything well, this only makes her grieve the more that she was not allowed to go to the dressmaker at first. She had rather pinch on eightpence or a shilling a day in independence, than be in service. So strong is this feeling that the class of poor needlewomen is always being recruited, we are told, by worn-out or disgusted maids of all-work.

Thus far there is little or nothing that is new in the case. For centuries the daughters of rural labourers have been destined, in large proportion, to domestic service. The change which has taken place in the modern habits of country ladies does not much affect the lot of the maidservant. Mistresses of households do not now attend personally to the details of management so closely as their grandmothers did; but it makes no great difference to the scullery-maid, or even the housemaid, that the supervision is done by a housekeeper or upper servant. Where only one servant is kept the position must be much the same as it always was, except (and the exception is a very large one) that the public opinion of the working-class has changed as to the position of domestic service.

In every village there is somebody who knows somebody else in a town; and most probably in a town where there is some staple industry. If we look well into this, we shall find that we need not go further for the causes of the changed conditions of domestic service. Wherever a manufacture flourishes within a hundred miles, there will be an eager pressing into it from almost every other occupation, and especially on the part of young girls. Even the rural home is forsaken for it. In the old-fashioned counties of Cumberland and Westmoreland, once so enviable for their respectable yeoman class, that order has sadly degenerated. Without leaving our proper subject to show the causes of the decline, we may just say that the sons and daughters are found abundantly ready to leave the sinking home, — and *not* for domestic service. One son, and perhaps a daughter, may remain on the farm at home; but the rest betake themselves to the towns, and, if possible, to the manufacturing districts of Lancashire and Yorkshire. There they see and handle more money than they ever had before; the work is easy; but above all, the independence is delightful. Their old acquaintances see this, and hear a great deal about it, with-

out being told so much of the other side of the case; and an opinion grows up very rapidly that domestic service is 'bondage' in comparison with factory work. Mistresses of households in and near every manufacturing town can bear witness to the difficulty of obtaining good and self-respecting female servants, and also to the necessity of constant care and consideration to sustain that self-respect, and to exalt the position, as far as it can reasonably be done, by instituting a sort of household friendship between the mistress and her connexions and such servants as deserve any consideration at all.

If we reflect for a moment, we shall see how natural, and even inevitable, such a state of public opinion is. The liberty which endears factory life, or home industry, to both lads and lasses is in strong contrast with the restraints of domestic service; and while the employing class is indulging in eloquence about the freedom from care and the superlative comforts of their dependants, there are few of the employed class who would not prefer a herring and potatoes in a room of their own to the choicest meals in the servants' hall. To be one's own master or mistress is a luxury which is worth more to them than any indulgences under any other master or mistress. It is a necessary consequence of these feelings that such individuals as do enter service believe themselves to be looked down upon by their acquaintance in the workshop or factory, and perhaps by their own families. Hence a vast amount of discontent and restlessness. But there is more. Journey-work, whether in the factory or the shop, is relieved by a good deal of gaiety on occasion, and by constant social intercourse. The annual or half-yearly festival, — the picnic in summer, and the ball in winter, — which is a conspicuous event in factory life, excites a vast sensation throughout the neighbourhood, and is an occasion of great pride or vanity to the members. Servant-girls and footboys see the vans go by in the summer morning, and hear the fiddles and the dancing in the winter evening, and feel that they are 'in bondage,' and 'get no pleasure.' They cannot dress as the factory lads and lasses may, — buying and wearing whatever they take a fancy to. Worse still, they have not the daily stimulus and amusement of society of their own order. Beyond their kitchen mates, they seldom have any free and prolonged conversation; while the day-workers pass to and from the factory in groups, and can take walks, or spend the evenings together. The maid servant must have 'no followers,' while the factory-worker can flirt

to any extent. Servant-maids rarely marry, while factory-girls probably always may, whether they do or not. Now, while these are the considerations prevalent over the greater part of England, we cannot wonder at the unpopularity into which domestic service has fallen, whatever might be the result, if all the conditions of the two cases were well understood. It may be very true that every freak of idleness in the day-worker entails so much loss; it may be true that the liberty of one's own room may be spoiled by the stoppage of a mill and the gnawing care of subsistence; it may be that the gay dresser of the fête-day has her fine shawl in pawn from Monday morning till Saturday night; it may be that modesty and self-respect decay in the publicity of factory life, till the character becomes hard, and the mind coarse, in a large proportion of factory workers, while the burden of temptation is fearfully heavy to the rest, — all these things may be true; but public opinion among the class at the present time is in favour of the independence of factory and other day-work: and this explains the difficulty of the existing case of domestic service. In one word it is *independence* against *dependence*. The old aristocratic feeling which made the dependant proud of the trust of his master, and identified him with the honour of the house he served, is well nigh extinct. Service is becoming a mere contract for wages; the moral dignity of the condition is departing; and contract for contract, that which leaves a man the largest amount of freedom and the largest profits becomes the most attractive.

If popular education has improved in quality, as well as improved in extent, one consequence must be the diversion of a large number of young persons from domestic service. Of the female pupil-teachers, the greater number would now have been domestics; and when there is one of these in a family, the other members assume that the whole household have risen in rank. When once a pupil-teacher has become a certificated schoolmistress, her sisters consider it beneath them to be in service. Where one girl becomes Miss A. or B., the others desire to leave off caps, and to take rank among the educated class. If that fortunate individual has dined at the house of a school-manager, and has had a footman stand behind her chair, the rest cannot be contented with the kitchen. If they cannot hope to correspond with the Government, they look about for the chance of obtaining some post as a teacher of something — of becoming in some way, however humble, connected with a school; and if that be out of reach, they

will follow any employment which exempts them from 'bondage' to authority and enables them to call themselves 'Miss,' at whatever risk of precarious subsistence, poverty, or even want. The deficiency thus created must be supplied from below; and here is now the pressing difficulty. If workhouse schools were, as it is hoped they will be, separated from pauper life and conditions, we should have what we require. District schools in connexion with the unions ought to supply a constant stream of domestic servants; and ragged schools may one day answer the same purpose; but at present they do not. It is only in extremity that employers will receive into their houses girls from either of these two orders of schools. Girls brought up in the workhouse are reasonably objected to; and so are the odds and ends of pupils from ragged schools; and thus, at present, while one class is growing too high for service, the next class remain too low for it.

As the young servant whom we left at the curate's or the spinster's 'betters' herself, she takes advantage of the public opinion of her class to assume importance in her own way. The complaint we hear from mistresses everywhere now is, that applicants for a place come to ask questions, and not to answer them,—to offer terms, and not humbly to accept them; so that it would seem that they consider it a favour to propose to serve you—to take the character of the mistress instead of taking the character of the servant. No doubt this is just the state of mind in which many candidates apply for a vacant place; but where is the wonder? All they hear from both classes—employers and employed—tends to make them believe that they are the most valuable commodity in creation. Hence the inordinate demands that we hear so much of, without any improvement in qualification, but rather with a marked decline in the quality of service.

Thus far the case seems clear. The case of domestic service is actually not what it was. The public opinion of the working-class has changed with regard to it; and the public opinion of the employing class has too hastily resented this change, and has entered into conflict where it should, in virtue of superior knowledge, have been reasonable and forbearing. There is not much use in describing what one's grandmother's servants were, and sighing over the difference in our own day. It would be more to the purpose to inquire of ourselves what we have done to deserve to be as well treated now as our grandparents were fifty years ago.

What have we ever done, let each one

ask, to entitle us to be skillfully as well as honestly served? The wealthy will think it sufficient to say, that they are willing to pay liberally for service, both in wages and in indulgence, and that they think this constitutes a sufficient claim. They find it enough in other kinds of service. If they want a farmstead built, or a garden laid out, or their house decorated, they require and receive good work in return for good pay; and they therefore expect a similar fulfilment of a similar compact in the case of domestic service. This looks very straightforward at first; but there is a grand omission in it. The journeyman builder, gardener or house-painter, has gone through an apprenticeship to his business, and brings his skilled labour to market; but the domestic servant has no established means of training, and can give no security as to competency. The hirer may learn the main facts as to the candidate's moral character and general capacity; as to the rest, he must take his chance. He may satisfy himself that his new footman is not likely to steal his plate, or get drunk; but his manner of waiting at table, and keeping the plate and the furniture, must be a matter of experiment. This cannot be called a hardship, simply because it cannot be helped. The training of servants is not exactly the business of that class of society. Official, professional, political, and landowning gentlemen, and their wives, have something else to do; and it follows that they must take their chance. If their experience under such chances leads them to consider how some effective training for domestic service may be instituted, and to contribute funds and thought to the object, so much the better; but they cannot be expected to set up such a school in their own houses. The service there has to be bought ready made.

The class of persons who have large establishments and great houses, however, employs a mere fraction of the domestic service of the country. By associating together, and seeing a large number of servants in their own houses, they are apt to overrate their position as purchasers in that labor market. It is enough to say that there are nine times as many maids-of-all-work in England and Wales as cooks of all degrees. The employers who are chiefly concerned in the question are those who keep one, two, or three servants. If they were contented we should hear little grumbling from any quarter. What then, we may ask, have they done to entitle themselves to good service in their homes?

Some of them must have done a great deal; for there are certainly many thousands of good servants distributed through the

country; and these must be the work of the middle-class housekeepers. If the cottage girl we have followed through her first years, ever becomes a good servant, it must be by the help of some good mistress of that class. What the task is can be understood only by those who have witnessed the bewilderment of a raw girl amidst the furniture and the methods of a middle-class house. She has to learn the use of a hundred things she never saw before, and to take care of articles which seem made only to be broken. She does not even understand the language of educated people; she sees no meaning in their daily arrangements, and cannot remember a tithe of what she is told and must not forget. The drawing-room which she would once 'have given sixpence to see,' if she had not got in gratis, because 'it was as good as a play,' she has herself to take more or less charge of; and so on through the whole system of the house. Many times both she and her mistress are almost in despair,—it is so difficult both to teach and to learn. The thing is done, however. There is a class of neat and skilful housemaids in the kingdom, and there is even a considerable number of good plain cooks. The mistresses who have formed them naturally sigh at times over the trouble, and the damage, and the consumption of time; but they have their recompense, for the most part. Too often they lose their pupil just when she has become thoroughly valuable; but even then, they should remember that for some time they have been comparatively well served, and have been so far well rewarded. The training of the apprentice-servant is a set-off against the higher wages which would be paid to a professed one.

Who else does anything in training 'the largest of all the classes of Her Majesty's subjects in England?' It really is difficult to point out any other resource whatever. We have heard of good women here and there who have taken in, for the bare cost of board, two, three, or four young women, to train for service. At rare intervals of space or time, we hear of school-girls being taught to cook, and clean, and wash; and there are a few old endowments among us, where the object is professed, and pursued with more or less of success or failure; but we certainly have no resources at all adequate to the occasion. We are at a point of time when this branch of industry is regarded with distaste by the working class, but when upwards of a million of that class must be so employed; and we have as yet done nothing towards training that million for their work, as all other workers are trained; and then we complain of their quality! Great are the

obligations of society towards the gentlewomen who have done duty for themselves and for a good many other people. It is time now that we should all be learning that there is something else for us to do than to grumble. What else?

First, it seems necessary to meet the new liability imposed by the expansion of industry in our day. We must raise the function. If a lad or a lass is looked upon by the family at home as 'degraded' by going to service, it is quite time to show, on our part, how honourable a position that of a trustworthy domestic actually is. We find some valuable remarks on this matter in the chapter on 'The Household' in the 'Lady's Guide'—a very sensible volume, which we recommend to the notice of our fair readers on more accounts than one:—

'The first requisite to ensure a better class of persons for service—such as will have higher ideas of a servant's duty, and more desire to improve and be more ready to become attached to the employer—is to imbue them, by some means or other, with a stronger sense of the value of their position. This will hardly be disputed; yet the way to bring about that high estimation of service above other various states of life among the lower class is not so obvious, and has to be sought by indirect advances. Something might be done by bestowing still greater care than is at present usually considered needful on their personal comforts and enjoyments; something more by taking greater pains with the details of family government. Having done all this to the utmost, it will then be fair to resort to the most promising of all measures for the desired end, namely, that of making the admission to our houses very much more difficult than it ever has been; so that those who actually enjoy the privilege may be led to regard it as a boon, and a reward for special qualifications which are needed for their position.' (P. 469.)

'At present, those whom we hire to do us service seem to have no idea that the arrangement is equally for the benefit of both parties, and that it is as much needful for their convenience as for our own. It is true, they might do other work, whilst we could not live as we do without servants; but if they had the power of reasoning a little further, they might see that, without being waited on, most of our refinements on which the mechanic is employed must be abandoned. Whether correct or not, the servants' notion is that we require them more than they require us; hence the common result that the compact entered into, viz. to afford payment, abundant food, and a certain degree of liberty on the one part, and to do a stated amount of duty on the other, is in many cases strictly observed by the employers, and left unfulfilled by the employed, who care little about earning recommendations; for, as they believe that they are wanted, they think that they shall get places without very close inquiry.

'They are perfectly correct in the latter part

of this assumption; and it is our own fault that recommendations have become almost unmeaning forms, and that the entrance into private houses is not regarded by them as a boon and the reward of merit, but as a right for the exercise of which it is not worth while to make any moral preparation.

'When, according to the prevailing custom, we give almost the same sort of character to everybody who has not committed any flagrant offence, suppressing every doubt whether the person can be safely admitted into another family, we encourage misconduct in the bad, take away restraining influence from the wavering, and do a grievous injustice to the good; whilst we deprive ourselves of any real guarantee for the respectability or efficiency of those whom we take into our houses.

'It seems but an act of justice to reserve domestic service as a privilege for those only who are worthy of it. There are many persons in the lower classes who may not deserve to be called bad characters, and may yet be very unfit to be inmates of a private family; those who have undisciplined tempers, strong passions, and weak principles, are not calculated for a life which presents the very difficulties and temptations that they are not able to withstand; it is a mercy to exclude them, and thus oblige them to seek mechanical employment of some kind, where they may be less likely to fall into error, or where their errors may be less prejudicial to others than in the close contact of the members of a household.

'Viewing the claim to enter service in this serious light, the great mistake at once becomes apparent of the plea, "We must not take the bread out of the poor creatures' mouths," so often used to excuse the practice of passing persons, known to be unworthy, into other places. Vague recommendations, in which truth is suppressed and falsehood too often implied, are resorted to for this purpose; and though misgivings about the integrity of the act may be hushed by pretended feelings of benevolence, it is to be feared that a selfish desire to save further trouble is too often the real motive. Consideration for better servants ought to stop this practice; for it is a positive injustice to all who deserve well, the value of whose character is lost when all are described alike. In doubtful cases, even, when misconduct has not been flagrant, and yet when we could not with a good conscience pass a servant into another family, it would be right to have the courage to say, "You have not given me reason to believe that you are sufficiently temperate or firm enough against temptation to be sure that a future employer's property will be safe with you;" or, "You have not sufficient command of temper to make other fellow-servants comfortable;" or, "You are not clever enough to be useful. You have made a mistake in choosing service for your living. I must tell the truth to any one who inquires about you, and the consequence is that you must gain your bread some other way. Had you a proper sense of the value of a servant's station, you would have qualified yourself better for it; you must not fill the place of one more worthy." This would be just to all others in the house who have earned a

different testimony; and perhaps that very person would have improved if either he or she had entered service under the restraining certainty of what would be the consequences of ill-conduct.

'To begin a perfectly conscientious system of action on this subject will require courage and good judgment, a sense of responsibility and strict principles of justice, and it must take time for it to become the settled habit of society; until then, the full benefit as regards the influence on servants cannot be realised; but we might all do something towards it, be more earnest in our endeavours to be just in the duty of giving recommendations, and warn our servants when we engage them of our principles and practice in that respect.

'It may fairly be expected that good candidates will multiply when the life they seek will be understood to be a great gain, a bettering of their condition, and an opportunity for cultivation not enjoyed by others of their class; and they will qualify themselves better, in proportion to the value they set upon it, and to the difficulty they find in securing it.' (Pp. 487-91.)

The change in the course of a single generation in the estimate of domestic duties is curiously shown by contrasting what they then were with the extremes of opinion and of treatment at present. One finds here and there, and particularly in Ireland, and in old-fashioned provincial towns in England, specimens of the treatment of servants as it used to be sixty years ago. In Ireland the thing is insufferable. It is enough to prevent one's accepting an invitation a second time to houses where the system prevails. One is warned on arrival to keep one's drawers and wardrobe locked, as the hostess can never answer for her servants. The hostess, or a daughter, unlocks the ladder door before breakfast, gets out the loaf, butter, and eggs, brings the loaf herself to the breakfast table, where she cuts off the due number of rounds, and sends them down to be toasted. The keys are never out of sight or hearing. When we have witnessed this method in houses where half-a-dozen or more men and women servants are kept, and when we have once seen the dens into which they are put to sleep, and the open way in which they are treated as suspected persons, we can no longer wonder at any complaints of bad servants in Ireland. The wonder is that any self-respecting man or woman should ever go to service. It need not be supposed that this description is of general application now in Ireland; but we speak from knowledge; and such a state of things accounts for Miss Edgeworth's way of writing of the class of servants as the natural enemies of childhood. That apparent hardness and insolence in so genial a moralist was always perplexing to English readers till they went to Dublin,

where they found a key to those passages of her educational works. In England, meantime, there are households where it is still the custom to lock up everything that can be put under lock and key. We have ourselves had a malicious satisfaction in proving to householders who 'did it on principle' the wastefulness of the method. When the mistress gives out after breakfast the rations for the day,—the potatoes, the eggs, the butter, the sugar, the candles, and flour, and salt, and even the bread,—she is well aware that not a crumb or grain will be left over. Servants naturally consider themselves entitled to consume or appropriate whatever is doled out to them for the purpose of being consumed; whereas, when the stores are left open, they use what they need, and no more. Another form of degradation is where the mistress—'on principle' again—makes her house a nunnery to her maidens. She will not send them to the post-office, if she can go herself; nor to church, except in her train,—so painfully does she dread for them the snares of the world. We have even known her lock them into one or two back rooms, when she went out, lest anybody should speak with them at a window or door. Such mistresses cannot, of course, keep their servants, however charming their abode may look, and however liberal they may be of tracts and family-prayers, and even of entreaties to the young women to stay. It is a remarkable thing to see such a mistress go about to her happier neighbours, each time that she finds herself left to the mercies of the charwoman, wistfully asking how *they* keep their servants,—for five, or seven, or ten years. When she hears of friendly relations between parlour and kitchen, of mutual confidence and attachment, she sighs with envy; but when told also of endeavours to provide pleasures for the servants,—of country walks, occasional journeys, attendance on exhibitions, and so forth,—she 'cannot think it right,' and goes home to try to set her trap for another couple of novices, who are to live, not in the regulated freedom of a Christian household, but in the discipline of a convent or a workhouse.

At the opposite end of the scale we may find some pleasant contrasts, in every rank of society. We have witnessed with satisfaction the terms on which the young maid-of-all-work and her mistress were when the mistress was willing to provide little occasional pleasures for the girl,—undertaking herself to boil the kettle and answer the door, while her maid was enjoying a holiday walk, or a tea-drinking with a neighbour. It is the same spirit which we find in some

great houses, fitting up a reading-room for the servants in the basement,—a room nicely matted and well lighted, with a table for letter-writing, containing a drawer full of stationery; a table for newspapers, and a well-stocked bookcase. It is in the same spirit that wise householders refuse to lock up anything that is their own,—that is, anything but letters and papers. There are many such dwellings; and it seems to be unquestionable that there is far less theft, waste, and carelessness in such houses than in those in which everything is under lock and key. Employers who show this respect to their domestics have a right to be particular in their requirements; they are sure to have a good character in the servant-class; they are therefore not likely to find themselves harbouring thieves or profligates; and with every fault, short of dishonesty, falsehood, and profligacy, the most generous management answers best. In such households the difficulty which we hear most of, the wrangle about the servants' table, may be averted by the plan of permanent board-wages. Everybody is tired of hearing of the gluttony of the class, of the waste, of the fastidiousness, of the insolence of a set of persons who were reared on potatoes and buttermilk, and who may come to be glad of a crust before they die. The facts may be true; but there is no use in ringing the changes upon them, and making them a text for complaints and indignation. The servants who run to extremes in hot breakfasts, and luncheons, and suppers, and in eating five or six meals a-day, usually do it in assertion or consideration of their rights and dignities, more than in the indulgence of their appetites. There is ambition in the demand of a varied and luxurious table, as there is in the dandyism of menservants, and the crinolines and flower-wreaths of lady's-maids. Where the affair of their table can be put into their own hands, a world of strife and jealousy, as well as of pernicious indulgence, is got rid of; but the trust reposed is so great that it is only in the best governed households that the arrangement can exist. The rate, however, at which board-wages are now paid, all the year round, is so much higher than formerly, as to afford a curious measure of the advancing claims of the kitchen. In the dear days of war and corn-laws the board-wages paid in London were six shillings per week for the women, and ten for the menservants,—beer being included. Now we hear of ten or twelve shillings for the women, and twelve or fourteen for the men, besides one and sixpence each for beer. We have ascertained that the aver-

age cost of the board of servants (men and women) in the great London Clubs, at the present time, is about twelve shillings a week.

It would be interesting to learn how this fund is usually managed,—what proportion of the servants desire to save out of it,—and how much less they care for eating and drinking when no controversy is inflamed by it. We believe, however, that wherever this plan has been tried, it is found to be popular with the servants themselves, and that they save money out of the allowance. The objection to it is, that it throws considerable temptation in their way, especially in the case of the cook, who is responsible for the provisions of the family. If there are really many houses where no bit or scrap or drop from the upper table is ever touched below, we need no further evidence of the thorough respectability of a portion of the class of domestic servants, nor of their rise in proportion to the elevation of their position. Our grandmothers would certainly not have hazarded such an arrangement; and they had actually a rooted belief that no maidservant could resist helping herself to tea and sugar, however plentifully the lower tea-table was supplied. We all remember, probably, the device of those days, of putting into the caddy a card, on which was written, 'Remember the commandment, "Thou shalt not steal!"' We ourselves are reminded how a strong sensation was produced by a saucy boy, who deposited in the same place a drawing of an old house-keeper hanging, with the inscription, 'This is what you'll come to.' 'O, Master Charles!' was reproachfully said to him next morning, 'how could you say such a thing of me, that I should ever be hanged?'

Our female readers, who are accustomed to order the family table, may wonder what is done with the remains of food in houses where the servants purchase their own provisions. But the fact is that a more minute attention to the art of cookery, and the expedients by which a moderate table may be well supplied, removes this difficulty by cutting off those large and wasteful household joints of meat which encumber our English tables and load our butchers' bills. This, however, is a question which it does not lie in our way to treat, except as it is implicated with the consideration of the destiny of domestic servants. While discussing the case of an expenditure of ten, twelve, or fourteen shillings a week on food alone, as an alternative of something more extravagant still, we ought to remember what lies behind, and what before, this stage of a serv-

ant's life. No consideration can well be graver.

In the family cottage, parents and sisters may now be living on, not ten or twelve shillings a-head for food alone, but that single amount for the total expenses of the family. At best, there is seldom more than 1*l.* a week, by the united earnings, out of which to provide everything. Saucy, selfish servants get rid of the fact, by saying 'I can't think how they do it;' but how does the son, a footman, think of it,—or the daughter, the housemaid in London? This is what we should all like to know; and this was in the minds of the promoters of the Provident Institution for Servants, when they waited on Prince Albert, and discussed the case with him, and obtained his ready promise to take the chair on the occasion when he delivered his excellent address. If he was deeply affected at the lapse of a large proportion of the class into ultimate pauperism, what must it be to the parents in the cottage to know that their children, now spending the prime of their life in ease and luxury, must, almost inevitably, die in a workhouse? What must it be to the best order of London servants to learn such facts as the following, regarding their class?

'That, in fact, to a very large proportion of this class, pecuniary assistance is necessary in old age. That the number of old servants who are paupers in workhouses is immense.

'From returns then recently obtained it appears that, of the 1506 adult inmates of the St. Marylebone workhouse on the 5th of May, 1849, 1032 had been domestic servants; of 545 males, 378 had been servants, and of the 961 females, 654 had been servants. In St. George's, Hanover Square, 10th May, 1849, number of poor in workhouse, males 205; of these 68 had been servants. Females, 128; of these 94 had been servants. Total, 333. Total had been servants, 162. Salford, 10th May, 1849: Total males, 101, none had been servants. Total females, 176, of whom 97 had been servants. St. Pancras, 1333 of all ages, of whom 35 were male, and 147 female servants. St. James's, Westminster, 234 males, of whom 42 had been servants; and 383 females, of whom 241 had been servants.' (P. 29.)

On the same page we are reminded, 'That servants as a class are not provident; that there is little in the conditions of service which leads to providence;' and this is the part of the case which we have to lay to heart. How can the position of the domestic servant ever be elevated if his career ends in the workhouse? What conclusions are we to make out while we have this fact on the one hand, and on the other, the complaints we are hearing every day of the height to which wages have risen?



The oddest contradiction occurs when the arguers and complainants come to no conclusion at all, but assert in the same breath that wages are unconscionably high, and that their servants 'cannot possibly dress for the money.' The same sort of moral preachers contend against one another, that wages are 'too good' and 'not good enough,' without specifying the object to be kept in view. It would cost them no great trouble to see what the object actually is. Servants work to earn their bread; and this of course includes, as in all such estimates, their maintenance while they live. Do we pay our servants enough for this purpose, or not enough, or more than is necessary for it? In finding an answer to this question, we must carefully remember that the class concerned does not consist of butlers at 50*l.* a-year, or cooks or lady's-maids, with about the same pay in money or gifts. We must include a million and more of general servants, housemaids, middle-class cooks, and nursery maids, whose wages lie between 18*l.* and 8*l.* a-year.

Maids-of-all-work in lodging-houses risk life and health for high earnings; but other 'general servants' have lower wages than any other class in service. The lodging-house servant has not proper sleep, proper comfort of any kind. She is worried and worked out of her life for a few years (if she can hold out so long), and she is conscious of having fallen into the habit of doing everything badly, and of having ceased to be able to do things well; but she makes money fast, from the gifts of the lodgers who ask special service from her. One comes in very late at night; and another wants his breakfast very early. She may have to go to an asylum (where maids-of-all-work and governesses make up the bulk of female patients), but she may hold out; and so she toils on, with three or four hours' sleep at night, and incessant turmoil through the day, for the sake of getting 20*l.* a-year instead of 10*l.*; and, when all is done, she finds that the wear and tear of clothes (which she has no time to mend), and the drawbacks from illness, have left her no richer than if she had been living more rationally for wages of 10*l.* Of the 400,000 maids-of-all-work few have more than 10*l.* a-year, and many have no more than 8*l.* It is absurd to talk of their laying by money; and their service incapacitates them for anything higher, because it prevents their being proficient in any one department of service. How much can the housemaid lay by out of her 10*l.*, 12*l.*, or 15*l.* a-year? or the middle-class cook out of her 12*l.*, 15*l.*, or 18*l.*? Some persons who lecture them on improvidence

assume that out of 15*l.* they might lay by 10*l.*, and so on; but any sensible housewife will say at once that this is absurd. The plainest and most economical style of dress, respectable enough for a middle-class kitchen, cannot, we are assured, be provided for less than 6*l.* in the country, and 7*l.* in town. Then, is the maidservant never to do a kind act to her own family, or anybody else,—never to pay postage,—never to buy a book or anything that is not wearable? Is she to have no taste and no liking about her dress, but to determine all her purchases by the one consideration of cheapness (present or ultimate)? Under no circumstances could such rigidity be expected or desired; and certainly there is no chance of it, while the difference between rigidity and a pleasant freedom in spending will take effect in so minute and so remote a way as in the servant-maid's case. Suppose her to lay by 5*l.* a-year, whenever parents or sisters do not need help, and when she is settled in a good place, in health and credit. It is a blessing to her, many a time, that she has done it. When an old mother is dying, or a young sister, or she herself, is out of place, her savings preserve her credit, her fortunes, and her prospects; but what can they amount to when she grows old? Certainly nothing that she can live on, though they may be a substantial comfort as a part-maintenance. Few of the class can be expected to look forward so far, with sufficient clearness and resolution to enable them to secure anything like an independence. It is more natural for them to prefer taking their chance. They may marry; they may never live to be old; something may turn up; they will trust in Providence that they shall never have to beg their bread; and we find a large proportion of them in the work-house at last.

Men-servants are usually in service only for a part of their lives; and thus they have more inducement to save, as well as higher wages to save out of. The butler and footman look forward to keeping a shop or a public-house some day; and we meet them as greengrocers, poulterers, or dairymen, before their best years are over. They have saved a small capital to start with; and they have probably married the cook or the housemaid. It might have been better not, as modern domestics do not usually make good wives for poor men. Their ideas are on too large a scale, and they do not understand the minute economy of a working-class home. However this may be, here is the investment of the manservant's savings, and of his wife's, if she has any; and, in a vast number of instances, we have no doubt that these well-earned accumulations of years are frit-

tered away in a few months of ill-judged investment, or unsuccessful trade. If ever there be a time when a man regrets the ease and security of service in a well-ordered household, it is when he has to encounter the duties and responsibilities of life, alone, with a rising family about him. Happier is the lot of the few old coachmen, butlers, valets, or housekeepers, whom one may now and then see in old houses, for they can never come to want, or waste their savings. They are not turned off because they are worn out, after spending their lives in the family service. They trot about on errands, and keep up the forms of the life below stairs, and doze by the fireside, and gossip with familiar guests about old days; but long and faithful service has done more for them than employ and maintain them; it has incorporated them into a family; it has given them a home. There are almshouses to receive some of these old people. Many are watched over in their lodgings, or when boarded with an acquaintance, by the family whom they served as long as they could. Some have saved enough to purchase a sufficient annuity. In one way or another, it is to be hoped that those who have fulfilled a long service in one household are preserved from a dependence on charity; but the common complaint at present, and a true one, is that long service in one place has become rare; and it is this which brings so large a proportion of the class to the workhouse. Their money has been consumed in frequent changes, and in intervals between two services; they have created no attachment in their employers, and acquired no claim upon anybody to save them from the consequences of their own levity or inefficiency. The remedy for this great evil will not be found by argument whether servants are paid 'too little,' or 'too much.' No amount of pay would save such rovers. They should not be countenanced. A little discountenance would presently amend their theory and practice, or send them out of service altogether. But, under present difficulties, mistresses of households are as much too light in the act of engaging a servant as they are too heavy in their requisitions afterwards. Some even avow that they hire only for short periods, finding that 'new brooms sweep clean,' and that good behaviour may be reckoned on at the beginning of a service. But there is miscalculation here, which ought soon to be its own cure. The servant class inquire the character of employers as carefully as the employers inquire theirs, and possibly they get the more accurate information; a mistress who proceeds on a theory of frequent change will therefore soon find

herself applied to only by mere hangers-on,—by adventurers, slatterns, incapable pretenders,—in short, by people who cannot do better. Her fate is certain; she will soon be dependent on charwomen and job waiters. We hear more and more tendency to this descent in mistresses of households, but it is their own fault. They become reckless, and profess to hope for nothing better than getting on by hook and by crook till some chance lodges a good servant within their doors. But they forget that, if this undeserved piece of good fortune ever befalls them, they offer no inducements to retain it, and that without consideration and self-respect no good service is to be had or preserved.

Thus, in every way, providence seems to be declining in the relation of domestic service; both parties are growing dissatisfied; and while more money is paid than perhaps ever before, less benefit is obtained in return. There is no evading the necessity brought home to us by the change of times. We must elevate the function of domestic service by adequate pay, by high and steady requisitions on the part of the employer; and by making our treatment of servants correspond with those requisitions. If we compete with other classes of employers of labour, we must offer good wages, more freedom of habits and pursuits than was formerly thought of, and a kind and degree of friendliness corresponding with the increased trust. Those who cannot pay higher wages than formerly must perforce have a lower choice of servants. Those who can should consider the money well spent which surrounds them with contented and willing dependants, reflects credit on their households, and puts the future of these servants within their own power. In such a household there are sure to be subjects of interest in common between employers and employed. Books are lent from the library; the news of the day is spoken of; the progress of any war is explained, by map as well as newspaper; opportunity is found or made for intelligent domestics to attend an occasional lecture, and exhibition, and concert. We have known music encouraged, as well as drawing, and much gratitude excited by a little thoughtfulness in providing for violin or flute practice, without annoyance to guests. If it be true that in some great houses games of chance, and even high play, are tolerated in the servants' hall, and that the same detestable amusements are common in the public-houses resorted to by servants in London, we may well be glad of any opening for the encouragement of innocent pursuits, and especially in any direction of art. If it is a sign of advancing civilisa-

tion in our country that the highest order of music is practised in little back parlours in Whitechapel, when the shop is shut,—if we have pleasure in thinking of the family groups there singing Handel and Mendelssohn, why should not the same thing be desired for the servants' hall? We are also certain that it is of great utility to provide a good supply of entertaining books, and that in none of the humbler ranks of life is a taste for reading more valuable than among educated servants. Why not good music and good literature, wherever the domestics can be led to prefer them to ruinous card-playing or frivolous gossip?

The closer intercourse which proceeds from personal friendliness must grow of itself. If we are much in the world, and will look about us, we shall perceive that there are two orders of domestics, as of employers, as regarded from this point of view. The greater number of servants, including some of the best, cherish a strong *esprit de corps*. We assert this confidently, though it is customary to reckon the absence of such a spirit as among the disadvantages of the occupation. The generality of servants, however, hold by their order very staunchly,—admit no misconduct in servants, tell no tales on any compulsion, and are long in making up their minds to avail themselves of any special institution, or to admit any novelty, lest they should be in some incautious way deserting or discountenancing their body. They have their own ideas about intercourse with their employers. They hold that their masters and mistresses have their own world to live in and for; and that servants have theirs; and that neither has any business with the other. In such cases there may be all needful friendliness; but there can be no friendship, no attachment, no mutual confidence,—however strong may be the trustworthiness and the trust. But there are also domestics,—and not a very few,—simple-minded and warm-hearted, and perhaps something higher. These find it a comfort and a pleasure to speak confidently to their employer of their families and old interests of every kind, to express feelings, and seek advice and sympathy. This tendency need not sever them from their own class; but it sometimes does. We have known domestics who, sound-hearted, generous-tempered, and amiable, had yet no weakness towards their own order, but rather a tendency to disgust at any meanness and vulgarity in the kitchen, and to criticism and quizzing of the foibles of the class. They lived in perfect good faith and good humour with their comrades; but, if they must show any partiality for one of the parties,—the above or the below

stairs,—they would certainly ally themselves with the enlightenment and refinement of the drawing-room. It is in such cases that a real friendship may subsist between master and butler, and yet more between mistress and maid. Where it naturally occurs, without any injustice of favouritism on the one side, or any bad faith on the other, the relation of domestic service may be considered to have reached its highest elevation. Employers who have been accustomed to live on these terms with domestics thus incorporated with the family organisation, read with surprise such warnings as are given (wisely and kindly) in the 'Lady's Guide,' against a repellant demeanour towards servants,—against mortifying their feelings, and depressing their minds. Such a demeanour does, however, exist, and is but too common. And this leads us to the consideration of one more view of the case of domestic service.

The thing that is oftenest said about it is that it is a position of great advantage, from its freedom from care and its regular and substantial comfort. This is the consideration which is assumed to be always ready as a counterpoise to the undeniable privileges of other modes of industry. We must reflect for a moment how far the thing supposed is true.

Can any human being, anywhere, 'live by bread alone'? What right have we to imagine that material welfare suffices for servant-maids, any more than for philosophers or patriots? Is there a child who does not feel the dreariness of Robinson Crusoe's life, when he has got about him all that he wanted for his bodily needs? Is there anybody who questions the preferableness of the herb-dinner with love, to the feast with hate? If these proverbial instances are true, it must be true that working-women are likely to be happier in their father's cottage, living on potatoes and buttermilk, than in the manor-house kitchen, with five varied meals a day. Moreover, if freedom from care means an easy mind, and not merely a certainty of a provision from day to day, the supposition is not generally true. Servants have great and various troubles; and very few indeed are free from serious anxieties and annoyances. We have seen something of the life of the young girl entering service, and of the over-driven maid-of-all-work, growing reckless from incessant bustle, nervous for want of sleep, and rapacious for pay, in dread of the workhouse. Each order of service has its troubles, in the same way. The general-servant is pitied by friends for her lonely life; and it must at times be a trial; but it is so much more of a blessing that it is the one cir

cumstance for which she is envied by the lady's-maid, housemaid and cook, who live together without any mutual regard. If we consider for a moment, we shall see how small is the chance of finding a friend or a pleasant companion in a person with whom you are thrown, without any choice or, any prior knowledge. We should think it an evil for which nothing could compensate, to be compelled to pass our lives with one, two or three entire strangers, who certainly must have some faults, and who may have no affinity with us whatever. Perhaps we feel that we would rather sweep a crossing—free to go home to some corner where we could be alone,—than live all day and sleep all night in the same room with a person or persons whom we should never have chosen for companionship. It has always appeared to us that, instead of wondering at kitchen-quarrels, and asking why servants cannot agree, we should rather be surprised that there is so much decent show of amicableness as there is. Now and then we obtain some glimpse of what such a life is like. We find that the two maids who serve the house have not spoken at table for a week. This comes out, not by any 'peaching' by either, but by some accident showing that neither knows the other's engagements or proceedings; and then it occurs to us what it must be to sit down, three or four times a day, opposite to a person with whom you are not on speaking terms; and to sleep in the same room, and perhaps in the same bed, with the enemy to whom you cannot bid 'good night.' We may say here, that we hold it a clear obligation, upon all heads of households who can in any way manage it, to give each servant a separate bed. If to this is added the accommodation of a moveable screen, the priceless blessing of a little privacy will secure more gratitude from a servant worth having than any other kind of indulgence. A place, not only desirable for decency, but where she can say her prayers unseen, and now and then sit alone for a few minutes' thought, make a great difference in the character of a young, and the comfort of a trained servant.

Then, what have not hundreds of domestics to bear from the tyranny of housekeepers, house-stewards, or other superiors of their own social denomination? The stable-boy and the scullion stand to the coachman and the cook as the mule to the Carolina nigger; and the housekeeper is to the cook as the overseer to the nigger. While we can observe how few are the households where there is a middle power between the master and mistress and the servants, in which the latter are not constantly chang-

ing, we may understand that the servants have much to endure. It may be, and sometimes is, otherwise in the great houses where the steward and housekeeper are the contractors for the management of the establishment, and therefore, in fact, the employers; but in middle-class houses where an old favourite, or one who has claims from long service, rules the kitchen, it seems that the servants cannot endure their lives. They may themselves be more or less in fault; but we are at the moment considering the alleged freedom from care which attends domestic service; and we must admit that evils which render it practically impossible for the old favourite or housekeeper and the other servants to remain in the same place, must render the lot of service far less agreeable than some employers prefer to suppose.

It is no doubt true that after some years of service in a household where there is fair treatment, and some opportunity of intellectual improvement, and any sort of confidence between the mistress and the maids, the country girl finds her old home not what it was. After counting the days for weeks in the prospect of a fortnight with her parents and sisters, the housemaid or lady's-maid finds everything altered for the worse, as she supposes, till she discovers that she herself is altered for the better. There is really no conversation possible now,—the talk is so inane! The table and the way of eating are almost loathsome, and the way of doing everything is noisy and coarse. She cannot feel at home. The same kind of experience is worse to the manservant: he finds himself yet more out of his element in the cottage; but he has a prospect. He can set up a shop, or in some way make a home for himself, when he has saved a certain amount from his wages. The maidservant cannot be so secure; and if there is an interval in her life more painful than another, it is when she finds that she has outgrown her old home, and has no other before her,—for service never is, and never will be considered *home*, except by the grey-haired old housekeeper, who is secure of her own corner of the mansion for life.

These are trials inseparable from the position, and so is the contrast of the good living on which so much stress is laid with the prospect of the hardship or the charity bread of the latter years of life. But there is a great variety of troubles belonging to different kinds of service. It is hard upon London menservants to be put to sleep underground, among the black beetles. It is irritating to housemaids to be scolded for not rising early when the young ladies and gentlemen grumble at being called,

let the hot water grow cold, and come dropping down to breakfast from nine to half-past ten. It is hard upon the cook to have to provide, hot and appetising, twenty-seven meals in a day, as we have seen happen in a London house in the season, where the table was never clear from nine in the morning till midnight. Vulgar mistresses of the lower sort are apt to be tyrannical; and fine lady mistresses of every rank are apt to be inconsiderate. If the maid-of-all-work suffers for want of sleep, the London lady's-maid has to sit up for her mistress night after night during the season of balls and operas. If the humble housemaid may have 'no followers,' the confidential waiting-woman is expected to have no affections and feelings which are incompatible with her mistress's convenience. She is 'ungrateful' and 'unfaithful,' if she proposes to marry or change her situation. From one end of the scale of service to the other, servants are cruelly dependent on the temper and notions of their employers. Hence the failure, partial or complete, of the many schemes for rewarding length of service. By joining such societies, servants outwardly acknowledge the jurisdiction of an authority which at heart they cannot admit. In all such societies there are careless employers who retain servants in spite of inexcusable faults, and exacting and capricious mistresses whom nobody can please for many weeks together; and, in our time, when domestics very properly consider that there are two sides to the bargain, and who discuss the characters of places, as ladies discuss the characters of servants, there are insurmountable objections to submitting themselves to the judgment of parties in the opposite interest. Thus, while Provident Societies, by which servants may secure their savings and purchase an annuity for their latter years, are unexceptionable as long as they confine themselves to that object, they may fail, and ought to fail, when they erect themselves into a tribunal for judging of the merits of one of the two parties on the information of the other.

If we were asked whether we have no sympathy with the troubles of employers, we answer that we have a strong sympathy with them. The amount of suffering from vicious, and faulty, and incapable servants is incalculable. We feel for the brave mistress who undertakes to train young girls new to service. It is a vexation to see their disregard of the *meum* and *tuum* when the mistress misses her thimble, and on inquiry finds the cook sewing with it; or, who sees her shawl on the housemaid's shoulders. We feel for the pain when nursery affairs go

wrong, when the girl has been slapping the children, or letting the baby cry while she is getting her supper. We feel for the bachelor housekeeper, who finds his case of champagne full of empty bottles, or who is deluged with bills from the poulterers and fruiterers round (and especially the public-houses) for articles which have been supplied while he has been paying at his club for his own dinners. We feel for the distress of a perpetual change of servants, after every effort to afford comfort and reasonable indulgence to the kitchen and servants' hall. We admit the gravity of such distresses; but we add, that the pains and penalties of domestic service to both parties show that the institution is not duly provided for under our existing civilisation.

What, then, is to be done? This is the practical question.

The due provision must be made. There is no other department of industry in which skill is expected without anything being done to create it. Only in the absence of means of instruction would servants think of undertaking duties of which they are incapable; and only under the prevalent insensibility to the cause of the evil would employers complain of bad service, though they have never done a single thing towards creating something better. When the wealthy complain that their money will not buy what they want, do they ask themselves whether they have, more or less, done their part towards education for service? All the money in the world will not buy grapes from thorns, nor figs from thistles. There will be a ready assent to this; but the helpless question will follow,—what can one do?

What was done formerly? We shall be told that we do not want the old story over again of how our grandmothers busied themselves in the stillroom and storeroom. We will not, then, enlarge on this in our own words, but merely quote from the ever fresh records of the time what would be interesting as history, if it were not useful as admonition. It will be agreed on all hands that the great Countess of Pembroke had intellectual employments and more administrative duties to discharge than any English lady of our day except the Queen. Yet her relations with her domestics were these:—

'As to her servants domestic, she well knew that they were *pars domus*; and how necessary a part of the house servants are, and, therefore, to be kept tight, sustained, and carefully held up; if in decay, to be repaired; and, therefore, this part of her house she was always building or repairing by the hand of her bounty, as well as by good and religious order in her family. Indeed,

she looked on some (and possibly, on some of the meaner sort of her trusty servants, whose offices might occasion their nearer attendance) to be such as Seneca allows them to be, good servants and humble friends.'

Such was the idea of a well-constituted household two centuries ago. If we desire to know what could be said by ladies (such as exist in all ages) who had no turn for domestic management, we have exactly what we want in the apology for such failure which the communicative Duchess of Newcastle has bequeathed for our amusement. From a contemporary of Lucy Hutchinson, — that perfect specimen of womanliness and ladyhood, — the statement is remarkable; but there is probably no age in which a similar contrast of spirit and of views has not existed, and will not continue to exist, through all changes of modes and appliances. The frank Duchess Margaret says, in one of her 'Sociable Letters,'—

'My thoughts, though not my actions, have been so busily employed about housewifery these three or four days, as I could think of nothing else; for I, hearing my neighbours should say, my waiting-maids were spoilt with idleness, having nothing to do, but to dress, curl, and adorn themselves; and they excusing themselves, laying the blame upon me, that I did not set them to any employment, but, whereas they were ready to obey my commands, I was so slow in commanding them, as I seldom took any notice of them, or spoke to them, and that the truth was, they oftener heard of their lady than heard or saw her themselves, I living so studious a life as they did not see me above once a week, nay, many a time not once in a fortnight; whereupon, upon the relation of these complaints, I sent for the governess of my house, and bid her give orders to have flax and wheels bought, for I with my maids would sit and spin.

'The governess, hearing me say so, smiled to think what uneven threads I would spin, "for," said she, "though nature hath made you a spinster in poetry, yet education hath not made you a spinster in housewifery, and you will spoil more flax than get cloth by your spinning."

'Then I bid her leave me to consider of some other work; and when I was by myself alone, I called into my mind several sorts of wrought works, most of which though I had will yet I had no skill to work; for which I did inwardly complain of my education, that my mother did not force me to work with a needle; at last I pitched upon making silk flowers, for I did remember when I was a girl, I saw my sister make silk flowers, and I had made some, although ill-favouredly; whereupon I sent for the governess of my house again, and told her that I would have her buy several coloured silks, for I was resolved to employ my time in making silk flowers. She told me she would obey my commands, but said she, "Madam, neither you nor any that serves you can do them so well as those who make it their trade, neither can you make them so cheap as they will sell them out of their shops, where-

fore you had better buy those toys, if you desire them."

'Then I told her I would preserve; for it was summer time, and the fruit fresh and ripe upon the trees. She asked me for whom I would preserve, for I seldom did eat sweetmeats myself, nor made banquets for strangers, unless I meant to feed my household servants with them. "Besides," said she, "you may keep half a score of servants with the money that is laid out in sugar and coals, which go to the preserving only of a few sweetmeats."

'At last I considered that I and my maids had better be idle than to employ time unprofitably, and to spend money idly; and after I had mused some time, I told her how I heard my neighbours condemned me for letting my servants be idle without employment. She said my neighbours would find fault where no fault was, and my maids would complain more if they were kept to work, than when they had liberty to play; "besides," said she, "none can want employment as long as there are books to be read; and they will never enrich your fortunes by their working, nor their own, unless they make a trade of working; and then, perchance, they might get a poor living, but not grow rich by what they can do; whereas by reading they will enrich their understanding, increase their knowledge, and quicken their wits; all which will make their life happy in being content with any fortune. Therefore, they cannot employ their time better than to read, nor your Ladyship than to write."

Our female readers will remark on this extract that the Duchess certainly could not have understood housekeeping, as she takes no notice of the broad field of employment which lies between interference with trades and the study of books for pastime; and certainly Mrs. Beeton's account of what the lady's-maid and the housemaid have to do, make the Duchess's report appear very wide of the mark. A glance at the sections of 'The Book of Household Management,' which treat of the modern duties of these functionaries, should, however, make our housewives question their own behaviour, as well as that of the Duchess. It may lead them to consider, not only whether they have ever taken any measures to teach or train anybody to household work, but whether they themselves know how to direct such service. There is certainly some reason to believe that a large proportion of the complaints exchanged among ladies in their after-dinner conclaves and morning calls, may be dismissed as groundless, because they do not know what to require, and are unreasonable accordingly. We may all have observed the peculiarity in persons who have lost their sight that they think everybody unconscionably slow in writing a letter, going an errand, making a garment, &c. Not seeing how the affair advances, they go over it in imagination, and expect a

result long before it can be had. Just the same mistake is made by an ignorant housewife; and especially if she has passed her youth in the midst of indulgences which came to her like the light, or the scent of flowers. When the time comes for ruling a household, she orders all manner of impossible things to be done in an impossible time; and she little dreams how often the dreaded retort, 'you may do it yourself,' passes through the minds of her servants, if it does not pass their lips. They heartily wish she would, for once, try to do herself the tasks which she fancies proper for a single day or hour. For our part, the wonder seems to be that servants have so much forbearance as we see, and what allowance they can make for the inexperience of a mistress. We are reminded here of a good-hearted housemaid in a clergyman's family, whose eyesight was in danger before she let anybody know her troubles. She valued her 'religious privileges,' and bore with much for their sake; and, as often as she believed she had made up her mind to leave her place, her master's discourse to her on the trials of life, and descriptions of the beauty of patience, upset her resolution, and induced her to try again. She was expected to call the pupils (it was a school) at six, summer and winter, and to serve the warm water, light the fires, and serve the breakfast, and have the schoolroom swept and in order, besides washing and dressing the little children,—her mistress thinking it quite hard work enough for herself to be ready when the bell rang for prayers. All day, the young woman was at work, full drive, as she and the cook must have been in a household of that size and construction. When the last of the family went to bed at eleven o'clock, she was set down to make her master's fine shirt, by a single candle in the kitchen; and she rarely went to bed before one or two, except on Sunday nights. When invited out to tea, at holiday times, she was told that if she was not home before nine she would be locked out; and it was no empty threat. The only way to procure her a sociable evening was by offering her a bed. Moreover, she was not allowed to go out without her work-bag, in which was a pair of wristbands, or a shirt front, which she was to bring home finished. When asked why she put up with such treatment, she alleged her unwillingness to give up her 'religious privileges,' and to inconvenience an inexperienced mistress. The state of her eyes settled the matter at last, and her sight was barely saved by a costly abstinence from work and wages. The mistress has probably learned from experience some-

thing of what it was that she required. The family emigrated to a place where, if servants were to be had at all, they would certainly refuse to work both night and day, or at all more than suited their convenience.

In the first place, it appears, ladies should apply themselves in their youth, or in their early married life, to the study of household management, that they may at once know what to require, and obtain the respect of their domestics by proving that they are mistresses of the art, as well as of those who are to practise it.

In the next place, it is necessary that the employing class should exert themselves to see that some provision is made for the special training of domestic servants. Matters cannot mend while the training is left entirely to the humblest class of mistresses, — the wives of farmers and tradesmen, the widows and single ladies of small means who cannot afford to take qualified servants, — at a time when service is itself despised and disliked, as degrading in comparison with more independent industry. There must be schools of cookery, of laundry work, and of family sewing. It is not so easy to say how nursery training and practice in the housemaid's function are to be provided. As for the nursery work, the Hospital for Sick Children admits pupils, not only to learn the care of the sick, but to be trained in the management of infants and healthy children; but how many such opportunities exist in the whole kingdom? As for the housemaid's function, the attempts made, in the form of industrial schools for girls, to prepare them for service, have not thus far been successful. They are either left empty, or the industrial part of the business is shirked. Here and there one hears of a modern cooking-school, or of an ancient foundation where girls dressed in serge frocks and white tippets are professedly trained for service: but, if such institutions were all and always what they profess to be, they would not fill up a hundredth part of the existing deficiency. It is for the housewives of England to consider what can be done. We have known one incomparable housewife whose favourite commiseration is for sick maidservants, or for those who are depressed by hard work with no holiday. She is seldom without one or two guests of that sort, who recover their vigour and spirits under her hospitality, and always go away better qualified than they came. There are also single ladies who are of opinion that they are the proper mistresses for servants in delicate health, — too sickly for an ordinary place. All these aids, however, go but a small way towards meeting



the social want. The greatest step taken will be when we can raise the lowest social class into the late position of that which is escaping from our command, — when we can replenish domestic service from schools which will have rescued pauper and ragged children from pauperism and raggedness. Meantime the whole of society will be of one mind about *their* share of the case; — that they have no right to expect good domestic service unless they understand it themselves, and have provided means for the rising generation of domestics to understand it also.

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- ART. VI.—1. *Römische Geschichte*. Von THEODOR MOMMSEN. 3 vols. 1857.  
 2. *The History of Rome*. By THEODOR MOMMSEN. Translated, with the Author's sanction and additions, by the Rev. WILLIAM P. DICKSON, Classical Examiner in the University of St. Andrews. With a preface by Dr. LEONHARD SCHMITZ. Vols. I. and II. 1862.

THIS is the best history of the Roman Republic. Of course every writer wants some qualities which others possess. Dr. Mommsen has not the lofty and inspiring enthusiasm of Niebuhr, nor the high moral tone and intense healthiness of Arnold, nor does he always display the critical sagacity and caution of Sir G. C. Lewis, or the manly good sense of Dr. Liddell. He may occasionally expose himself to the charge of dogmatism, of paradox, of a somewhat Cæsarean morality, of a tendency to quiz and sneer which is out of place and contrary to good taste. But, taking his work as a whole, his complete mastery of the subject, the variety of his gifts and acquirements as an ethnologist, a comparative philologist, and a historian, his graphic power in the delineation of national and individual character, the boldness and freedom from the trammels of conventional views with which he treats history both in the mass and in detail, his vigour and coherency in narration, and the vivid interest which he inspires in every portion of his book, he is, we venture to pronounce, without an equal in his own sphere.

Having been convinced of this from the time when we first made acquaintance with his book in its original language, we were not surprised to hear a loud call for a translation. Mr. Dickson has now partly answered this call. His translation has been

executed with the sanction and under the supervision of Dr. Mommsen himself, whose last views it contains. It is in two volumes, containing between them about 1000 pages of rather cruelly small print, yet it comprehends only the first volume of Dr. Mommsen's original work, reaching down to the battle of Pydna, and leaving two more volumes, containing by far the most interesting part of the history, still to come. So far as it goes, it appears to us to be very satisfactory, and, as it has Dr. Mommsen's authority, we shall avail ourselves of its assistance as an interpretation of his meaning, which the translator himself admits, is in a few places a little enigmatic. To Dr. Mommsen's other merits is added that of writing remarkably easy and perspicuous German. Perhaps his book is one of the very few German works an Englishman not very familiar with the language might read with pleasure in the original. But the forms of German thought and expression are so radically different from ours, in spite of our Teutonic affinity, that the work of a translator from the German is extremely hard, and Mr. Dickson, who has undertaken the present translation 'as a labour of love,' must look for his reward to that love rather than to the applause of the public, which in estimating the result seldom takes account of the labour by which it has been attained. German philosophy translated into English is, generally speaking, mere gibberish; and even in other departments he is fortunate who contrives to give anything like an equivalent for the original. It is therefore no inconsiderable praise to say that though Dr. Mommsen's history is no doubt much better read in the original than in the translation, it may be read in the translation not only with instruction but with great pleasure.

When Mr. Dickson's work is completed, we shall have a good history of Rome in English, not by a single hand but by two; the Republic by Dr. Mommsen, and the Empire by Mr. Merivale. We are told, indeed, by Mr. Dickson, that Dr. Mommsen intends to proceed with a history of the Empire as soon as he has completed the labour in which he is now engaged of editing a great collection of Latin inscriptions (rather a waste, we cannot help thinking, of the powers of a man who can write history) under the auspices of the Prussian Academy of Sciences. But we would recommend him first carefully to weigh the merits of Mr. Merivale's book, and to consider whether much is to be gained, under present circumstances, by doing the work over again.

We do not mean to assert either of Mr.

Merivale's book, or of Dr. Mommsen's, that it will never be superseded. On the contrary we can look forward, though but conjecturally, to a time when both of them will. The writers of ancient history, indeed, are not exposed to the risk to which writers of modern history are continually exposed, of having their statements and judgments overturned by the discovery of new evidence. In their case there are, for example, no Papal archives yet unexplored and lying like a mine ready to be sprung under the laborious structures of historians who deal with those periods of history in which the Papacy played a great part. The last possible depositories of lost Greek and Roman authors seem to have been now thoroughly ransacked without result; and *Simonides* is the only classic to whose extant works it seems reasonable to hope that any addition will be made. But the progress of historical philosophy, and of philosophy in general, is affecting and gradually changing the treatment of ancient as well as of modern history. It is easy to discern the operation of this, apart from other causes of improvement, on comparing the works written on ancient history before the present generation, not excepting that of Montesquieu, with those which have recently appeared. It is probable that a greater moral unity will one day be given to the history of the Roman Republic, than even Dr. Mommsen has been able to give it, and that its place and significance in the moral history of our race will be better defined, than he has been able to define them. But the sweep of such an intellectual movement as this is vast and slow. Dr. Mommsen and Mr. Merivale may well hope that their supremacy will last not only for their own time but considerably beyond it. The same thing may probably be said of Mr. Grote as the historian of Greece. That for which there is still undoubtedly room is a good popular history both of Rome and Greece. At present those who are called on to recommend a popular history for schools or for the unlearned, find themselves very much at a loss. They have a difficult choice to make between the readable but obsolete Goldsmith, and the utterly unreadable, soulless and colourless epitomes which are tendered as his improved substitutes. Dr. Schmitz, indeed, in commending Mr. Dickson's translation to the public, seems to expect that it will be suitable for very general use. 'Dr. Mommsen's work,' he says, 'though the production of a man of most profound and extensive learning and knowledge of the world, is not so much designed for the professional scholar as for intelligent

readers of all classes, who take an interest in the history of bygone ages, and are inclined there to seek information that may guide them safely through the perplexing mazes of modern history.' This can only be said with qualification of a book which commences with more than 300 pages of ethnological and critical dissertation on the prehistoric period, unintelligible, we should think, to any one not previously acquainted with the questions raised by Niebuhr, and which throughout reserves its full interest for those who are able to compare and contrast the views it gives with the ordinary views of the history of Rome. It will no doubt supply, as the work of Mr. Merivale and that of Mr. Grote will supply, rich materials for a popular history; but if we were to select a basis for such a book we are not sure that we should not think it safer to choose the French work, the merits of which are too little appreciated, of Victor Duruy.

What was the origin of the Roman power? The Darwinian monad itself, pregnant with the whole future of animal existence, could hardly be a more momentous object of philosophic contemplation than that little germ of political life on the Palatine pregnant with the Republic, with the Empire, with the language and organisation of Latin Christendom, with so much of modern literature, polity, and life. But the difficulty of solving the problem at once appears when we call to mind the fact that the first Roman historians wrote more than five hundred years after the reputed date of the foundation of the city, and that on getting beyond the war with Pyrrhus, the last flickering ray even of tradition deserts us, leaving us to grope our way by means of comparative philology, the indications of monuments and customs, whose origin is commonly buried deep in fable, and such inferences as the institutions which existed in the historical period may suggest with regard to the previous history of the constitution. The existence of a functionary with the title of Rex, the highest in nominal rank, but jealously deprived of every vestige of real power, is good evidence, especially when compared with parallel history in Greece, of the previous existence of a single chief magistrate, and of a political revolution which deprived him of his political power, though religious considerations prevented his total abolition. But when we admit this, it does not establish in the slightest degree any detail of the otherwise wholly unattested story of the Tarquins.

Dr. Mommsen has, unfortunately, fallen into the same error as Niebuhr in not ex-

actly setting out and examining the historical evidence of various kinds for the early period of Rome, and stating precisely the point at which he conceives that fable or hypothesis ends and real history begins. This is an indispensable pre-requisite to the rational treatment of early Roman history, and we are surprised that Sir G. C. Lewis's work, which we may assume Dr. Mommsen to have read, did not force the fact on his attention before the publication of his second edition. But, indeed, we are led to doubt whether he clearly sees the necessity of a settled standard of authenticity, when he tells us dogmatically that the story of Tarquin 'is not in its leading outlines to be called in question.' The thing to be determined is, not whether there is any ground for questioning the truth of a story, but whether there is any ground for accepting it. Can it be traced to contemporary testimony? If not, any other probable or possible fiction is just as much entitled to be received as a fact of history.

Dr. Mommsen only alludes cursorily to the story of Tarquin. The story itself, in common with all the other stories of early Roman history, which fill the first book of Livy, and of which Niebuhr was so fond, disappears from that place in Dr. Mommsen's, though he subsequently refers to them in connexion with the monuments of early Roman art. We doubt whether this is the right course. To treat the fables as a mixture of truth and fiction, the fictitious part of which may be removed by the crucible of criticism, so as to leave materials for true history, is irrational, and, since the appearance of Sir G. C. Lewis's work, such attempts stand finally condemned. It is very probable, too, that the fables are not of very early date, and that they, therefore, do not possess the interest which attaches to primitive legends. They may not deserve the motto which Arnold prefixes to them from Mackintosh: 'The old songs of every people, which bear the impress of their character, and of which the beauties, whether few or many, must be genuine, because they arise only from feeling, have always been valued by men of masculine and comprehensive taste.' Still they are productions, and from the political sentiment which pervades them, very characteristic productions, of the national imagination; and the ideas which an ancient people formed of its own origin, should surely be at least recorded by those who write its history. Romulus, Numa, the Horatii and Curiatii, Tarquin, Lucretia, Porsena, Horatius Cocles, are names that have sunk so deeply into the imagination of mankind, that it is a bold thing to ask us

to accept a history of Rome in which the stories attached to those names nowhere distinctly appear.

It must be owned, too, that these legends, both in Livy and in modern historians of Rome, usher in with something of an appropriate epic pomp the grand epos of Roman history. The Romans were, above all people that ever existed, penetrated with the majesty of their own nation; and considering what that nation, in spite of all its faults and crimes, and the abyss of sensual depravity into which it at last sank, achieved for humanity, we must admit the sentiment to have been just. It inspires the exordium of Livy, and strikes the right key in the hearts of his readers. But it is altogether absent from the excellent disquisitions with which Dr. Mommsen's work commences, nor is it very decidedly supplied in the other parts of his book. Perhaps the feeling of veneration is not very closely allied to the perfect self-confidence which breathes through these volumes, and with which we will not find fault since we owe to it many bold truths, though it deprives us of something which our poetic and perhaps even our moral sense pronounces to be appropriate to this magnificent theme.

Dr. Mommsen's ethnology, like the other parts of his work, is bold, incisive, and above prejudice. He does not trouble himself or his readers with 'Pelasgians.' He refuses to waste time over those 'offscourings of humanity,' the Chones and the Ænotrians. He tosses aside the vexed question as to the quarter from which the Etruscans migrated into Italy, regardless of the principle which induces antiquaries especially to inquire into what is neither capable of being known nor worth the knowing—to inquire who was Hecuba's mother, as the Emperor Tiberius is said to have done.' Yet he is not without that ethnological sympathy of which Niebuhr's heart was so full. He says, for example, of the great Umbrian stock that it is 'painful to speak of it; for our information regarding it comes to us like the sound of bells from a town that has been sunken in the sea.' His mind fixes with great decision and justice on the broad facts of Italian ethnology—those relating to the Italians proper, including the Latin and the Umbro-Sabellian branches, the Etruscans and the Hellenes, on each of which races he has probably thrown more real light than any of his predecessors, besides brushing away a good deal of fiction. The Iapygians were a distinct stock from the Italians, and perhaps from their having been pushed furthest to the south, it may be inferred that they were the earliest inhabitants; but there is

an almost total dearth of information about them, and this is of little consequence, since, before history dawns, they have been thrust completely into the background. We thus, at any rate, get a well-defined and intelligible view, even supposing it to be only a hypothetical view, of the ethnological part of the subject.

The discoveries which comparative philology, with the assistance of physiology, is making in what has hitherto been the dark void of primeval history, bid fair almost to rival the discoveries of astronomy in their greatness as scientific revelations. By the aid of these discoveries Dr. Mommsen is enabled, in spite of the peculiar dearth of primitive monuments in Italy, to pronounce that the Italians parted from the common root of the Indo-Germanic stock at a period when a certain point of historical civilisation, including the building of houses, had been attained, but before agriculture had begun to exist. The name of one cereal (*ζέα*, Sanscrit *yavas*), is indeed common to the Asiatic and European Arians; but it means in Greek spelt, in Sanscrit barley, and in the judgment of Dr. Mommsen it only proves, at the most, that before the separation of the stocks they gathered and eat the grains of wild barley and spelt. As to the subordinate relations of race, Dr. Mommsen pronounces that the Greek and the Italian are brothers; the Kelt, the German and the Slavonian are their cousins. The close affinity between the Greeks and the Italians is traced in many respects, material, social, and political. 'But it is otherwise,' says Dr. Mommsen, 'in the spiritual domain.'

'The great problem of man, how to live in conscious harmony with himself, with his neighbour, and with the whole to which he belongs, admits of as many solutions as there are provinces in our Father's kingdom; and it is in this, and not in the material sphere, that individuals and nations display their divergences of character. The exciting causes which gave rise to this intrinsic contrast must have been in the Græco-Italian period as yet wanting; it was not until the Hellenes and Italians separated that that deep-seated diversity of mental character became manifest, the effects of which continue to the present day. The family and the state, religion and art, received in Italy and in Greece respectively a development so peculiar and so thoroughly national, that the common basis, on which in these respects also the two peoples rested, has been so overgrown as to be almost concealed from our view. That Hellenic character, which sacrificed the whole to its individual elements, the nation to the single state, and the single state to the citizen; whose ideal of life was the beautiful and the good, and, only too often, the pleasure of idleness; whose political development consisted in intensifying the original individualism of the several cantons, and subsequently led to the inter-

nal dissolution of the authority of the state; whose view of religion first invested its gods with human attributes, and then denied their existence; which gave full play to the limbs in the sports of the naked youth, and gave free scope to thought in all its grandeur and in all its awfulness;—and that Roman character, which solemnly bound the son to reverence the father, the citizen to reverence the ruler, and all to reverence the gods; which required nothing, and honoured nothing, but the useful act, and compelled every citizen to fill up every moment of his brief life with unceasing work; which made it a duty even in the boy modestly to cover the body; which deemed every one a bad citizen who wished to be different from his fellows; which viewed the state as all in all, and a desire for the state's extension as the only aspiration not liable to censure,—who can in thought trace back these sharply-marked contrasts to that original unity which embraced them both, prepared the way for their development, and at length produced them? It would be foolish presumption to desire to lift this veil; we shall only endeavour to indicate in brief outline the beginnings of Italian nationality and its connexions with an earlier period; to direct the guessings of the discerning reader rather than to express them.' (Vol. i. p. 24.)

A just delineation in the main, and all the better for its wise renunciation of the attempt to account for all the variations of national character, the ultimate cause of which no science or philosophy has as yet ever propounded in an intelligible form. But we cannot help thinking that the contrast between the Hellenic character, as 'sacrificing the whole of its individual elements, the nation to the single state, the single state to the citizen,' and the Roman character as 'viewing the state as all in all,' is rather too sharply drawn. To make it true at all, we must read in place of 'Hellenic,' 'Athenian,' excluding the intense and almost fanatical communism of Sparta; and even then, surely Plato's Republic, and Aristotle's treatment of ethics as a part of politics, are sufficient evidence that the Hellenic ideal, which could have been nothing but the expression of Hellenic character in the broadest sense, was communistic in the highest degree. That practical activity in the service of the state was carried higher and far more steadily sustained at Rome than at Athens is most true; but this denotes rather a difference of physical and moral energy than of political ideal.

Again, it is surely rather hazardous to affirm that the Italians, as contrasted with the Greeks and the Germans, were naturally devoid of the highest gifts as artists; to say that 'in the more perfect kinds of art they have hardly advanced beyond cleverness of execution;' and that 'the highest literary works that have been successfully produced in Italy, divine poems like Dante's *Comedia*,

and historical treatises such as those of Salust and Machiavelli, of Tacitus and Colletta, are pervaded by a passion more rhetorical than spontaneous.' Roman art and poetry were overlaid at their birth by Greek. There seems no reason otherwise to believe that the Italians might not have had a school of painting and sculpture of their own, in ancient as they have had in modern times. To say that the works of Raphael and Fra Angelico do not belong to 'the field of the inward in art' would be to place the 'inward in art' very deep in the soul indeed. The Roman tragedy was as completely overlaid as Roman sculpture and painting; yet we do not see why the dramatic power displayed in the histories of Tacitus should not have rivalled any Greek tragedian had it been applied to dramatic art. Dr. Mommsen indeed holds the passion by which Tacitus is pervaded to be 'more rhetorical than spontaneous.' We are always glad to hear bold things said about the objects of our literary veneration; but if the greatest gifts of the historian are not to be found in Tacitus, we should be glad to know where they are to be found. Thucydides may by some be regarded as his superior; but it would be difficult to maintain that Thucydides is more 'spontaneous' or less 'rhetorical,' considering that in the composition of his fictitious speeches (the introduction of which, by the way, is a questionable habit derived by the Roman from the Greek) he is the very type of a rhetorician. England may perhaps boast one or two historians not unworthy to stand by the side of Tacitus; but Germany cannot boast one. As to poetry, we should demur to the assertion that its deepest vein (for a time when the heart of men altogether was much less deep than it is now) is not to be found in Lucretius, in Catullus, and even in a few passages of Propertius. The parts of Virgil which are borrowed from Homer, of course fall immeasurably below their source. But there are parts of Virgil, such as the most splendid passages of the sixth book, which are not borrowed from Homer, and which unless the name of poetry is to be confined to loose philosophy in verse, must be allowed to be poetry of a very high kind.

Dr. Mommsen considers the Roman nation to have been in its origin purely Latin, and its city the head of the Latin confederation. He holds, and somewhat dogmatically lays it down, that Rome was formed by the amalgamation into one city of three Latin cantons once probably independent, the Ramnians, Tities, and Luceres. It is well known that by previous theorists these three names have been severally connected with

the three great races of Italy, the Latin Pelasgians, the Sabellians, and the Etruscans, to each of which its portion has thus been assigned in producing the mistress of the world. Dr. Mommsen sweeps aside this theory with supreme contempt. It undoubtedly rests on no historical evidence, and therefore is without value. But there is nothing necessarily absurd or scandalous in supposing that the Romans were 'a mongrel people' (ein misch-volk). The question whether purity or mixture of race is most conducive to greatness, appears not to be yet settled. The phenomena look both ways. The Jew of Sion was of pure race, and so was the Arab when he went forth on his marvellous career of conquest. But the English, for whose capacities Dr. Mommsen evidently feels respect, are 'a mongrel people.' And if the Greek aristocracies, including the old Ionian aristocracy of Attica, were originally formed by conquest, it would be difficult, in that case also, to deny that there was a mixture of blood. To Dr. Mommsen it appears the height of extravagance 'to transform a people which has exhibited in language, polity and religion, a pure and national development such as few have equalled, into a confused aggregate of Etruscan and Sabine, Hellenic and forsooth! even Pelasgian fragments.' This seems to us to be putting the case rather too high. The Romans showed, in religion especially, a peculiar readiness to admit foreign elements which was not shown by the other great races of antiquity, and which, among other things, distinguishes their character from that of the Egyptians, the Phœnicians, and the Greeks. Even the tradition that ambassadors were sent to Athens to bring materials for the decemviral code is probably not entirely baseless. And surely such readiness to appropriate is more likely to be found in a nation not hide-bound by perfect purity of race and immemorial uniformity of customs, but habituated from the first to mixture and incorporation. With regard to law, which it was the peculiar mission of the Roman to produce and to extend with his conquests over the world, there would even perhaps be a special reason for expecting it to take its rise among a mixed rather than a pure race. For law, in the true sense, cannot come into existence till the tribe or nation has risen above the customs of its fathers, which among primitive races stand in place of law, to the apprehension of principles common to all mankind. And this difficult step seems far more likely to be taken by a nation the primitive customs of whose members are not uniform, because where the custom is not uniform recourse

must perforce be had, in doing justice, to some sort of common principle.

The theory that the Romans were of mixed origin was partly supported by the supposed existence of an intrusive element in the Latin language; and Mr. F. Newman, in his work on Regal Rome, had with great ingenuity identified this intrusive element with the Keltic language, and had thus connected the warriors and patricians of primitive Rome with the Keltic race. But Dr. Mommsen rejects the notion that Latin is to be viewed as a mixed language with contempt, as abandoned on all sides. He even repels Schwegler's attempt to discover in Latin a mixture of two nearly related Italian dialects. 'When a language presents the appearance of being an intermediate link between two others, every philologist knows that the phenomenon may quite as probably depend on organic development as on external admixture.' When we have got completely to the bottom of the facts on which comparative philology and the science of language generally is to be built, we shall be able to accept the judgments of its great professors with more unreserved confidence than we do now.

We may observe, by the way, that Dr. Mommsen's etymologies sometimes a little startle us, though we do not presume to contradict an adept in the science, as he is known to be. We are ready to believe that he can support by analogy his connexion of *plebs* with *plenus*; and even that *consules* are those 'who leap or dance together,' as *præsul* is one who 'leaps before,' *exul* one who 'leaps out' (*ὁ ἐκπέσων*), *insula* a 'leap into,' primarily applied to a mass of rock fallen into the sea. But his explanation of *cinclus Gabinus* is what we cannot accept. 'The struggle with Gabii, which held the plain between the Anio and the Alban hills, was for a long period equally balanced: down to late times the Gabine dress was deemed synonymous with that of war, and Gabine ground the prototype of hostile soil.' Surely this is as strange as if we were to call our military uniform 'the French dress,' because we had so often fought against the French in it.

The Etruscans especially are most indignantly denied by Dr. Mommsen any part in the foundation of the imperial city; and, as we have already observed, he pours contempt on their national character and productions, and on that mystery of their origin, which has been the subject of so much earnest speculation. He even pursues the Romanized descendants of the Etruscans in later ages with a contumely which is a little vindictive. 'The most gifted and most

original of the Roman poets, such as Nævius, Ennius, Lucilius, and Horace, belonged to the Samnite lands, whereas Etruria has almost no representatives in Roman literature, except the Arretine Mæcenas, the most insufferable of all heartless and effeminate court-poets, and the Volaterran Persius, the true ideal of a conceited and languid poetry-smitten boy.' That Persius was a boy, and that his poems are full of boyish faults and conceits, is unquestionable. But the moral depth of some of his passages, the true expression of the best part of Roman Stoicism, has pleased, and we believe will continue to please, the most masculine minds. In this, as in some other cases, Dr. Mommsen's judgment is not only bold, but is a little impulsive.

If the Etruscans had nothing to do with the origin of Rome or with its primitive institutions, we are led to ask what becomes of the explicit statement of Livy's authorities (ix. 36.) that the Roman boys were formerly trained in Etruscan lore, as they were afterwards in Greek? Dr. Mommsen's answer is courageous. It is that Livy's statement is quite irreconcilable with the original nature of the Roman system of education; and that it is not easy to discover what the Roman boys could have learnt in Etruria. It cannot, he says, have been the Etruscan language, because that was not fashionable at Rome; nor can it have been the art of the Etruscan haruspices, because its practice by those who were not Etruscans was a disgrace, or rather an impossibility. That the State used to consult Etruscan sages, and that it took measures to keep up the Etruscan lore in Etruria, is not denied. Singularly enough, too, Dr. Mommsen admits, certainly without being compelled by any historical evidence, that the last royal family of Rome was of Etruscan race.

This contempt for the Etruscans, however, does not prevent Dr. Mommsen from throwing new light on the position of this race, as the early maritime allies of the Phœnicians, and as rivals of the Greeks in the competition for supremacy over the Mediterranean Sea. In showing how the balance wavered between these powers, and how at length it turned, he has, in fact, brought into view a very important crisis in the primitive history of mankind.

How came Rome, of all the towns and hamlets of Latium, to rise to such importance in primitive times, and to lay the foundation of her ascendancy over Italy and the world? It cannot have been from the advantages of her situation, for the spot is unhealthy and unfruitful, destitute of good springs, and liable in the rainy season to be

flooded by the river. Dr. Mommsen's answer to this question is a new one: he says that Rome was a commercial town, the emporium of the Latin river and sea traffic, and at the same time the frontier fortress of Latium; purposes for which its site on the Tiber is peculiarly adapted. Hence, he argues, its relations with Cære, which was to Etruria what Rome was to Latium. Hence, the great importance of the bridges, and of bridge building. Hence 'the galley in the city arms.' Hence the ancient port dues of Ostia. Hence the early appearance of coined money at Rome, and the ancient commercial treaties. Hence, we may perhaps add, the extreme stringency of the creditor and debtor law, though this may be accounted for by grasping landlordism, as well as by the rigorous necessities of trade. This theory seems to be probable. A combination of commercial wealth and enterprise, with a strong agricultural population, would give at once the activity and the solid basis requisite for national greatness. Nor is it to be wondered at, that inland conquest should in later times have turned the Romans away from maritime pursuits, and that at the beginning of the first Punic war they should have been unprovided with a war navy. That they were utterly ignorant of shipbuilding, and copied a Carthaginian galley which had fallen into their hands, is mere rhodomontade.

Dr. Mommsen has discussed the early institutions of Rome (primitive we cannot call them, for they indicate an advanced stage of development) in all departments, with the utmost fullness and with a masterly hand. If he has not in terms solved, he has furnished us, probably, with the best means of solving, the problem of Roman character, and determining what it was that formed the race not only for empire, but for the diffusion of law, and of a morality, far inferior indeed to the Christian, but superior to that of any other heathen nation. Among other things, he devotes a chapter to the Roman religion. On this subject, as on all others, he has thrown much light; and this chapter, with his other disquisitions on the same subject in the course of the history, will form an important contribution to a department of study which is now assuming immense importance—the natural history of religion. The poverty of the Roman mythology in contrast with the richness of the Greek, is painted with truth as well as breadth. But we venture to think that Dr. Mommsen has not sufficiently distinguished between *mythology* and *religion*. Poor as the Roman's mythology was, true as it may be, that his worship 'sank into

sobriety and dullness, and 'became shrivelled into an anxious and dreary round of ceremonies,' he nevertheless had a present sense of an Unseen Power, the practical effect of which on his acts and dealings was noted by Polybius, and contrasted with the disregard of superhuman sanctions characteristic, in those times at least, of the Greeks. 'The utter want of productive power in the Roman religion was likewise the ultimate cause of the thorough poverty which marked Roman poetry and, still more, Roman speculation.' This is true; but perhaps religious reverence was all the stronger because religious art was so weak. Pheidias and Sophocles had Aristophanes for their natural companion.

The law of Rome, says Dr. Mommsen, was, 'frightful in its inexorable severity. Yet he holds that here lies the real key to Roman character and Roman greatness. 'The greatness of Rome was involved in, and was based upon the fact, that the Roman people ordained for itself, and endured a system of law, in which the eternal principles of liberty and subordination, of property and of rightful redress reigned, and still at the present day reigns, unadulterated and unmodified.' This remark is, of course true, if not taken in too strict a sense. But if it were tendered as a strict philosophical account of Roman character, we should have to ask what was it that led the Romans, of all the races of antiquity, to ordain for itself this system of law. The secret of the national character still eludes speculation; but it is at least open to us to hold that the nearest approach to a key to it is furnished in all cases by the national religion.

In his views of the early Roman constitution, as of all other facts, Dr. Mommsen is original. The king, according to him, was the master of the state household, just as each burgess was master of his own. He was 'simply an ordinary burgess, whom merit or fortune, and above all, the necessity of having one as master in every house, had placed as master over his equals, a husbandman set over husbandmen, a warrior set over warriors.' The oldest constitution of Rome 'was in some measure constitutional monarchy inverted,' the supreme prerogative, the power of pardon for instance, resting at Rome with the people, while the government devolved entirely on the crown. We welcome the remark that 'there is no counterpart in modern life either to the Roman household or to the Roman State.' A multitude of false analogies, and of analogous terms carrying with them a false show of special information, is thus swept away.

On the principal points, however, such as



the relations between the *populus* and *plebs*, the origin of the *plebs*, and the nature of the *ager publicus*, Dr. Mommsen in effect, as Dr. Schmitz admits, tacitly adopts the discoveries of Niebuhr. This being the case, it is rather a pity that, this part of his work having now ceased to be popular in its form and become a series of critical dissertations, he should not pay some little tribute to the name of his illustrious predecessor, more especially as he alludes, or will be taken to allude, to his views once or twice in a rather contemptuous manner. Niebuhr had the misfortune to allow his learned imagination to work before he had carefully and critically examined the value of the materials on which he had to operate. The consequence is that a great part of his edifice is based on foundations utterly untrustworthy, and even in some cases, as in that of the 'Lays,' having scarcely any existence except in his own fancy. A great deal of his immense labour has thus been wasted, and, like many other powerful intellects, he has become in many respects rather a warning than a guide to those who come after him. But though much has been taken from him by cooler criticism, not a little remains, even in the way of positive results; and in virtue of the interest in primitive history which he awakened, and the sympathy for the first authors of civilisation which he created, he will always deserve to be ranked among the intellectual and even moral benefactors of mankind.

When Dr. Mommsen proceeds to give us the history of the Constitution between the fall of the monarchy and the burning of the city by the Gauls, we feel at once that want of a regular criterion of historical credibility to which we have already alluded. The common account of the Decemviral legislation and the Decemvirate, together with the accompanying stories of Siccus Dentatus and Virginia, are given us, in their main outline at least, as historical. The objection taken to the narrative is not that it rests upon no evidence, but that it 'depicts the occasions while it leaves unnoticed the causes of events,' attributing the overthrow of the Decemvirate to the individual atrocities of particular Decemvirs, whereas it was really due to political motives of a more general kind. But has Dr. Mommsen asked himself, on what foundation of historical evidence the received accounts of the Decemviral period, or any part of them, rest, and whether they fulfil in any degree the conditions of historical credibility? Had he, before publishing his last edition, considered what Sir G. C. Lewis has said upon the subject? The Decemvirate stands half-way

between the expulsion of the kings and the burning of the city by the Gauls; more than half a century before the time when Livy tells us the records of the former history perished in the flames, and more than 200 years before Fabius Pictor, the earliest Roman historian. Who, then, were Livy's authorities? On what testimony does his minute and circumstantial narrative, or the somewhat less minute and circumstantial narrative of Dr. Mommsen rest? The story, when analysed, appears to be in many respects highly improbable. The enactments of the Decemviral code do not correspond to the constitutional object for which the Decemvirs are said to have been appointed. The character and conduct of Appius are in many respects unintelligible. And, what is still more embarrassing, he and his colleagues are represented as having set up a tyranny without any means of maintaining their power, except the support of a few clubs of young patricians. They are compelled to come to the Senate, in the ordinary constitutional way, for authority to levy troops. There are also considerable discrepancies between the accounts of Livy and Dionysius, and we have no means of discriminating between them. Dr. Mommsen's account of this crisis in the Constitutional history of Rome, as well as of the development of the Constitution generally, is ingenious, hangs well together, and seems to support the sagacious reflections which he introduces on the conduct of public men and the course of political events. But we must maintain that the first thing to be done, with regard both to the internal and external history of this period, is to determine accurately the nature and value of the evidence on which it rests, whether that evidence be the testimony of contemporary witnesses in the form of public or other records, supposed to have come down in some way or other to Cicero, Livy, and Dionysius, or whether it be the disclosures made by the Constitution itself as to the history of its own elaboration, or whether, in fine, it be merely tradition. If it be merely tradition, some ground must be shown for assigning to tradition so exceptional an authority in this case.

We, however, do not doubt that Dr. Mommsen has correctly appreciated the broad result to which the Constitutional struggle between the different orders and interests and the magistracies by which these orders and interests were represented in the conflict, ultimately brought the Republic. It was government by the Senate. The Senate it was that ruled Rome, virtually elected her magistrates and generals, and guided her destinies during the most glori-

ous period of her history from her struggle with the Samnites down to the overthrow of the Macedonian monarchy at Pydna. This was a usurpation, because, constitutionally speaking, the sovereign power was the people. 'But,' says Dr. Mommsen, 'any revolution or any usurpation is justified before the bar of history by exclusive ability to govern;' a principle of somewhat dangerous latitude, and requiring, as its complement, some antecedent test of exclusive ability to govern more impartial than the self-esteem of the person who proposes to make himself supreme. The supremacy of the Senate, however, was clearly rendered necessary by the circumstances of a state in which the chief object of government was the military administration, which could not have been carried on by a public assembly, but called for a concentrated power. This reference to the peculiar duties of government at Rome is required to qualify Dr. Mommsen's somewhat enthusiastic statement that 'the Roman people was enabled by means of its Senate to carry out, for a longer term than is usually granted to a people, the grandest of all human undertakings, the task of a wise and happy self-government.' Still, it may truly be said, that of all governments recorded in history the Roman Senate played the grandest, if not the most beneficent part. And therefore it is doubly important to remember that the Roman Senate was not a Venetian oligarchy or a French noblesse, but an aristocracy in the original and true sense of the word.

'Called to power not through the empty accident of birth, but substantially through the free choice of the nation; confirmed every five years by the stern moral judgment of the worthiest men; holding office for life, and so not dependent on the expiration of its commission or on the varying opinion of the people; having its ranks close and united ever after the equalization of the orders; embracing in it all that the people possessed of political intelligence and practical statesmanship; absolutely disposing of all financial questions and controlling foreign policy; having complete power over the executive by virtue of its brief duration and of the tribunitian intercession which was at the service of the Senate after the termination of the quarrels between the orders—the Roman Senate was the noblest embodiment of the nation, and in consistency and political sagacity, in unanimity and patriotism, in grasp of power and unwavering courage, the foremost political corporation of all times—an "assembly of kings," which well knew how to combine despotic energy with republican self-votedness.' (Vol i. p. 327.)

There is a further remark to make, which is that the powers of the community, though

in salutary abeyance under the practical dictatorship of the Senate, were not extinct, while its opinion was always active and influential. So that the Senate, though supreme, was not irresponsible. The continuance of its supremacy depended on the continuance of its merit and success. In the second Punic war the people, exasperated by disaster and inflamed by demagogues, took the reins for a moment out of the hands of the Senate, and raised two of its own leaders to command. The disasters entailed by the incompetence of the popular generals Flaminius and Terentius Varro afforded a costly proof that the military appointments of the Senate, even at their worst, were better than those of the people. But that the appointments and the measures of the Senate were generally good, was owing to the stimulating and controlling force of public opinion, which, if it sometimes broke bounds and led to calamities, was on the whole the main source of generous ambition and the main safeguard against corruption. When this public opinion ceased to be respectable, the free people having degenerated into a street rabble, corruption commenced and final decay set in.

Dr. Mommsen shows himself superior to ordinary views, as in other respects so in discarding the vulgar notion that the Romans deliberately adopted and carried out a gigantic plan of universal conquest. He pronounces on the contrary, as it seems to us with perfect justice, that they aspired only to the supremacy of Italy, and that they were in fact driven to all their great wars, excepting that concerning Sicily, if not by actual aggression, by a disturbance of political relations which forced them into the field; one proof of which is that at the outset they were generally taken by surprise. The remark is perfectly just that 'the policy of Rome throughout was not projected by a single mighty intellect and bequeathed by tradition from generation to generation; it was the policy of a very able but somewhat narrow-minded deliberative assembly, which had far too little power of grand combination and far too much of an instinctive desire for the preservation of its own commonwealth to devise projects in the spirit of a Cæsar or a Napoleon.' We do not know, on the other hand, that we should state the cause of Roman conquest precisely in the terms in which it is stated by Dr. Mommsen, when he says that 'the ancient world knew nothing of a balance of power among nations; and therefore every nation which had attained internal unity strove either directly to subdue its neighbours, as

the Hellenic states, or at any rate to render them innocuous as Rome did, — an effort, it is true, which issued at last in subjugation.' The English power in India, once established, has grown without design on our part, simply as a power of order amidst the disorder and decay attendant on the breaking up of the Mogul empire. In like manner the Roman power grew amidst the disorder and decay which prevailed almost universally through the ancient world after the final overthrow of the Greek republics. Of course anarchy generally led to violence, perfidy, and aggression upon neighbouring states, as it did in the case of the anarchical Sikhs; and the Roman wars were to a great extent, as our Indian wars have almost invariably been, wars of self-defence. We do not say that our version of the matter differs very essentially from that of Dr. Mommsen, but it goes rather farther than his towards connecting the aggrandisement of the Roman state with its moral superiority, and accounting for the fact that an empire founded by conquest was on the whole more a blessing than an evil to the ancient world.

The greatness of Rome, however, was the greatness of a conquering power, and the splendid epoch of her history, and that which affords the grandest theme for a master of narrative, is the period between the conquest of the Samnites and the final overthrow of the Macedonian monarchy on the field of Pydna. In saying that this is the least remarkable part of Dr. Mommsen's history, we must be understood as speaking not of positive but of relative merit, and by way of comparison with the other portions of his own work and with the works of his predecessors. His singular power of eliciting by combination and comment the latent significance of facts, is of course shown to least advantage when the facts speak most for themselves. Perhaps it may also be said that he allows criticism, reflection, and illustration to mingle with his narrative of great events too much for the purpose of historical effect. Most people will, we believe, prefer Arnold's narrative of the campaigns of Hannibal in Italy, as more graphic, more instinct with military spirit (of which Arnold indeed had a full measure in his own heart), and presenting more vividly the awful and almost agonizing character of a crisis, to which no Roman could look back even in the days when his country's fortunes were assured, and the dust of Hannibal had become a byword for illstarred ambition, without a thrill of dread. We may point to the narrative of the march of Nero, and the battle of the Metaurus, especially, as an

example of the more intense interest in the struggle which Arnold feels and inspires. Indeed we are not sure that we should have obtained a very adequate idea of the *dirus Hannibal*, the storm of whose war 'swept over the Italian cities as the east wind sweeps over the waves,' from this work if we had not brought it with us from the ancient historians and from Arnold.

There is one point, however, in regard to which Dr. Mommsen appears to us, here also, to stand alone in excellence. The thorough mastery which he possesses not merely of Roman history, but of the whole history of antiquity and of ethnology in general, enables him to depict the national character of the various races with which Rome is brought into contact with a fulness and vividness not attained by any previous writer. He shows this power equally whether he is describing the Phœnicians in the time of the Punic wars, the Kelts who were encountered by Camillus and Cæsar, the Cimbric adversaries of Marius, the Greek Sultans of the East and the communities over which they ruled, the Greek soldier-king and adventurer Pyrrhus, or the Oriental hero Mithridates. His lively picture of the Phœnicians lends a new interest to the Punic wars. He has brought out in a clear light their curious combination of intense national feeling and passionate attachment to their native cities, with mercantile indifference to independence and readiness to become the subjects, tributaries and dependent allies of any power which, if defied, might debar them from a lucrative traffic, or which the balance of commercial advantage made it otherwise inexpedient to resist. Their submissiveness was not the result of cowardice, for they had brave hearts to venture upon unknown waters, but of the want of political qualities. 'Liberty had no charms for them, and they aspired not after dominion; "quietly they lived," says the Book of Judges, "after the manner of the Sidonians, careless and secure, and in possession of riches."' "

The following description of the preparations for the defence of Carthage in the third Punic war, will give, we think, quite a new impression of that supreme effort of despair. As Mr. Dickson's translation does not at present extend beyond the third Macedonian war, we are of course responsible for the rendering of this and subsequent extracts.

'Then rose the Consul Lucius Marcius Censorinus, and announced to the Council that, in conformity with the instructions issued by the Senate, the existing city of the Carthaginians must be razed, but that its inhabitants were at liberty to

settle again where they could on their own territory, provided it were not less than ten miles from the sea. This terrible sentence roused in the Phœnicians the same—shall we call it grand or frenzied?—enthusiasm as had been previously displayed by the Tyrians against Alexander, and was subsequently displayed by the Jews against Vespasian. Unexampled was the patience with which the race were able to endure thralldom and oppression; and equally unexampled was the frantic outburst of the trading and seafaring population now that it had become no longer a question of political rights and freedom, but the things at stake were the beloved soil of their native city and their dear familiar home beside the sea. Hope and rescue were out of the question. Policy even now prescribed unconditional submission. But the voice of the few who advised to bow to necessity was drowned, as the call of the captain is drowned in a storm, by the furious yells of the multitude, which wreaked its frantic fury partly on the magistrates of the city, who had voted for delivering up the hostages and arms; partly on the innocent bearers of the message, whom it made to answer for the fearful tidings; partly on the Italians who happened at the time to be sojourning in the city, and whom it tore to pieces by way of avenging on them, at least, the destruction of its home. No resolution was taken to make a defence: defenceless as they were such a resolution was needless. The gates were closed. Piles of stones were formed on the battlements which had been denuded of military engines. The chief command was conferred on Hasdrubal, the grandson of Masinissa by his daughter. The slaves were declared free in a body. The army of refugees under Hasdrubal, who were in possession of the whole Carthaginian territory, with the exception of the cities occupied by the Romans on the east coast, Hadrumetum, Leptis Minor, Thapsus, Achulla, and the city of Utica, and who would form an invaluable support for the defence, were implored not to refuse their aid to the commonwealth in this its utmost need. At the same time efforts were made to hoodwink the enemy by cloaking, in true Phœnician fashion, the most unbounded exasperation under the guise of submission. A message was sent to the consuls begging for an armistice of thirty days in order that an embassy might be despatched to Rome. The Carthaginians well knew that the generals neither would nor could comply with this request, which had been already rejected: however, it served to confirm the consuls in the natural conviction that after the first outbreak of despair the utterly defenceless city would yield, and thus led them to defer the attack. This precious interval was employed in replacing the military engines and the arms. Day and night, without distinction of age or sex, they toiled at the construction of engines and the forging of weapons. To obtain beams and metal the public buildings were pulled down. To restore the indispensable strings to the military engines the women cut off their hair. In an incredibly short space of time both the walls and the garrison were armed once more. That all this could take place without allowing the consuls, who were but a few miles off, to have any notion of it, is not the least marvellous feature in the

marvellous movement, sustained by the truly inspiring, nay rather demoniac, hate which filled the heart of the nation. When at length the consuls, weary of waiting, broke up from their encampment at Utica, expecting to be able to mount the unprotected walls merely with scaling ladders, they found to their amazement and horror the battlements crowned anew with catapults, and the vast and swarming city, which they expected to occupy as easily as a little unwalled town, ready for their attack and prepared to defend itself to the last man.'

At the commencement of the second Punic war the Senate is very severely criticised by Dr. Mommsen for having failed to fly to the rescue of Saguntum, and meet Hannibal in Spain, instead of waiting to encounter him in Italy. But Dr. Mommsen has more than once remarked, with perfect justice, that the Romans were satisfied with the supremacy of Italy, and had no plan of more extensive conquests. The truth seems to be that, in the first place, they had no wish to entangle themselves in a contest for Spain; and, in the second place, their army being at this time not a regular army, but a militia, it was extremely difficult for them to send a large body of troops to a great distance from home. The latter circumstance may perhaps partly account for their otherwise foolish anxiety to recall the troops under Regulus from Africa in the first Punic war, which also calls down the contemptuous criticism of Dr. Mommsen. We have so much confidence in the sagacity of the Romans within the somewhat narrow sphere to which their thoughts were confined, that we should be cautious in criticising their military and diplomatic administration.

The part of Dr. Mommsen's work which is most remarkable, as exhibiting the greatest originality of treatment and containing the largest amount of novel matter and reflection, is that which embraces what we may call the decline and fall of the Roman Republic, extending from the battle of Pydna to the battle of Thapsus. No previous writer has depicted the events and characters of this period with anything like such fulness, force, and life. It is only to be lamented that the hand of a first-rate artist should be employed to so great an extent in painting a picture of decay. This scene of the Commonwealth sinking down to its inevitable doom is one of those historical spectacles which present least either of political instruction or of that ethical interest which is the marrow of history. The protracted struggle between two factions equally destitute of any object with which we can feel sympathy; the agrarian laws, street fights and bloody ends of the

Gracchi; the reigns of terror first under Marius and then under Sulla; the Catilinarian conspiracy; the rivalries, coalitions, and contests of the selfish politicians and adventurers who composed the two *Triumvirates*—are, after all, but a sort of historical chamber of horrors, of which the reader may sup full without deriving much improvement of any kind from the banquet. In writing a popular history of Rome it would probably be well to reduce this part to much more moderate proportions.

We agree with Dr. Mommsen in the general view which he takes of this period, and which is indicated by the title of his last volume, 'The Founding of the Military Monarchy.' To a military monarchy all things were inevitably tending. The republic and its virtues had been crushed under the weight of the empire formed by its victorious arms. The Senate had sunk into an oligarchy of selfish grandees, who went forth to oppress and pillage the subject states, and brought home with them every element of corruption. The people had sunk into a street rabble, already clamorous for largesses, and utterly incapable of any longer furnishing to the Commonwealth the vital element of a sound public opinion. The army had ceased to be an army of citizens and become an army of mercenaries, attached more to military chiefs and adventurers than to the State, and verging rapidly towards the character of pretorians. A great extension of the basis on which the government rested, if possible, would have been the only mode of political regeneration. But such an extension was not possible. Even supposing that the Italians could have been effectively associated by some system of representation in political powers which were to be exercised in the Roman forum, no such measure could have been feasible with regard to the subject states. The distance of a great part of the empire from the capital would have been the least of the difficulties in the way of such a scheme. Differences of race, language, civilisation, political culture and ideas would have been far more insuperable. And most insuperable of all would have been the gulf of feeling which separated the conqueror from the conquered. The proudest member of the Roman oligarchy would not have scorned a political association with a Spaniard or a Phœnician more than the mob who shouted behind the democratic leaders of the forum. In those times, as in these, the 'mean whites' were the greatest upholders of slavery and the greatest despisers of the slave. It was easy for an emperor to confer Roman citizenship upon all the

subjects of the empire when citizenship had become a name; it would have been impossible for a reformer to do it while citizenship still carried with it political power. In a military monarchy, then, the agony of the republic was doomed to end.

On the other hand, we do not think that Dr. Mommsen sufficiently sees, or at least sufficiently bears in mind, how dire the alternative of military despotism was. Perhaps it is partly this, partly a tendency to show his good sense as a man of the world, by sympathising with the stronger and more successful side, that renders him unjust, as we think he is, towards the party of Cato. He must remember that these men were the last representatives of those qualities which had made Rome great, and which rendered her ascendancy a blessing, so far as it was a blessing, to the world. The political virtues of the Roman Republicans were of a hard and narrow kind: they have been entirely superseded by those of which Christianity has been the parent; and the attempts of French Republicans and other mimics of antiquity to revive them, are an anachronism and a platitude, for which, however, the unhappy objects of the imitation are not responsible. The choice in the time of Cato was not between the narrower and the more liberal kind of political virtues, but between the narrower kind of virtue and no virtue at all. It is also to be borne in mind, that the despotism which the Roman Republicans saw before them, and attempted to avert, was a despotism at once of the most unmitigated and the most hopeless kind. A modern nation, when in a moment of anarchy or exhaustion it succumbs to a military despotism, may look to free communities in its neighbourhood to temper the power of its arbitrary government, by the force of European opinion, and to preserve the principles of liberty for the ultimate benefit of their fallen associate, as well as for their own. The Roman Republicans had nothing to look to beyond their own Republic. And though they had witnessed the death of many nations, and especially that of enslaved Greece, they had not witnessed the resurrection of any. We judge their actions from the vantage ground of a happy experience derived from the regeneration of the world by Christianity. That their efforts were hopeless, or almost so, may be granted; but here again our wisdom has the great advantage of prophesying after the event; and it is at least a generous error, when the welfare of a community or of the world is at stake, not too easily to despair. If we are right in thinking that the main interest of history is ethi-

cal, any kind of moral effort ought to be carefully observed and appreciated by the historian; and that he has not done this, but ranged himself too heartily, and even enthusiastically on the side of destiny, seems to us to detract from the excellence of this part of Dr. Mommsen's work, when regarded from the highest point of view. The often repeated line of Lucan,—

'Victrix causa Deis placuit sed victa Catoni,'

must certainly be taken by a cool judge of history rather as a rhetorical than as a philosophical account of the matter; yet, like all fine strokes of rhetoric, it has a basis of truth, and it strikes a keynote to which something in a philosophic history ought to respond.

To come to the details, all will agree that Dr. Mommsen's account of the Gracchi is full of careful elaboration and novel interest; but few, we suspect, will accept a theory which draws so wide a distinction as his, between the characters, capacities, and aim, of the two brothers. According to him, Tiberius was a moderately able, well-meaning, conservative patriot, whose measures were taken from the commonplace and obsolete repertory of a Roman reformer, who raised the mob in the conscientious conviction that he was appealing to the people, and did not see whither he was going, but was drawn by the force of things into sedition, and was at last torn to pieces by the spirits of revolution which he had unwittingly raised. Caius Gracchus, on the contrary, is a truly great man, as well as one of the greatest of orators, with a grand and definite aim; which was utterly to overthrow the aristocracy, and to anticipate the work of Cæsar, by founding in his own person, under the guise of a perpetual tribuneship of the people with absolute power, what the ancients called a tyranny, or according to modern phrase, 'a monarchy not feudal nor theocratic, but Napoleonic.' We confess that we are unable to read such a design in the measures of Gracchus, even as set out and commented on by Dr. Mommsen; and we cannot help thinking that he throws back on the political character of his favourite, a light reflected from the consummation which destiny had in store. He is of course quite right in saying that the fatal obstacle to the reforming movement of Tiberius Gracchus was the character of the popular assembly, which was what the Parliament of England would be, if, instead of the representatives of the people, the people themselves met and voted at Westminster; in which case the legislature would consist of the populace of the capital, occasionally reinforced by the

farmers of the neighbouring districts. But we doubt whether the younger Gracchus saw this more clearly than his brother and predecessor. The main secret of the failure of both these leaders lay, we apprehend, in their want of military reputation; a deficiency fatal to aspirants to power in a state where, excepting wealth and connexion, there was in fact no solid basis on which ambition could plant its foot but the attachment of the army. It was his military reputation that enabled Marius, though utterly destitute of statesmanlike qualities, to become master of the state, and to effect a political revolution by the hand of his political satellites. It was his military reputation that enabled Sulla to reverse the revolution effected by Marius, and become dictator in his turn. Cæsar clearly saw that this was an indispensable requisite to success; and therefore when past the middle age, he quitted the scene of political action, and went to make himself a name as a general and win the hearts of the soldiery at the head of the army of Gaul. The same thing was evidently present to the mind of Pompey, when he so eagerly sought great military commands; and it probably sent Crassus on his fatal, and but for this ulterior object, insane expedition, against the Parthians.

The struggle between Marius and Sulla, and the double reign of terror, are described with Dr. Mommsen's full power. Nor is there anything to which we can except in his vigorous portrait of Marius, unless it be that he follows rather the poetical and rhetorical than the historical account of the great democrat's origin, in saying that he was 'a poor day labourer's son.' The character of Marius is, indeed, simple and transparent: he was a brutal though good and successful soldier, misplaced in the political sphere, and actuated, when in that sphere, by the blindest hatred of the aristocracy, whose 'cold shadow' he had felt when struggling to rise in his profession. He was a mere Massaniello on a grand scale, whose head was turned from the moment of his elevation, and a more vulgar form stands not in history. Of Sulla's character, Dr. Mommsen gives a version which will be rather startling to most of his readers, though it corresponds to some extent with that given by Dr. Liddell. The fanatical champion of aristocracy and cold-blooded exterminator of its opponents disappears. In his place rises the 'Don Juan of politics,' by nature a man of pleasure and society, but at the same time of supreme genius, doing, with surpassing ability and success, that which was necessary to be done at each stage of his career, and no more cruel, in truth, than other men of his

time. It is true that 'he, with a certain cynical frankness, called things by their right name;' that orders for massacres were rather coolly given, that the agents of butchery were rather shamelessly hired and rewarded, that proscription lists were framed and posted up with some disregard for the feelings of ordinary men. 'In this way Sulla irretrievably ruined himself in the opinion of the fainthearted, who are more revolted by the name than the thing.' We are glad to find it admitted that 'he is also more an object of horror to the moral judgment, by reason of the coolness and openness of his crimes, than those who offend through passion.' Dr. Mommsen is evidently much fascinated by Sulla's character, which he holds to be 'not only one of the most wonderful, but perhaps unique in history.' We cannot think that in any essential respect it is so, though the circumstances under which it was displayed were such as to invest it with a lurid grandeur, and the abdication of the terrible dictatorship is an incident most stimulating to the imagination, as the magnificent stanza on Sulla in Byron's *Ode to Napoleon* proves. The plain fact probably is, that Sulla was a compound, by no means unexampled or even uncommon, of practical ability, cruelty, and lust; the combination of the two latter qualities being, in truth, the rule and not the exception. He was by inclination an Epicurean, by necessity a soldier, by his ability a great soldier, and, as a great soldier, the head of his faction. As head of a faction, he was stimulated to massacre and confiscation, not only by party violence and vengeance, which the previous excesses of the Marian party had, of course, wrought to the highest pitch, but by recent personal injury and the recollection of old affronts. Having satisfied his revenge and that of his partisans, and secured by all the measures in his power both their ascendancy and his own personal safety, he fell back into Epicureanism, to which he was naturally inclined. There is nothing in this at all out of the ordinary course of human nature. As to the Dictator's superstition, it was, like his complexion, strange; but it was nothing more. Dr. Mommsen, while with justice praising Sulla's measures as means to a special and temporary end, sees that they were essentially unstable; and probably Dr. Liddell is not far wrong in saying that the moral of the Dictatorship was, 'After me the deluge.'

It is wonderful how little the fatal disease which was gnawing the vitals of the Republic at home interfered with the exertion of her victorious energy abroad. The excellence of her armies, indeed, as it proves that her military administration was still good,

must be taken as an abatement of the general sentence on the corruption and misgovernment of the Senate. Cæsar, an experienced general, and therefore necessarily incapable of moving any but a highly organised army provided with a first-rate staff, owed the means of greatness to the Government which his greatness was to overthrow; as he certainly owed the aspiring ambition which launched him on his splendid career to the influence of a political atmosphere more stimulating even in the worst of times than that of a paternal monarchy. In following the progress of conquest towards the East and West, Dr. Mommsen finds opportunities for the exercise of his very remarkable faculty of portraying national character whether exhibited by a nation in the mass or by its representative men. He thus depicts Mithridates:—

'There reigned at that time in the kingdom of Pontus King Mithridates VI., surnamed Eupator, who traced his descent, on his father's side, in the sixteenth degree from King Darius, the son of Hytaspes, and in the eighth degree from the founder of the Pontic Empire, Mithridates I. On his mother's side he was descended from the Alexandrides and Seleucides. On the early death of his father, Mithridates Euergetes, who fell at Sinope by the hand of an assassin, he had come to the title of king (in 634) when a boy of eleven years: but his diadem brought him only danger and distress. His guardians, nay, even his mother, who had been named co-regent by his father's will, conspired against the life of the royal child. It is said that in order to escape from the daggers of his lawful protectors he became a wanderer, and for seven years, changing his resting-place from night to night, and a fugitive in his own kingdom, lived the life of a homeless hunter. In this manner the boy became a mighty man. Although our accounts of him, in their essential features, may be traced to the written records of contemporaries, nevertheless tradition, spreading as quick as lightning in the East, has adorned the king with many of the characteristics of their Samson and Rustam. Even these, however, belong to his character as its cloudy crown belongs to the character of the lofty mountain peak. The main outline in both cases appears more richly coloured and more fantastic, but not disturbed nor essentially altered. The armour which fitted the gigantic form of King Mithridates excited the wonder of the Asiatics and still more that of the Italians. As a runner he could overtake the swiftest beasts of chase. As a horseman he could master the wild steed, and with relays of horses could perform twenty-five German miles in a day. As a charioteer he drove sixteen horses at once, and carried off many a prize. It is true, it was dangerous in such sports to beat the king. In hunting he brought down the game on horseback at full gallop without ever missing. But even at table he might seek his equal in vain. He made banqueting-matches, and himself carried off the prize for the hugest eater or the most valiant drinker. And it was the same in the pleasures of



the Harem, as was proved among other things by the licentious billets-doux to his Greek concubines which were found among his papers. His spiritual and mental wants he satisfied by the wildest superstitions (the interpretation of dreams and the Greek mysteries occupied not a few of the hours of the king), and by a coarse adoption of Greek civilisation. He was fond of Greek art and music; that is to say, he made collections of precious articles, rich furniture, and antique objects of Persian and Greek magnificence (his cabinet of rings was famous), had constantly Greek historians, philosophers, and poets in his train, and awarded prizes at the banquets of his court not only for the first eater and drinker but for the pleasantest jester and the best singer. Such was the Man; and the Sultan was like the Man. In the East, where the relation between the ruler and the ruled bears rather the character of natural than of moral law, the subject's fidelity and faithfulness are alike those of a dog, while the ruler is cruel and suspicious. In cruelty and suspicion Mithridates has seldom been surpassed. By his command there died, or were imprisoned for life, either for real or alleged treason, his mother, his brother, his sister, who had been betrothed to him, three of his sons, and as many of his daughters. Still more revolting it is, perhaps, that among his secret papers there were found death-warrants prepared beforehand, against several of his most trusted servants. It was a genuine trait of the Sultan, too, that afterwards, merely to deprive his enemies of the trophies of victory, he had his whole harem massacred, and distinguished his most beloved concubine, a beautiful Ephesian, by giving her the choice of the mode of death. The experimental study of poisons and antidotes he carried on as an important matter of state, and endeavoured to inure his body to the several kinds of poison. Treason and murder he had been taught early in life to expect from everybody, and especially from his nearest relations, and to practise against everybody, and especially against his nearest relations. The necessary consequence, traceable through his whole history, was that all his undertakings finally miscarried through the treachery of those in his confidence. Withal, we meet with isolated traits of magnanimous justice. In punishing traitors he generally spared those who had been implicated in the crime only through their relationship to the principal criminal; but occasional fits of equity are found in every savage tyrant. What really distinguishes Mithridates among a crowd of similar sultans is his boundless activity. One fine morning he disappeared from his palace, and remained missing for months, so that he was given up for lost: when he returned he had wandered unknown through the whole of anterior Asia, and reconnoitred all the country and people. In like manner he was not only generally fluent in speech, but gave judgment to the twenty nations over which he reigned, each in its own tongue without an interpreter—a distinguishing trait in the active ruler of the many-tongued East. The same character is presented by his whole activity as a ruler.

History—that history at least which is not written by contemporaries, would, we fear, prove, if coolly analysed, to be to a melan-

choly extent the result of imagination acting upon imperfect data. And of no department of history is this more true than of historical portraiture. This portrait of Mithridates, however, from which most of our readers will probably have derived a new idea of the man, appears to us to be the genuine result not of imagination but of the power of combination. Life and significance is given to the recorded features of the great Sultan's moral physiognomy by connecting them with the general type of character and the national peculiarities to which they truly belong, and which Dr. Mommsen's comprehensive knowledge enables him to bring before us in the most lively manner. His portrait of Pyrrhus is, perhaps, more excellent even than that of Mithridates, and those who will be at the trouble to verify its features will find that they are equally authentic. But we preferred to give the character of Mithridates as a specimen, because the character of Pyrrhus, being in the part of the work translated by Mr. Dickson, is equally accessible to all readers.

Turning from the East to the West, the fall of Alesia and the surrender of Vercingetorix to Cæsar, which in effect closed the struggle of ages between Rome and the Kelts, affords another signal instance of the effect which Dr. Mommsen's ethnology lends to his historical portraiture. In this case the recorded traits of the individual man are fewer, and the ethnological element goes for more than in the case of Mithridates. The Gauls have been defeated in their last effort to relieve the besieged town.

'It was more than a great victory. The fate of Alesia and that of the Celtic nation had been finally decided. The Celtic army, in utter dismay, dispersed at once from the battle-field and fled home. Vercingetorix might perhaps even now have taken to flight; at any rate he might have saved himself by the last way left to a free man. He did not do so, but announced in a council of war that since he had failed to break the yoke of the stranger he was ready to give himself up as a victim, and turn destruction, as far as might be, from the nation on his own head. This was done. The Celtic officers delivered up their general, the solemn choice of the whole nation, to the enemy of their country to suffer any punishment he might choose to inflict. Mounted on his horse in full armour, the king of the Arverni presented himself before the Roman proconsul and rode round his tribunal. Then he delivered up his steed and arms, and silently sank down at the feet of Cæsar. Five years later he was led in triumph through the streets of the Italian capitol, and beheaded for high treason against the Roman nation at the foot of the capitol, while on its top his conqueror was offering up thanksgivings to its gods. As after a day of gloom the sun at its setting breaks through the clouds, so destiny bestows on nations at their

going down one last illustrious man. So stands at the close of Phœnician history Hannibal, so at the close of Keltic history Vercingetorix. Neither of them was able to save his nation from a foreign yoke, yet each saved his nation from the last disgrace, an inglorious fall. Vercingetorix, too, like the Carthaginian, had to contend not only against the public enemy but, what was still harder, against the anti-national opposition of wounded egotists and flurried cowards, the constant accompaniments of a degenerate civilisation. For him, also, a place in history is secured, not by his battles and sieges, but because he was able to give, in his own person, a centre and rallying point to a nation worn out and lost in the contest of individual interests. And yet there cannot be a sharper contrast than that between the sober-minded citizen of the Phœnician trading city, whose plans were for fifty years directed with unwavering energy towards one great aim, and the bold prince of the Keltic land, whose great exploits and high-minded sacrifice fall within the compass of one short summer. Antiquity had not a more perfect knight, either in his inner being or in his outward bearing. But the man should not be a knight, least of all the statesman. It was the knight, not the hero, that disdained to escape from Alesia, when he was assuredly of more value to the nation than a hundred thousand brave men of an ordinary kind. It was the knight, not the hero, who offered himself as a sacrifice, when the only thing gained by the sacrifice was that the nation publicly dishonoured itself, and mingled absurdity with cowardice, by declaring with its last breath that its last death-struggle in the history of the world was an offence against its lord and master. Far different was the conduct of Hannibal in similar situations. It is impossible to part with the noble king of the Arverni without a feeling of historical and human sympathy; but it stamps the character of the Keltic nation that their greatest man was after all nothing but a knight.

Dr. Mommsen, we may observe in passing, appears to lean rather to an aristocratic view of the inherent superiority and inferiority of different races. Moralising on the fate of the Kelts, whose national character he has depicted with a graphic minuteness which adds some new touches even to the apparently exhaustive account of M. Amédée Thierry, he says that 'in the mighty vortex of the world's history which pitilessly grinds to powder all races not as hard as steel and as flexible as steel, such a nation could not long maintain its existence.' 'The Kelts of the continent,' he proceeds, 'justly (billig) experienced at the hands of the Romans the same fate which their kinsmen in the island of Ireland have experienced down to our day at the hands of the Saxon; the fate of being merged in a nationality politically superior as the leaven of a future development.' There can be little doubt that conquest, among other agencies of the sterner kind, has served the designs of Pro-

vidence in the formation and education of nations. But as it also serves the ambition and cupidity of conquerors, we must deprecate the use of figurative language on the subject, and request the hierophants of historical philosophy to pause before they give general bulls of conquest to all 'nationalities' which may consider themselves as 'politically superior' and regard their weaker neighbours as eligible 'leaven' for 'a future development.' We should decidedly demur to a theory of the matter which would stamp as 'just' the fate which the Irish have experienced at the hands of the Saxons. Nor are we by any means inclined to enthrone the 'vortex of history' in place of a national morality as the arbiter of international transactions. It reminds us of the young *esprit fort* in Aristophanes announcing that

Δίνος βασιλεύει, τὸν Δί' ἐξέληλακώς.

Up to the appearance of Cæsar on the scene Dr. Mommsen, though leaning decidedly to that which is to be the Cæsarean party, preserves his general independence; but when that child of destiny appears, he really falls down and worships. From this point his history, while it retains many and great merits, loses the great merit of impartiality. His character of Cæsar is not a discriminating delineation, but a vehement, though of course not a vulgar panegyric. The circumstances under which Cæsar acted are, as Dr. Mommsen, in a passage we shall presently quote very forcibly shows, so different from any that can now occur that we may afford to take a passionless view of his character. It is a most interesting subject of ethical and historical study, provided that it be rationally studied with an equal regard to all the facts. It is of course evident that he was a wonderful general, a great administrator, a man singularly gifted, alike in politics and in war, with the Roman faculty of command. It is also evident that there were some amiable features in his character—a fearless clemency towards his vanquished enemies, and a warm heart towards his friends. But if he is put forward as 'the man of humanity' to use Michelet's expression, and as having risen superior to the spirit of Roman conquest, some account must be given of his cold-blooded murder of Vercingetorix; and if he is to be put forward as the type of consummate wisdom, some account must be given of the delirious extravagance with which he celebrated his triumph, of the tyrannical insolence which he displayed in forcing a Roman knight to appear on the stage, of his irresolute but fatal dallying with the

title of king. It was this last indiscretion, so unutterably offensive to all that remained of the old republican spirit, which in fact led to his assassination; and it gave that act at least, some colour of virtue according to the maxims of antiquity embodied in the Valerian law, which declared accursed and devoted the life and property of the man who should attempt to make himself a king. If Cæsar had shown that he was contented to remain dictator, his life would in all probability have been secure. Cicero said with justice that 'it was Antony who slew him, on the day of the Lupercalia,' when he was offered and showed that he wished to accept the crown.

Dr. Mommsen has persuaded himself that Cæsar's career was inspired and directed throughout by a grand moral aim. 'From his earliest youth Cæsar was a statesman in the deepest sense of the word, and his aim the highest which it is permitted to man to set before himself; the political, military, intellectual, and moral (sittliche) regeneration of his own deeply degraded nation, and of the still more deeply degraded Hellenic nation, which had become so closely connected with his own.' That this debauchee, overwhelmed with debt, should have had in view the moral regeneration of his countrymen, is surely a most incredible hypothesis. Dr. Mommsen is obliged to admit that 'the bitter lessons of thirty years' experience had altered Cæsar's views as to the means by which his object was to be accomplished.' He had discovered, we presume, that the moral regeneration of the world was not to be effected through the instrumentality of a Clodius or a Catiline, his early associates, but rather through the instrumentality of an Antony. If Cæsar is to be credited with devotion to any sort of principle, even of the merest party kind, his advocates must explain how he came to be found in such a coalition as that of the second Triumvirate. The truth, stamped on his whole career, and obvious to common sense, is that his ambition was purely selfish. It may have been, and probably was the case, that his selfish ambition coincided with the interest of the state, or rather of the empire, which required a dictator and could have found no dictator so able as him. But this, while it extinguishes our regret at his success, does not warrant us in giving the great adventurer a place among those noble spirits who have lived not for themselves, but for mankind. Dr. Mommsen's comparison of Cæsar to Cromwell is singularly infelicitous, except in so far as both set out as political leaders, and passed, at an advanced period of life, to a military career. That Crom-

well, at all events, fought for a cause is as certain, as in our opinion it is that Cæsar did not. In fact Cæsar's own sayings are the best commentary on his career, and the most complete confutation of those who imagine his object to have been the 'moral regeneration' of the world. 'I would rather be the first man in a village than the second in Rome' is a grand expression of personal ambition. 'If one must commit wrong, let it be for sovereign power,' is an expression of personal ambition which is not even grand.

Dr. Mommsen, also, it appears to us, very greatly overpraises, while he no doubt elucidates, Cæsar's legislation. He renounces as presumptuous the attempt to say whether the plan of so great a genius was complete; but remarks that we can discern no deficiency in it, and that 'each stone of the edifice is enough to make the builder immortal, while it altogether forms a harmonious whole.' Two of the stones are a measure for recruiting the patrician order, and a sumptuary law. The first requires a torturing process to bring it into harmony with an edifice, the design of which is supposed to be democratic; the second would have been frivolous and antiquated whoever had proposed it, and was ludicrous when proposed by a Sybarite. A despot, acting in a sort of political vacuum caused by the overthrow of all old institutions, like Cæsar or Napoleon, may make a much greater show and produce a much greater sensation by administrative reforms, than a man of equal ability who had not so splendid an opening. But administrative reforms will not restore life to a nation. Even the most dazzling of all such reforms, a codification of the law, such as was projected by Cæsar, and accomplished by, or rather under, Napoleon, cannot revive the spirit of justice; while it depends for its own value on the soundness of the legal principles elaborated by the judicial system under the previous state of things.

That one, however, of Cæsar's measures, with regard to which Dr. Mommsen is least perspicacious, not to say most blind, is the great measure of all; the institution of the Empire itself. 'This monarchy,' he says, 'was not the Oriental despotism by the grace of God, but a monarchy, such as Caius Gracchus wished to found, and Pericles and Cromwell founded; the representation of the nation by a supreme and absolute master.' What sort of monarchy Caius Gracchus wished to found, we cannot presume to say, since he has left us no intimation of his views upon the subject. What Dr. Mommsen calls the Monarchy of Per-

icles, was no monarchy at all, but simply such a power as may be exercised by a very popular leader of the English House of Commons, a Chatham or a Pitt. The monarchy which Cromwell attempted to found, was a Constitutional and Parliamentary monarchy; but, as he failed in his attempt, his authority was in fact merely that of a military Dictator, ending with his life. The monarchy founded by Cæsar was an hereditary despotism, with power of adoption, though the succession was a good deal disturbed by the failure of one reigning family after another, as well as by conspiracy, assassination, and civil war. The occasional intervention of the prætorians was the only approach to the renewal of anything like an elective trust. The autocracy of a Nero or a Commodus was certainly not, in any sense, 'by the grace of God'; and being founded in a civilised and cultivated nation, it was of a somewhat more artificial character than the coarse despotisms of the East; but it did not differ from Oriental despotisms in any essential respect. The question is then, whether Cæsar contemplated the foundation of an hereditary despotism, with all the accidents and evils to which, as he might have seen from the example of Greek and Asiatic dynasties, hereditary despotism is liable. Upon the answer to that question, not upon the opinion we may form of any of his secondary measures, our estimate of his character as a statesman must essentially depend. For our part, we believe the true answer to be, that he contemplated nothing beyond the retention of supreme power during his own life. And this brings us back to the conclusion that he was the prince of adventurers, not one of the heroic benefactors of mankind.

It is surely startling, too, to be told that 'the new Empire was nothing more or less than a revival of the old Roman monarchy,' and that 'there is scarcely a trait of the new monarchy which has not its counterpart in the old.' Without going into all the details, it is enough to recall Dr. Mommsen's previous description of the old Roman monarchy, as 'a constitutional monarchy inverted.' If he will show us a real constitutional element, whether inverted or otherwise, in the Roman empire when fully developed, we will undertake to show him an element as really constitutional in the empire of the Medes and Persians. We say, in the Roman empire when fully developed. It takes two or three reigns after the first institution of a dynastic despotism to extirpate public spirit and destroy the force of public opinion; and therefore, during the first two or three reigns, there is a certain

limitation to the power of the despot, though not one properly speaking of a constitutional kind.

If Dr. Mommsen's character of Cæsar is brilliant panegyric, his characters of Cato and Cicero are little else than very pungent vituperation. Cato is 'Don Quixote,' and his follower Favonius is his 'Sancho.' The tragical significance of his death at the fall of the Republic, is said to be 'only enhanced by the fact, that he himself was a fool (Thor); just as Don Quixote, though a fool, is a tragical personage.' 'It makes one tremble to think, that on that world-theatre, on which so many great and wise men had moved and acted, the clown (Narr) should have been chosen by destiny to speak the Epilogue.'

'Curramus præcipites, et  
Dum jacet in ripâ calcemus Cæsaris hostem.'

We will not attempt here to discuss in detail the question respecting the character of Cato. The cautious student of history will consult Plutarch as well as Dr. Mommsen; and in Plutarch he will find the description of a character far less fanatical and chimerical, as well as far more dignified and amiable, than Dr. Mommsen depicts, and indeed, than is commonly imagined. Cicero, while he deeply respected his friend, complained of his impracticability; but Cato might be firmer and more uncompromising than Cicero, without laying himself open to that accusation. Sallust was strongly prejudiced against Cato's party, by which he had been degraded from the senate, yet he says of Cato, that 'his heart was set on moderation, dignity of conduct, unbending integrity above all. He did not vie with the wealthy in wealth or with party leaders in the number of their partisans, but with the energetic in the performance of duty, with the honourable in the fear of disgrace, with the spotless in purity of life. He desired more to be virtuous than to be thought so, and glory followed him the more, because he sought it not.' Valerius Paterculus, an imperialist writer, says: 'Marcus Cato was a man of ideal virtue, and in all things more like a god than a man; one who never did right for appearance sake, but because it was not in his nature to do otherwise, and who deemed nothing expedient but that which was just. He was free from all the vices of humanity, and over him fortune had no power.' Valerius Maximus, another imperialist, speaks of Cato's 'divine soul,' and rejects as needless all testimony to his virtue. Among the poets who wrote under and for the second Cæsar, Virgil makes Cato preside over the

<sup>8</sup>spirits of the good in Elysium, and Horace pays a tribute to the soul 'which alone remained unconquered amidst a conquered world.' These are the testimonies, some of them the unwilling testimonies, of countrymen, who were either contemporaries, or lived sufficiently near the time in question to give their evidence considerable weight; and they are not to be swept away by the hard epithets and satirical phrases of a modern historian. But the best testimony of all to Cato's importance as a statesman, is, as Dr. Mommsen very candidly admits, that of Cæsar himself, who excepted Cato from the general amnesty, and pursued him, even after his death, with a hatred, which we cannot, with Dr. Mommsen, resolve into a general antipathy between the practical and the ideal.

We must observe that the testimonies to Cato's worth which we have cited are quite independent of that Republican Opposition of the Empire which, as Dr. Mommsen says, 'waged a long war of plot and literature against the Cæsarean Monarchy,' and to which he attributes the canonisation of Cato's name; but at the same time we may remark that the very strength and vitality of the party which thus connected itself with Cato, considering the tyranny, frequently carried to the height of a positive reign of terror, under which it subsisted, is a strong proof that the cause for which Cato fought and died was not absurd nor even utterly desperate. This party may, in fact, be said, in a certain sense, to have ultimately triumphed; not indeed in the form of a restored Republic, but in the persons of the Antonines, who were not only of the Stoic sect, but as far as the times permitted, republicans in principle; though Imperialists and Epicurists, forgetting this fact, parade their government as examples of the happiness which mankind may enjoy under beneficent despots.

On Cicero as a statesman, as an actor, and as a writer, Dr. Mommsen pours the keen shafts of his ridicule and contempt. As a statesman he is described as a political nullity, about whom people never in reality gave themselves the smallest concern, an unprincipled adventurer ready to serve any cause whether that of aristocracy, democracy, or monarchy; a man 'without insight, view or object.' As an orator he is 'without passion or conviction, a mere advocate, and not even a good advocate;' and 'the only thing wonderful about his speeches is that they should have been admired.' As a philosopher and literary man, he 'stands no higher than as a statesman.' He was so complete a dabbler (*Pfuscher*) that it did

not matter what subject he undertook. Not a rag of literary excellence is left him but his 'style.' And 'it is scarcely necessary to remark that such a statesman and writer could as a man have nothing in him but weak, varnished superficiality and heartlessness.' This is a bold and dashing hypothesis, as Dr. Mommsen's hypotheses are wont to be, and it is set out with abundance of epigrammatic criticism and sparkling irony. But we venture to think that, like his hypothesis of Cato's character, it fails to cover all the facts. Cicero's weaknesses are on the surface and admitted on all hands; but we should not now be talking about his weaknesses if he had not filled a place in history which implies that he was not merely weak. How came he to make so great an impression on the minds of his countrymen, to win the title of *Pater Patriæ*, and to call forth such rapturous eulogies as Pliny the Elder, for example, bestows upon his memory? Without the aid of powerful connexions and in spite, it seems of physical weakness, he rose to eminence among fierce and daring spirits in stormy and dangerous times. We cannot see any historical grounds for agreeing with Dr. Mommsen that Cicero was thought a person of no consequence, either by the party which exerted its power to drive him into exile, or by the nation which welcomed him with general demonstrations of enthusiasm on his return. Perhaps mild virtues and good intentions were less objects of contempt to the generality of men, even in that age of unscrupulous violence, than they are to a literary worshipper and panegyrist of force. When Dr. Mommsen pronounces all Cicero's letters except the gossiping letters, dull and empty, he should remember the admirable letter to Quintus Cicero on the government of a province, more especially as the writer seems to have enforced his precepts by his own example. That Cicero was a bad advocate is the reverse of what his contemporaries and those whose causes he had pleaded, emphatically said, and unquestionably believed; and we cannot think that their judgment on a matter so much within their experience is to be lightly set aside. As a writer he undoubtedly owes much to his style; but the mere selection and arrangement of words would never have obtained a hold, much less an extensive and lasting hold, on the intellect of the world. In the last century and that which preceded, Cicero was the delight and almost the idol of minds less profound and refined, but perhaps, more robust than ours;

\* *Nat. Hist.* vol. vii. p. 31.

and even the latest writers on ancient philosophy acknowledge the success with which he expressed and recommended the leading principles, not only of morality but of natural religion. If his sole merit had been to diffuse these principles, previously expressed only in Greek, through the medium of a language which was destined to become that of Latin Christendom and of the learned world, he would have done not a little to humanise and liberalise mankind and to deserve a kind and grateful recollection. Nor would he have been able to do this, had not his tastes, at all events, pointed to something higher than the coarse prizes of turbulent ambition, the Epicureanism of Cæsar's debauchees, and the gladiatorial shows of which the founder of the 'Military Monarchy' and his successors were the great promoters. So far from joining with Dr. Mommsen in covering Cicero with contemptuous abuse, we look back with complacency on the fact that weak as he undoubtedly was in some respects, completely as he was crushed in his own day beneath the chariot wheels of triumphant force, he has been able, through qualities and gifts of a gentler kind, to found an empire of his own as extensive and as enduring as theirs by whom he was overwhelmed.

It remains, however, to be said, that vehement as is Dr. Mommsen's admiration of the founder of the Roman Empire, vehement as is his hatred of all who opposed him, and much as we cannot help thinking he has detracted from the excellence of this part of his work by giving the rein to these feelings, his good sense draws a wide distinction between Roman imperialism and the imperialism of the present day. Feeling, apparently, that he was liable to misconstruction on this point, and that misconstruction would be mischievous, he has introduced into his second edition an excellent passage of which we give the more material parts:—

'This, however, is the place to state expressly, once for all, what the historian always tacitly assumes; and to protest against the habit, common to folly and perfidy alike, of employing historical praise and blame as phrases of general application without regard to the circumstances of the case; and in this case turning a judgment on Cæsar into a judgment on what is called Cæsarism. The history of the past is indeed the instructress of the present, but not in the vulgar sense, as though we could find the conjuncture of the present in the records of the past merely by turning over the pages, and thus collect the symptoms and specifics of political diagnosis and medicine. It is instructive only so far as observation of antiquity discloses the organic conditions of civilisation generally, the universal

identity of its fundamental forces, and their ever-varying combinations, and leads and animates men not to blind imitation but to independent reproduction. In this sense the history of Cæsar and of Roman Imperialism, regard being had to the unsurpassed greatness of the creator and the historical necessity of his creation, is as bitter a criticism on modern autocracy as the hand of man can write. . . . Cæsar's work was necessary and salutary, not because in itself it brought or could bring blessings with it, but because under the political organisation of antiquity, founded on slavery, and utterly destitute of the system of representation essential to a constitutional republic, and in face of the legal constitution which five centuries had developed into oligarchical absolutism, an absolute military monarchy was the necessary conclusion and the least evil. If ever in Virginia and Ohio (?) the slave-owning aristocracy shall have brought matters to such a pass as their counterparts in the Rome of Sulla, Cæsarism will be pronounced legitimate there also by the spirit of history; but whenever it appears under other social conditions, it is at once an usurpation and a caricature. History, however, will not consent to curtail the honour due to the true Cæsar, because her decision, in the presence of false Cæsars, may give occasion to simplicity to play the fool and to villainy to play the rogue. She, too, is a bible, and if she can as little prevent herself from being misunderstood by the fool and quoted by the devil, she ought as little to be prejudiced by either.'

We are glad to close the series of our extracts from Dr. Mommsen's history with this extract, which so well expresses the sensible view of an important question. Should it meet the eye of any imperialist, or even imperial biographer of Julius Cæsar, he will do well to give it his best consideration. It also brings us back by a natural transition from the criticisms which, in the latter part of this article, we have been unavoidably led to make, to a repetition of the general opinion expressed by us at the beginning, that this is the best history of the Roman Republic. It is probably destined not only to interest but to influence the minds of a large number of readers, and it is therefore no wanton or captious exercise of our critical functions to point out those parts of it which seem to us not quite consistent with a sound and generous morality and with strict historical truth.

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ART. VII. — 1. *Culture and Commerce of Cotton in India and Elsewhere, with an Account of the Experiments made by the East India Company.* By J. FORBES ROYLE, M.D., F.R.S. 1851.

2. *Western India; Reports addressed to the*

*Chamber of Commerce of Manchester, Liverpool, Blackburn and Glasgow, by their Commissioner ALEXANDER MACKAY. 1853.*

3. *Review of the Measures which have been adopted in India for the improved Culture of Cotton.* By FORBES ROYLE, M.D., F.R.S. 1857.
4. *On the Growth of Cotton in India; its present State and future Prospects, with reference to Supplies to Great Britain.* By J. FORBES WATSON, A.M., F.C.S., Reporter on the Produce of India in 1859. For Presentation.

At no period since the extension of cotton manufacture in England, have the stocks of cotton been so low in proportion to the consumption, or the prospects of supply from abroad so uncertain. By a Liverpool Circular of the 14th March last, the stock of American cotton was stated to be reduced to 158,020 bales against 750,540 of a similar period of 1861, besides 260,000 bales which were then on the way to England, but are now entirely wanting. And while the present stock is daily diminishing, the chances or probabilities of a further import of that commodity seem to be growing more distant. Taking the reduced consumption and export of American cotton at one-fourth of the rate of last year, we cannot expect the present stock to last more than a few weeks. As a consequence, therefore, endeavours to obtain supplies from other sources, and to promote production in other countries than North America, have never before been so energetic. It is needless to dwell upon the necessity for these exertions, or to recapitulate what is daily read by all classes of people in England in the columns of daily newspapers, on this engrossing subject; misery must inevitably result to many hundreds of thousands of artisans, and others connected with the trade and manufacture of cotton, if adequate supplies of the raw material be not obtained. As it is, many mills are closed, or are working short time for want of material. A dearth of cotton affects not only our manufacturing population and its interests, but the trade, in all its branches, of the whole country. We have fewer articles to exchange for what we require elsewhere, and must therefore pay for it in gold. Already the effect of this scarcity has begun to be experienced, and will probably be worse ere it is better — both as regards trade and the manufacturing population. We know also that similar distress and loss, public and private, prevail in France and the manufacturing districts of Switzerland, Germany and Italy :

in short, consider the subject as we may, its importance cannot be exaggerated.

We need not detail the causes, or possible causes, of diminution in the supply of cotton from America to England, France, and Europe at large. All these are patent to the world. It is only surprising that provision against any sudden dearth of cotton was not made earlier; and that not content with mere experiments in various parts of the globe, Manchester, and the other powerful manufacturing interests of England, should not have combined long ago to ensure independence of any exclusive source of supply. The slavery question, one of danger at all times, has always existed: the difficulties of political excitement and hostility between the factions of the Northern and Southern States of America have been assuming an intensity, which has not been concealed or denied for several years past; and the interests of the North and the South, in regard to produce and manufactures, have been becoming palpably more widely separated year by year. Yet our cotton manufacturers, lulled into a pleasant security by the constant unvarying arrival of the commodity best suited to their purpose, have not looked beyond the necessities of the hour, and the mutterings of the present storm were unheeded till its final burst in war.

This cannot be helped now; the question is, Are the manufacturing interests in earnest in their attempts to obtain other supplies? and are there sources of production existing in the world which can compensate for the loss of American cotton, or compete fairly with it in case the cultivation of the Southern States suffers no material interruption?

In regard to the first question, the sources of supply must interest very deeply all who are engaged in the cotton trade and manufacture, and in connexion with the present state of affairs in America there is doubtless a very strong desire to encourage the produce of other localities: but it is more difficult to answer the second question. Sources of supply no doubt exist as largely as the climates in which cotton can be produced, but in most, there are obstacles to its growth which cannot presently be overcome, or cannot be overcome at all; and in which, production to any extent commensurate with the demand is, for the present, quite hopeless. We will, however, review some of these, already established as contributors of valuable cotton, and others which, in process of time, may become contributors to the demands of Europe.

The Liverpool Broker's circular before alluded to gives the following descriptions of cotton now in the market, other than North



American : Pernambuco and Paraiba, Bahia and Maccio, Maranh, Egyptian, Demara, Common West India, Peruvian and Smyrna ; with East Indian, to which we shall revert presently. Of the above, Egyptian predominates ; the supply from each of the others being comparatively very insignificant in relation to the total amount required—the import of all for the year 1861, *exclusive of East Indian*, being 207,795 bales, of which 97,759 are Egyptian. The previous year, 1860, shows a total of 221,552 bales from the same sources ; from which it may be inferred that an increased demand in England has failed to produce a corresponding increase of production or export, though the prices now ruling are upwards of 25 per cent. higher than at a corresponding period of that year.

Nor does there seem any practical or well-founded expectation of increase from these sources. The reason alleged is the scarcity of labour in South America and the West Indies, and the difficulty, if not the entire impossibility, of inducing the natives of those countries to undertake field work in the proportion necessary to the production of any large quantity of cotton. Were it otherwise, indeed, there is no question that these localities, enjoying climates entirely suited to cotton, and with a prolific soil, could in themselves compensate for the North American supply : while as regards quality, nothing is left to be desired—it is indeed superior to the cotton of the American States. We lately observed a meeting at Manchester, in which accounts of possible cultivation of immense extent were given in regard to Jamaica ; and of the details then explained, which have led to the establishment of a Joint Stock Company for the purpose of cultivation, there can be no reasonable doubt ; but it is found impossible to produce large quantities of cotton at a remunerative price by the labour of free blacks : Indian Coolies are wanted, but they are a distant and expensive commodity : and though something more than at present exists may be effected, we have no clear prospect of any considerable result, at least not for several years to come.

Nor have we reason to hope for any greatly extended production or export by Egypt. So long as very high prices prevail in Europe, it may be worth the while of the cultivator there to sow a greater breadth of soil with cotton, and landholders and speculators may take up land, and have it sown for the purpose : but this cannot last, and for evident reasons. The whole arable land of Egypt is very circumscribed, and any extension of cotton cultivation necessarily interferes with the production of grain on

which the people depend for subsistence, not only the people of Egypt, but to a great extent the people of Arabia also ; for the entire western coast of Arabia, and Mecca, depend upon the wheat and millet of Egypt, and the coarse rice of India, for bread stuffs. It is not probable, among an impoverished population like that of Egypt, that any rise of consequence in the price of grain would be admissible ; and the relative proportions of cotton and grain cultivation being well understood in reference to the necessities of the people, could not be altered without danger, which a despotic government would interfere to prevent. There are no waste lands in Egypt, as in South America or the West Indies, which could be applied to cotton cultivation alone : what land there is, lying between the Desert and the banks of the Nile, and fertilized by the annual inundation or subsequent irrigation, is already wholly employed in agriculture. Mr. Haywood and Dr. Forbes, recently sent to India to inspect the cotton districts, waited on the Pacha of Egypt on their way out, with a view to induce the extension of cotton cultivation ; but it does not appear that the Pacha *could* practically assist their views. Considering the demand for other produce, and the uncertainty of a high price for cotton for any continuance, it were idle to expect that Egypt can, or will, augment her export to Europe in any perceptible degree to the prejudice of what is needed for the subsistence of her people.

But there are other countries from whence we are led, by reports and experiments, to expect supplies of cotton in course of time. Of these, the first in importance is Africa, of which many portions possess natural capabilities for its growth in any quantity. In the northern provinces of Algiers, Oran, Tangiers, and in Morocco generally, cotton can be grown by irrigation, and is produced to some extent, but chiefly for local consumption ; nor does there appear any definite expectation or even ground of hope, that it can be grown profitably for exportation. Some years since, Mr. Clegg, of Manchester we believe, established a cotton plantation on the west coast of Africa, at Abbeokuta, and in 1858 had received and sold as much as 1800 bales in the year—the cotton being of fine staple, superior to North American. So far as it went, the experiment is satisfactory. But the climate is a deadly one for Europeans ; and to expect the natives to make any great progress with this cultivation is futile—at least, for many years to come. Gradually, perhaps, and as civilisation extends among the savage tribes of West Africa, as money begins to be ap-

preciated, and trade is better understood, cotton may be produced as palm-oil is now collected; but the proper cultivation of cotton demands a higher intelligence, and more practical description of agriculture, than are possessed by, or known to, the negroes in their present condition.

In South Africa, too, we hear of promising experiments, and in particular, in the district of Natal. The climate and soil of that colony are unsurpassed in any quarter of the globe, and experiments have given a very large proportion of excellent cotton per acre. A company of Germans at one time undertook a large amount of cotton cultivation, but failed for want of experience as to periods of sowing, and for want of regular labourers; for the Kaffirs, though they take low wages for fieldwork, are not habitually tillers of the ground, nor are they likely ever to become so. Natal, therefore, if dependent upon indigenous labor, gives no present hope of cotton culture of any importance. Coolies from India are wanted, perhaps have been applied for; but the proportion which could be sent, or induced to emigrate, or serve for a term of years, as in the West Indies, would have no perceptible effect upon cotton production for the present. Again we have the reports of Dr. Livingstone of the capabilities of the valley of the Zambesi, and the countries he has explored; and very probably the land nearer the sea, on the delta of that river, and the Portuguese settlements of Mozambique, in regard to which the King of Portugal has recently issued very liberal decrees on the subject of cotton planting—in short, the whole eastern coast, as far north as Zanzibar, will most likely afford cotton of excellent quality. We know too, from Captain Burton's explorations in Eastern Africa, as far as the Lake Victoria Nyanza, that cotton can be grown—nay, is grown—and exists there also in a wild state. But from all these sources, admirable as are the climate and soil, what can we expect? There is no disposition to labour among the savage tribes of those localities; and to all present appearance, centuries may elapse before industrial activity or intelligence prevail among them.

Again, we have Australia, possibly hereafter an immense cotton-field. We know that from the Illawarra district up to the Gulf of Carpentaria on the East, and in the whole of Western Australia, cotton may be grown which will rival or surpass that of America; but here, again, the want of labour meets us, and arrests the progress of cultivation; and until India can supply coolies, a contingency far from probable, we have no hope of any breadth of land being

sown, or of any progress beyond those isolated experiments, at once so satisfactory as regards local results, and so delusive in respect to extended operations. It is perhaps possible that Chinese may emigrate, and eventually settle in Australia; and whenever this takes place, some effect will no doubt be produced. Meanwhile, tantalizing as it is, we must continue to contemplate those vast and fertile regions as waste lands, so far as cotton cultivation is concerned; and it would be in the last degree absurd to include them in the category of any present sources of supply.

We have thus, briefly, it is true, sketched the detail of districts from whence cotton may be obtained, and there may be others—Mesopotamia, for instance, the South of Persia, and the like—which may fall into the same category; but the same causes of non-production obtain in all—want of labour, and want of agricultural skill. The climate and soil may be unexceptionable; but unless there is skill to apply both to the growth of cotton, they exist in vain, so far as the production of that article is concerned. Who is to teach the savage tribes of Western Africa, or the Zulu Kaffirs, the delicate and patient processes of cotton-growing, gathering, and cleaning? Who can at once reclaim savage men from savage pursuits, and apply their labour to agriculture? It may be gradually effected, it is true, and perhaps Mr. Clegg's experiments will hereafter find many imitations, with good effect; but this civilisation may—must necessarily be—the patient work of years—nay, perhaps centuries; and meanwhile, those noble countries are of little practical effect in assisting Manchester and Glasgow. The white man cannot settle in them to labour himself. He may settle, and buy land, it is true; but he must have a race of people used to the sun to labour for him. He cannot cultivate cotton himself, because he cannot labour; and we know that were there no African slaves in the Southern States of America, our supply of cotton from thence had never increased as it has done; and were those slaves now free, that the production would fall to an amount very far below the demands of Lancashire.

If we assume the annual consumption of Great Britain to be, in round numbers, 1000 million of pounds, the proportion hitherto contributed by the North American States would be 700 millions; India, 200; and the rest of the world, 100 millions of pounds. We have already passed in review the probabilities of increased supply from the latter, in all its known cotton-producing localities, and it is impossible to contemplate the

immense discrepancy between the exports of North America and the exports of all other countries — without despairing of an increase of production in them, which, notwithstanding the stimulus of eager demand and greatly-enhanced prices, could compensate for the cessation, or interruption of, American supplies.

We naturally turn, then, to India, at once the most trustworthy source of supply, after America, and that from which about a fourth part of our ordinary manufacturing consumption is already derived; and we shall proceed to show what has been done in regard to improvement of the cultivation and quality of cotton, from time to time; how that improvement may be extended; and, in our opinion, what practical means are necessary to obtain a permanent and improved growth of cotton, liable to no fluctuation but what may be consequent upon variations of season and crops.

It is urged, as an objection to the certainty of increased export from India, that her population must first take care of themselves; and as every one wears cotton fabrics, and nothing else, and it is used also very largely for carpets, beds, ropes, ship-cordage and sail-cloth, with many other articles needless to mention, that a sufficient supply cannot always be sent to the foreign market; that an extra amount may possibly be afforded on any particular emergency; but that, considering the increasing population of India, and its demand in food, we cannot expect the breadth of ground sown for cereals to be diminished. India already exports no grain; and no better proof can be given that she cannot afford to extend cotton cultivation to the exclusion of that of grain.

At first sight, these appear weighty objections. India has, or is held to have, a population of 180 millions; and upon reports from various quarters, the consumption of cotton is assumed as twelve pounds per man per year, including the extra consumption for ropes and the like. This would give a total of 2160 millions of pounds. Dr. Royle assumes the average of Indian produce per acre as 100 pounds, which would give 21,600,000 acres under cultivation, exclusive of what is required for export; but we consider Dr. Royle's average of ordinary native cotton per acre too high, and that 50 pounds would be a safer assumption, — giving double the amount of acreage, or 43½ millions of acres. Again taking 300 millions of pounds per year as a fair average of the exports of cotton to Europe and China, we have, at 50 pounds per acre, a further area of 6 millions of acres, or an

assumed area of cotton cultivation of, say, in round numbers, 50 millions of acres, or 78,125 square miles. Now the assumed area of India is 1,200,000 square miles, and the balance, deducting cotton cultivation, would be 1,121,875 square miles; in other words, the cotton cultivation now occupies 6·5 per cent. of the whole area, which is not perhaps an unreasonable supposition;\* and while this gives ample margin for cereals, we can very well afford to consider 10 per cent. of the whole area as available for cotton, or 120 millions of acres; which deducting 43 millions already required for local consumption, leaves 77 millions of acres, at 50 pounds of average production, or 3·850 millions of pounds for export. We do not intend to assert that this amount would, or could, possibly be, immediately obtained; but considering the large tracts of valuable land now waste, and the disposition in the present Government of India to encourage production in every way, as well by liberal measures as by positive allotments of land for purchase, in fee simple, we do not despair of seeing the area of actual cultivation of this staple very largely augmented in the course of a few years; while to double the present or late average amount of export, or to yield even one thousand millions of pounds per year, will be found to be no unattainable result. The present season has already shown a very gratifying advance; and as cotton-lands cannot be prepared for sowing under a year, we have as yet only the result of previously-cleared land in the present augmentation of supply. Much more, we are confident, is in preparation in India, the result of which will be apparent in the next and ensuing seasons.

It may be asked reasonably enough here, why, if India has this capability of produce, more has not been sent to England, or exported to other countries? The answer is evident — the want of a regular demand at a remunerative price. England and China are India's best customers. To the former, the export has hitherto varied with the condition and extent of the American crop, and no change has ever occurred in this particular. The Chinese demand does not vary much. If the American crop was good, and full in quantity, Indian cotton was not wanted in England; if scanty, or the staple injured by bad weather, India was called

\* In respect to the proportion of cotton to other cultivation, we find from a report on the collectorate of Sholapoor, 565,109 acres fit for producing cotton, of which 173,021 acres, or about one-third, were under cotton cultivation, and therefore our estimate of one-tenth of cotton-producing lands being used for cotton is, we think, open to no objection.

upon to make up the deficiency. This could not always be done. The producers, at one time encouraged by demand to extend cultivation, found, by the time their cotton was ready, that it was not required; and this result has occurred so often, and has been attended with such heavy losses, that it is not surprising that the farmers of India declined to grow, or the local merchants to purchase from them, more than could meet a ready and unfluctuating sale. The same result may even follow the present crisis.

We believe this to have been the principal reason for the slow progress of increased cotton cultivation in India. Other causes doubtless exist, in the distance of the cotton districts from the coast, difficulty and expense of transit, want of roads, and insecurity of carriage; but all these would not have retarded production if the demand, even at the low prices which have prevailed, had been certain and progressive. There is no doubt of the reasons of a restricted demand by England. They have arisen from the facility with which excellent cotton, of a staple most required by the manufacturers, well cleaned, and well packed, could be laid down in Liverpool and Manchester, without stint or hindrance, and in most seasons in a quantity which sufficed for ordinary consumption; and the ordinary cotton of India was not, until recently, to be considered for a moment in comparison with it. Dirt, dry leaves, discolour, bad ginning, and a short, rough staple, rendered East Indian cotton very undesirable when the other could be had. The two would not mix, and the same machinery, most frequently could not be applied to the manufacture of both. With all this granted, however, we cannot hold the manufacturers absolved from indifference on the subject. We believe, had they taken measures themselves to improve the character of the cotton in all respects, both as to cultivation and condition for the market, that ere now there would have been a marked difference in the result. But it was not so. Reviewing the publications, reports and correspondence of the last thirty years, we find but one cry on the part of the cotton merchants and manufacturers, — that Government ought to give or have given assistance; and that Government should do for them, exactly what we think they ought to have done for themselves. It is the old fable of the Carter and Jupiter; though, indeed, had Government told the truth to the cotton merchants as plainly as Jupiter is related to have done to the poor clown who was beseeching him, the result might perhaps have been a better one.

We do not, however, hold the Govern-

ment of India blameless by any means; but the Company's Government was never one of progress, or indeed of provision for necessities further than it could help. It required stimulus; and, had the persons representing the cotton interest worked with it, or shown any practical *local* interest in what Government *did* attempt under pressure from England, much more would have been done between them than was done. Let us briefly examine what was effected.

Sixty years ago the question of improved cotton cultivation was opened in India. Nay, sooner. From 1760 to 1780, seed from Bombay had been sent to Calcutta and Madras, and the experiment watched carefully. In Madras the seed succeeded better than in Bengal, and we have yet, in the Tinnevely and other good short-stapled varieties, evidence of the interest which those early experiments had created, and of their success. In 1829–30, the first upland Georgia, Sea Island, and Demerara seed, with gins, was sent by the Court of Directors to Bengal, and the cultivation of exotic cotton was commenced by the Agricultural Society of India at the Akra farm, on capital granted by the local Government. It was not successful, and the plant did not appear to suit the climate, which was found at once too hot and too moist for it, but it was not given up till after several years' trial. In 1840 Captain Baylis was sent to America by the Court of Directors, not only to observe the improved methods of cotton planting in progress there, but to bring away with him experienced planters, gins, ploughs, and other stock, for the purpose of introducing into India the American method of planting, and of instructing the people of the country. He brought with him ten experienced men, who were settled, three in the Bombay, three in the Madras, and four in the Bengal Presidency, on the lands supposed, on their selection, to be best fitted for the purpose. In the Bengal Presidency there were eight farms altogether, widely apart; and in locations from Decca in Bengal, to the North-western provinces; where at Calpee, Agra, and other places, farms were established. The experiments were continued for several years, but the result was unsatisfactory. The planters employed American systems of growth, which did not suit the soil and climate; or the climate was too dry, or it was too moist; in short, the experiments, after becoming very costly to Government, were gradually abandoned. Yet these were carried on in cotton-producing districts where the yield per acre is superior to other parts of India with which we are acquainted; and we find in official reports, averages of 123—

164, 162-227, and even 250 pounds of cleaned native cotton to the acre, a result far more favourable than in those districts where the New Orleans cotton is now most largely cultivated, and with the best success. Now that the cultivation of exotic varieties is better understood, and the seed has become more acclimatised, a very different result might, and probably would be found on a further trial; but since the trials we have mentioned, we are not aware of any others, either by Government or by private individuals in those localities.

Madras possesses some of the most productive cotton fields of India. It has two monsoons, the south-west and north-east, neither too heavy for the plant, and serving to keep up a proper amount of moisture in the ground from June to February or March. The ceded districts, Bellary and Cuddapa, Madura, Tinnevely, Salem, and Coimbatore, portions of Arcot and Mysore, with the very fertile and now irrigated provinces of the Northern Circars, over which the waters of the Godavery and Krishnah rivers have been led, are all fertile cotton fields. In the first four of these, at a very rough computation, 4000 square miles of cotton lands exist, which at 100 pounds per acre would alone contribute an amount of 256,000,000 of pounds to our present Indian stock. From a recent report by Colonel Phayre, the Commissioner of Pegu, we find that in the plains there are 4795 and in the hills 12,841 acres of cotton cultivation, which will yield 2,116,320 pounds of cotton. The average produce per acre is 120 pounds of cleaned cotton, which may be bought at 3d. per pound. In the upper part of the province there are many millions of acres now waste, and on which 'cotton of a quality superior to any now known in the province can be produced;' but European superintendence is wanted, as the natives will not exert themselves to prepare the soil or pick the crop in a proper manner. We were not previously aware of the cotton-producing qualities of Pegu, but from Colonel Phayre's report, quoted in the '*Friend of India*,' there can be no doubt, and thus another extensive and very fertile locality is added to those already known. Here, then, in several districts experiments were made which, as we read the reports, too long to be quoted in our limited space, we cannot but feel to be highly encouraging. Produce was obtained of 5 to 600 pounds of seed, or 200 pounds of cleaned, cotton per acre. Mr. Heath, Dr. Wight, Mr. Lees of Manchester, and the American planters, all report far more favourably of the exotic and native varieties than the planters in Bengal. In one in-

stance, Mr. Wroughton obtained as much as 1100, and Dr. Wight as much as 681, pounds of seed cotton per acre, the former being equal to ordinary, and the latter to the maximum, results of American planting. Prices, too, of what was sent home were very satisfactory; and Manchester and Glasgow admitted the quality to be excellent. The yield of clean American seed cotton was found to be 29 to 30 per cent. on the gross produce; of Indian, 20 to 21. Demand only was necessary to ensure success; but—it did not follow. Cotton from American seed produced by Dr. Wight was landed in Liverpool for 3½d. per pound, which sold for 5½d.; a proof that the cultivation was then profitable. But notwithstanding these unequivocal successes, the natives, as there was no demand in the market by merchants for this cotton, did not take up the cultivation, and Government gave up the farms and gradually withdrew from further experiments.

The transactions and experiments in cotton planting in Bombay, from 1830 to 1848, are clearly given in detail in a summary of official reports printed by order of Government, and are very interesting in many respects. The climate of Broach in Guzerat, where the experiments began, was found too dry, and generally in Guzerat, from whence the greater portion of Bombay (Surat) cotton is derived, the experiments with exotic seed were unsuccessful; but in other localities the results were very different and most encouraging—in Dharwar in particular. Here, Mr. Shaw the collector took a personal interest in the matter, and made many trials with increasing success at each experiment. Mr. Mercer, one of the American planters who had tried the north-west provinces and failed, was sent to Dharwar; and found there a climate and soil more adapted to the upland American varieties than he had met with elsewhere. He writes in 1843:—'I have now much greater hope of the American cotton becoming a valuable product of India than I had before seeing these fields, for I think that cultivation will improve it, and acclimating will do much.' Cotton, even the indigenous variety, had been only partially cultivated in Dharwar before these experiments; but the success of the new variety was so unequivocal, that in 1844-5, about 3000 acres were sown with American seed. Native farmers began to be interested and to ask for seed. A higher price was commanded in Bombay for the American variety than for indigenous cotton, the rate being fifteen to twenty per cent. greater in value. In 1846 this cotton fetched in England only 3½d. per pound;

now the same cotton is quoted in the Liverpool price currents at 10½d. to 11d. per pound,—being, indeed, a very little lower rate than the best American.

In 1845, the Government farms were abandoned. They had been now kept up for fifteen years, and the experiment had succeeded. Seed had been distributed among the native farmers, and to give countenance to the cultivation, Government offered a contract for 1100 acres in the ensuing year, which was taken; but there were already 10,000 acres under cultivation by the people. The Ryots were then willing to cultivate the new cotton to *any extent*, provided the sale of produce could be guaranteed; but no English merchants offered for it, and Government continued to be the only purchaser. So it continued till 1847, when, finding that native merchants were at last interested in this produce, Government ceased to be a purchaser. The final sales of and reports on this cotton are very satisfactory. The price obtained in Liverpool was 6½d. per pound; good Surats being at 5½d., and middling to fair at 4½d. to 4¼d. per pound. The directors write—'Yarn from East India American cotton was quite equal to ordinary Orleans. Upon the whole, the experiment is highly satisfactory, and we hope it will encourage a larger production of such cotton in Dharwar;' and the manufacturers report—'Saw-ginned New Orleans cotton (Dharwar) may be used with advantage in England in place of American cotton, whereas the common cotton of India cannot now be used as a substitute for American;' and Mr. Aspinall Turner confirms this opinion in his letter of 5th April, 1848. Besides Dharwar, similar experiments were made by Mr. Elphinstone in Khandesh, by Captain Meadows Taylor in Shorapoor, by Dr. Riddell at Hyderabad and others, all of which are reviewed by Dr. Royle; and in no case, under common care and attention, was any failure perceptible. On the contrary it was observed, that in several seasons when the native plant failed from excess of cold, and from harsh dry winds which cut off the flowers and bolls, that the American plant proved much more hardy, and thrive when the other altogether withered away.

We have not space to follow the detail of further experiments, or of those in all localities of India. Government had done what it could to show the practicability of improvement, and whatever the result was, favourable or unfavourable, the cotton interests were advised of it. In the long trial of eighteen years, and the heavy expenditure attendant upon it, Government at least cannot be charged with the indifference and

hindrance so often brought against it; and we are assured, that had any private individual, or company of merchants, then desired to set up as cotton planters or purchasers, on or near any of the Government farms, they would have met with the utmost encouragement. We doubt whether Government, of itself, could have done more than it did. It certainly had no encouragement to do so. It was not seconded in Manchester, nor locally at Bombay by the merchants. Mr. Shaw, Revenue Commissioner, writes—'Till the merchants at the Presidency bestir themselves Government labour will be in vain.'

Native dealers would not buy American cotton because native hand spinners and weavers could not use it. It was a foreign article for a foreign market, and, when those at whose instance the undertaking had been commenced, showed indifference when success was no longer doubtful, all concerned in the experiment might well despair. It was wonderful indeed that the work prospered at all. But though it ceased to purchase cotton, Government, through its local officers, was never indifferent to the extension of its cultivation. Saw-gins were procured and sold to the people, or established in different localities to which cotton could be brought by the farmers and ginned. The gins were improved and kept in working order by a Government establishment; in short, everything that could be done locally to assist the people was done, and is done now. It has had its effect. Dharwar ginned American cotton is quoted, as we have already said, at 11d. per pound, and by the latest advices we have, we believe there are about 250,000 acres under this cultivation in Dharwar and the surrounding districts; for the seed is spreading fast into the adjoining territories of the Nizam, and into Bellary and Shorapoor, and no doubt will spread, now that the demand is unequivocally established. In Pegu also we find that cultivation of the New Orleans cotton has been established, and that the crop yields 125 pounds of cleaned cotton per acre. If the company which has been recently organised in Manchester under the pressure of cotton famine, had been established twelve years ago, when Dharwar was ripe for the venture, what might not the cultivation have been by this time! How easily it might have been extended to other parts of India!

The partial success of the American planters in the introduction to India of New Orleans cotton, may be traced to two causes,—erroneous selections of locality both as regards soil and climate, and their attempt to cultivate the plant entirely on the Ameri-

can principle. Their errors in both respects were not easily remediable; for until experiments had been largely extended, it was impossible to discover which of the varied climates of India would be best adapted to the new species of cotton. And again, to their perception, the mode of cultivation with which they were most familiar and which the agricultural experience of America had perfected, was, it was reasonable to expect, most likely to succeed elsewhere. At first the planters looked on native sowings and modes of culture with contempt: they were not American, and however well they might be found to suit the indigenous plant, they were held to be utterly unsuited to the American variety. Gradually, however, as the American plan was found to fail, the native system was tried in its place, and was found to succeed perfectly wherever the plant itself grew freely. Thus in Dharwar, after American and native trials were made, and the native system was found to answer best, it was persevered in by the planters themselves; and at the present time all the American cotton grown in Dharwar, Khandesh, or elsewhere, in or near the Bombay Presidency, and in Western India generally, is cultivated by the native farmers, with their own ploughs and implements, and on their own agricultural system, in common with the indigenous cotton of the country. A short description of the mode of culture may not be out of place here, and we proceed to give it in detail.

In the first place it must be understood that all Indian farmers, and those of Western India in particular, comprehend practically the use and necessity of rotation of crops; and as a general rule the land is never sown for two successive seasons with the same crop except in the case of some cereals. Cotton, which from the strength of the plant, and the depth and lateral extent of root, is an exhaustive crop, requires care in its cultivation, and is generally sown after jowaree (*Holcus Sorghum*) or pulse, which, from their decayed leaves, stumps of stalks and the like refuse ploughed into the ground, sufficiently enriches it for cotton. Lands in which cotton is ordinarily sown, the deep black soil or 'régar' of India, will not bear manure; it decomposes the soil, and is too exciting; and the slight assistance it receives from the causes we have mentioned above, is sufficient for a succession of years, until the soil gradually grows poor, and requires rest. Cotton, however, of some indigenous species is frequently sown in shallower soil, and in stony, sandy, or loamy localities. In these, manure can be used to advantage, and is employed by the people; but the cotton

is sown earlier than that on the black soil, and is uncertain in crop; and, dependent also entirely on the monsoon, is liable to run to wool if the moisture is too great, or to wither entirely if it be too little. The shallower soils, therefore, are not so frequently used for cotton as for light cereal crops of the 'Khurreef' or early course of sowings; and what is most depended upon in all the best cotton localities is, the black soil of great depth, and the deep reddish loamy soils which, not unfrequently, as in Dharwar, lie contiguous to it.

If the soil have been long fallow, or waste land is taken up by the farmer, it is first thoroughly cleared of small bushes or shrubs. The heavy wooden plough then follows, drawn by from eight to sixteen oxen, according to the quality of the soil. This plough appears to us a rude instrument, but in effect is most efficient. It is formed invariably out of any strong, tough wood, a branch furnishing the bend required for the plough-share and handle. The share, or body of the plough, is shaped to a point, and a strong coultter of iron is fitted into a groove on the upper side of the share, held there by strong clamps, and it projects, when fitted, a few inches beyond the wood. Ropes of untanned hide are fitted to the stem or handle of the plough, and are connected with yokes in front, which are again fixed on the necks of the oxen. This heavy instrument ploughs very deep, probably from a foot to a foot and a half of the soil, and tears it up in huge clods, breaking the tangled and matted grass roots below the surface. The field is ploughed two ways, or perhaps three, or four, according to the quality of the soil, and until it is thoroughly broken up. All stumps are then removed, dug out, or burned, and the field allowed to remain as left by the plough, through the whole of the hot season. The clods of earth are in fact baked, as it were, and all the grass roots withered and killed. Without this process, and were the surface soil merely turned over, the grass roots would not be eradicated, and would spread again with great rapidity. We have couch grass in England which requires much the same process, but it is by no means so strong or so difficult to eradicate as the 'koonda' of black soils in India. On the first fall of rain all the clods swell and fall into powder, not unlike the process of slaking lime; and when this is complete, a large hoe, formed of a block of tough wood into which a strong iron hoe about three feet long is fixed at an angle of forty-five degrees, is employed with a pair of bullocks, or two pair if necessary, to clean the surface. This instrument collects all grass roots as it



moves, which are thrown off in heaps as the hoe is clogged; and the soil is turned up and thrown over the back of the iron portion of the hoe, so as to mix and pulverise it perfectly. The hoe is used as long as there is any inequality or roughness in the field; the roots and grass are afterwards collected and burned, and the ashes spread over the land. The field is now ready for sowing; and if care be taken to eradicate grass afterwards, should it appear, there is no need of the heavy plough, or of subsoil ploughing, for twenty years; at the same time it is employed should the surface soil grow poor. The surface remains clean; and the yearly cleaning by the hoe we have described, or by a light plough, and subsequent drill plough sowing, is sufficient to ensure good crops. Cotton is sown in various localities at various periods, to suit the climate and soil. In Berar and parts of Guzerat, for instance, as soon as the land can be cleaned after the first fall of rain in June, that is, from June 10 to July 10. In Dharwar, and the south-western portion of the Nizam's districts, where there are large cotton fields, the sowings are from 15 August to 15 September. The difference in the time of sowing is to suit the different qualities of cotton and the character of the soil. In Berar, for instance, on both sides of the valley the soil is light and stony; or gravelly. In the Dharwar and other districts, deep black 'Régar.' The first requires a constant succession of showers to bring on the plant; the latter, after the first sowing, depends upon the dew, and the moisture in the black soil, which continues, notwithstanding the great heat and evaporation, till the cotton is ripe. In the one case, the cotton is ripe and the first gathering is made by the first week of December, or even the last week of November. In the other the first gathering is made in the latter end of January, and continues to the end of February, and even into March and April. There are rarely more than two gatherings from the early sown cotton on light soils, whereas the moisture in the deep black soil produces a continued succession of flowers and bolls until the end of the hot weather. By this time the soil has opened into deep cracks, into which the dry cotton leaves fall, and the stalks of the plant enter as the hoe passes over them; and the field is thus manured for the next crop, which will be one of cereals or pulse.

The sowing of cotton is done by the drill plough, which is adjusted so as to drop seeds at intervals of four to six inches, and the rows are about twelve inches apart. The plough sows three rows or drills at a time, and the earth is again stirred and mixed to a

depth of about six inches. The plant soon appears above the ground, and the next process is weeding. When the plant attains a height of six inches, or sometimes less,—for the sooner it is done the better,—the field is thoroughly weeded. In Berar, and we believe Guzerat also, where the population is numerous, this is done by the hand, women being chiefly employed. A sickle-shaped iron instrument is used, which at once serves as well to stir the surface of the soil and to cut out weeds by the roots, as to heap earth about the plants; and where there are too many together, a few plants are taken out. In the Southern Mahratta districts, and wherever hand-weeding is not used, it is done by a light hoe, the blades of which are about nine inches or a foot long, and about four inches broad. These are fixed, like the large hoe, into a block of wood, and the instrument is drawn by two light bullocks. Its effect is to eradicate all weeds between the ridges, and to throw up the earth on both sides into a low ridge over the roots of the plants; and both operations are done in a very effectual manner. But the weeds between the plants are not eradicated so well as by hand-weeding, though the plants are better earthed up; nor are superfluous plants thinned out. Each system, therefore, has its advantages, and both are often combined with great success: the hand-weeding when the plant is low, and the ox-hoe when it has gained strength. Weeding is generally twice repeated, after which the field is not disturbed. The picking commences as soon as a sufficient quantity is ripe. The operation is too often greatly delayed in consequence of a desire to save expense and to render the first fruit as large as possible; and herein lies one reproach against Indian cotton, that it is mixed with dead leaves of the plant, dust, &c., and is often discoloured from the showers which fall with violence at the close of the cold season. There is no doubt that the greater quantity of the cotton should be secured before the leaves and capsules dry up; and this is a point to which the farmers have been especially directed, not only by the requirements of merchants and the better price obtainable for good cotton, but by instructions from Government itself through its local officers.

This system of cotton cultivation obtains in every district of India with very little modification; and it is that by which the American variety has been most successfully cultivated in Dharwar and elsewhere. The American ridge or hole plan did not answer; and so far as either could be understood in India, the local system was much more likely of success. It is possible that the ploughs

and other agricultural implements might be rendered more shapely, and the same results more easily obtained; but they are nevertheless thoroughly practical and useful: and if we in England have handsomer ploughs, we have none which would suit the dry, heavy, adhesive soils of India, and none strong enough to eradicate the deep-lying matted grass roots which abound in black soil, so completely as the common heavy wooden plough in universal use. Nor have we any agricultural instrument more practically useful than the large and small ox-hoes; at once simple and efficacious, both for clearing away surface impurities, and earthing up young crops whether cotton or cereals. The drill plough of India is, we believe, that from which the present drill plough of England was constructed. It looks rude, but is thoroughly efficient, and might be employed here with as good a result as those we see in use on the best farms of this country.

We have been induced to describe the system of cotton cultivation in detail, because there is a general impression abroad that the Indian ryot, or farmer,—a wretched, naked being,—only scratches up the surface of his field with a miserable hoe, or plough drawn by two starving oxen, throws in his seed, and leaves nature to do the rest. But this is not the case. The science of farming—so far as rotation of crops, manuring of land, or not manuring it, and adaptation of soil to particular crops,—is as well known in India as similar operations, *mutatis mutandis*, are in England; and an intelligent Indian farmer, whether Mahratta, Mysore, Oude, Bengal, Central India, or Punjab, can give as clear reasons for what he does, and how best to employ his land, as the best men of a like class in Great Britain, and is as prosperous and comfortable in his station of life, as they in theirs.

Now the cotton interests at large have had it in their power, as they still have it, to place themselves in concert with these classes of practical agriculturists, to say what they want, and to obtain it at a fair market price dependent upon quality. But this is exactly what they have not done as yet, though one great company has been formed to accomplish it since the American difficulty began. We do not believe it possible that, had attempts been made to deal directly with the people, and to see that cotton was cleanly picked and properly freed from the seed (the growth was all that could be desired), that long ago the staple and quality of the cotton as a marketable article would not have improved. But—and we state the experience of the last thirty years—nothing was done. Cotton was

bought exclusively through native agents, at as low a price as possible, by the English merchants, and *quantity* appears at all times to have been a higher object than *quality*. At times, however, slovenly picking and cleaning, as well as adulteration, became intolerable; and, as usual, the merchant 'cried to Jupiter,' and Government was appealed to to make the farmers more careful and the native dealers more honest. Now Government could punish where direct fraud was detected, and to enable this to be done a special Act was passed: but what could be done with the farmer? Revenue commissioners, collectors and their assistants, were urged to impress on the farmer in all their district tours, the advantage of being careful in gathering cotton, to avoid dead leaves, and to shelter picked cotton from the dew and dust. But this was, and could be, of no practical use. The farmer got no better price from the native middleman for clean cotton than for dirty; and sure that it would be taken, clean or dirty, the middleman of various degrees adulterated it with sand, leaves, and rubbish, as far as he could without absolute chance of detection, or wetted it to increase its weight, with the almost certainty of its igniting by spontaneous combustion from damp when it got into a ship's hold. The English merchant bought it all the same, clean or dirty, wet or dry, and paid the lowest price he could, to complete his Liverpool order, and save a margin on the local cost—and Manchester and Liverpool, or Glasgow or Havre price. This was all very natural, perhaps, and the Bombay merchants at one time declared 'that it was no profit to them to buy good cotton at a better price than bad, because it did not pay;' but this was not the way to get good cotton, or to improve what there was. Thus Indian cotton, which under better management might have gone to Europe a clean and useful article, went in so bad a state that it was avoided unless for the lowest description of goods. It was not only that a large proportion of Surat and other West of India cottons contained such large proportions of rubbish that the price, when cleaned, became greatly enhanced; but the manufacturer could not employ the same machinery for Surat as for American, without danger of injuring it. 'It is not only'—writes one Manchester manufacturer on the subject—'that we blow away yearly 12,000*l.* worth of "fluff" from Indian cotton, but our machinery is positively injured by stones, sand, and other impurities which are mixed with it.' No wonder, therefore, that it was disliked and avoided except as a *pis aller*, and that the manufacturers prefer-

red the beautiful American cotton which reached them without trouble and without stint, and for which their machinery was constructed.

Recently, that is within the last three or four years, some improvement has taken place in the quality of the indigenous cotton of India generally, and of some districts, as Guzerat, Berar, and the Southern Mahratta country in particular; and this is admitted in Liverpool and in Manchester. But it is not yet what it could be, or would be, if those most deeply interested in it took practical means to have it improved. More than this: had measures been adopted to improve the quality twenty years ago, it might ere now have been supplied as clean and pure, if not as fine in quality, as American. What has been done, too, is not traceable to merchants, manufacturers, or their agents, but to the efforts of Government officers, who, in all localities, have striven by expostulation and advice to induce the farmers to take more pains in gathering their cotton and preserving it from injury. Suppose the case had been otherwise; suppose agencies to have been established in all cotton-producing districts, superintended by intelligent European agents, whose duty it would be to inspect cotton fields in all villages near them; to direct and advise the farmer; to see that produce was cleanly picked, cleanly freed from the seed, cleanly and carefully stored, and brought to him in the seed to be ginned or otherwise prepared, and packed for dispatch; and that all dirty and unserviceable cotton were at once refused, or returned on the farmer's hands. Suppose, also, that a small advance on the price of ordinary cotton had been given as encouragement, an advance which the price in Liverpool or Manchester would be sure to cover, is it possible that this would have been without effect? We do not believe it would. But what has been the real fact of the case? and how have merchants at the Presidencies obtained these supplies? We know it has not been by any direct agency of their own. It has been through native agency, the brokers of the bazaar and their agents in the provinces. Let us examine the course and tendency of this agency.

A merchant, we will say of Bombay, receives an order for cotton from Liverpool, to be shipped at a certain rate. He calls up a native broker, through whose agency alone he can get it, and the cotton is ordered. This broker obtains it through another person, who is an agent for some principal in Berar, or Surat, or wherever it may be. The agent in Berar or Surat is not, however in connexion with any farmers; he has to look about him

to find some other agent of some district locality who is, and having made their agreement, the cotton has yet to be sought for. Now the country agent is acquainted with other country agents of particular localities, who, again, buy from the petty dealers in villages, who, again, have purchased, or have to purchase, from the farmer. Here are seven hands—and there are often more, or there may be less—through which the cotton has to pass before it reaches the English merchant; and it is not to be supposed that each has not his profit in the direct shape of percentage on the purchases, or by adulteration! It could not be otherwise. The farmer may have taken pains with his crop, and sold it originally to the village merchant in good order; but after that, who can answer for it? Again, the merchant in Bombay pays the full bazaar price, which leaves a small margin for freight and profit in England; but what is received by the farmer is only a small portion of this. He is most likely in the hands of the village dealer and petty local banker, who make him advances freely on his coming crop, nay, may actually have given him seed to sow, and produce a particular quantity. He has made his time and quantity agreement with the farmer, and has himself entered into others with district agents. Now the dealings of the village banker or trader with his constituents are generally of a very curiously and ingeniously complex character; and between large charges of interest—thirty-six to sixty per cent, on advances—and a proportionable diminution of price of produce, the farmer finds at the end of the year that he has, perhaps, as much cash as will pay his rent; lucky if he have enough for clothes, purchase or renewal of stock, or other necessary expenses. He has no resource, therefore, but to go to the same source for more, and thus to be kept in a perpetual state of depression. We may instance reports upon reports of revenue officers on this subject, containing details which would scarcely be credited had we space to notice them here; and we know only of one certain remedy for it, that of European agencies to purchase direct from the people, without the introduction of these exacting middlemen. It would be difficult, no doubt, to break through established usages at first, but it can be done; and we cannot believe the intelligent farmers of the cotton districts of India so entirely blind to their own interests as to lose the chance, did it offer to them, of becoming independent of local exaction.

There, at least, is one instance of an advance in that direction. When Berar was

assigned by the Nizam to the management of British officers, in 1853, a demand was made by the headmen of various district hereditary officers, and others, for advances to cultivate cotton and to sow the land. It was given to some extent the first season, because it had been granted by the preceding native government; but in the ensuing year it was denied, except in a few cases of assistance to individuals, not communities. It was apprehended that some diminution of cultivation might result; but the officer in charge of the district intimated to the people that extensive advances were not the system of the British Government, and they could not be expected. Moreover, that it was clear the former advances had been jobs in money which did not directly benefit them. He recommended the farmers to trust to their own resources, and sell their own produce, and they would not require Government advances. The people took his advice, and a revolution in the practices of selling and buying took place, alike beneficial to the people and creditable to its originator. In another year or two the farmers were selling produce to actual dealers, and obtained cash for it, which they had rarely seen before. What was the result? Not only practical freedom of trade, but direct profit to a very large extent to the people; and in 1859 it was reported—cultivation having very largely increased without advances—‘that there were not goldsmiths enough in the province to work up the silver and gold which had flowed into it.’ We state this, because it has always been one of the many bugbears to direct European agency, that large advances to native farmers would be an inevitable consequence of the establishment of such agencies; but we believe that a directly contrary result would ensue, provided the farmers were sure of a fair price actually paid into their own hands, without the intervention of middlemen, whom they at once fear and detest.

It will be urged in reply to this, that the Government of the period we refer to was against the settlement of Europeans in the interior, and jealous of any communication by outsiders with the people at large, and therefore no agencies were established. But we doubt this exceedingly of recent periods. We believe the Government of Lord Dalhousie to have been most favourable to such agencies; and there are many instances on record wherein gentlemen who established agencies in districts for the purposes of trade and cultivation, received encouragement, as direct as it could be given, by the officers of Government. Can any instance be adduced of official hindrance? Certain it is that ex-

cept in one or two isolated and by no means effective instances, local agency for the purchase of cotton or improvement of its cultivation was not attempted then, and is now only just about to commence. Late as it is, and despite of all the lost years we have witnessed, if begun in earnest it is sure to succeed; but it must go to the bottom of the matter at once, and with determination. A district English agency, trusting to a cloud of small middlemen, will be surely a failure, and will disappoint its principals; and this, or we are greatly mistaken, is the rock on which other agencies, attempted from time to time in various localities, have split altogether, or have disappointed expectation.

We are by no means sanguine of the success, for the present, of cultivation of cotton by European settlers. It would, we think, follow the course of Government experiments, which, in most cases, grew produce at a higher rate of cost than the natives, and was obliged to submit to the loss. A government can do this, but not a private individual; and we should see expensive undertakings in implements, tools, and buildings made by planters, which would be unsuited to the purpose. A high course of prices might induce partial success; and there is little doubt the produce would be good; but as a permanently profitable result, there is, to our perception, little hope from hired labour in competition with the personal labour of the Indian farmer, and his method of paying his labourers out of the produce of his farm. We question also, very much, whether land could be obtained anywhere in good cotton-growing localities in sufficient quantities to establish an estate or farm of any magnitude without interfering with present rights; but an agency for direct purchase of produce is a very different matter; and under the operation and example of the company recently established in Manchester for the direct purchase of cotton, we trust to see many such agencies established, not only in Western India, but in all parts of the country. The new company has certainly taken a step in the right direction.

We need not here do more than notice the impetus which has been given to East Indian cotton cultivation by the state of America. Already, we have 986,290 bales imported in 1861, against 562,674 bales at a similar period of 1860, being an increase of 423,616 bales. There are also at sea, and loaded, but not sailed, 212,042 bales, against 55,000 of the same date last year, being an increase of 157,042 bales. The stocks at the close of the year 1861 were, in round numbers, 300,000 bales against 93,000 of the same period of 1860, being an increase

of, say, 200,000 bales; and the sales in 1861 up to 6th December were 1,056,080 bales, against 534,990 in 1860 to the same date; while the consumption has increased to nearly seven times the quantity per week as compared with this time last year; that is from 2068 bales to 14,100 on an average. This is very gratifying and satisfactory; and the more so as the result of a bad year in India when there was scarcity of rain and failure of cotton, common with other crops, in many localities. We believe it will be very different in the present year; and when the crop comes to hand, that the export from India will be found to have very largely increased, should a corresponding permanency of price be maintained, nay, even if there be some reduction. Thus, by the 1st April, the stock of East Indian cotton must have been about 400,000 bales in round numbers, against only 125,000 at the same period last year, while the additional amount on its way to this country is given above, making upwards of 600,000 bales in all. But this does not by any means represent the amount of the cotton crop of the year; it is for the most part what remained of the crop of 1860-61, which could not reach the coast in time for shipment before the monsoon, with *some* portion of the earliest picked, and most rapidly transmitted cotton of 1861-62. By far the greater portion of the cotton crop would not be gathered before the end of January, and some will be as late as the end of March, which cannot be expected this year at all;—but if that secured before the end of January and all February can be cleaned and transmitted to Bombay in time for shipment from the middle of March to the end of May—it will be as much as can be expected. What the whole result of the year will be we cannot now estimate with any safety; but it is at least quite clear, that while great exertion is being made, it cannot be carried to the full extent of the capability of India for several years to come; and will then be contingent upon a steady demand, at a fair remunerative price. A great deal of new land will, probably, have been put under cotton cultivation already; but cereals, and other valuable produce, cannot be displaced for cotton in any very unusual proportion without causing distress by enhanced prices of grain, and therefore new or heretofore waste lands, will have to be brought under tillage for cotton or cereals, an operation which is necessarily gradual and tedious.

Much is in progress in the best cotton localities which gives earnest of practical improvement. The noble province of Berar, which we trust has been secured in perpetuity

to the British Government, and is one of the chief sources of supply of cotton to Bombay, is now being opened by a railway in course of construction; and the whole line to Nagpore will probably be opened in less than two years more. The cotton of Berar will then reach Bombay not only at a cheaper rate than its present carriage by carts, but in the year it is grown, which is now impossible, or nearly so. Some of the produce may reach the coast in the season in which it is gathered; but the monsoon, when carts cannot travel, prevents despatch of the rest, which remains at a loss, from deterioration and non-return of capital, till the close of the rains. With the railway in operation it will be very different. The cotton will be despatched as cleaned, and then quick return of capital will encourage all concerned in the trade and produce. Again, eastern Berar and Nagpore will be drained of produce to the eastward by the Godavery should the scheme of navigation prove successful. On this point we are not so sanguine perhaps as others; and while heartily wishing the undertaking success, we doubt whether in any case the Godavery, distant as it is from the cotton provinces, will compete with the railway, which will traverse the best portion of them. It is too soon, however, to speculate upon the result of a scheme as yet in its infancy.

In regard to improvements in Western India, we learn that active measures are in progress for opening the port of Sudashewghur, a noble harbour, which, when the road at present in progress from Dharwar is constructed, will materially shorten the transit of cotton from that locality and the cotton districts beyond it. Hitherto all Dharwar cotton, as well as that from Bellary, Cuddappa, and the south-western districts of the Nizam, was sent by a steep hill road to Coompta, an open roadstead to the south of Sudashewghur. Thence it was taken to Bombay by boat, landed to be screwed and packed, and reshipped for Europe; and it is needless to say that these operations enhanced the cost very considerably. In the harbour of Sudashewghur the largest ships can lie and load close to the shore. The anchorage is perfectly safe at all times. The capabilities of this harbour and necessity of establishing it as a cotton port had been frequently discussed; and under the personal explanations of Dr. Forbes, who had been despatched to England in 1860 on a special mission in regard to cotton by the Government of Bombay to the Secretary of State for India, orders were at once sent for the port to be opened, and the connecting link to Dharwar constructed,—operations which

were immediately commenced, and are in active progress. Allotments of land have also been made to the cotton company for warehouses and screw presses, and there can be no doubt of the success of this undertaking.

The direction of railways from Bombay is well known, and needs no explanation here. All will bring to the coast large supplies of cotton. The trunk line to Sholapoor receives already the whole of the cotton brought to the entrepôts of Barsee and Sholapoor, which is the produce of the Nizam's dominions to the east, north-east, and south-east, as far as the cotton can be carried with profit. This includes, to the south-east, the Rachore Dooab, the district of Shorapoor, one of the most productive in the Deccan, lying between the Bheema and Krishna rivers, to the east and north-east the large Sircars of Gulburga, Nuldroog, Kullianee, Oodger, Bheer, Daroor, Puraindah, Patree, Buswunt, and Nandère, comprising portions of the valley of the Godavery, and of the Manjera, Krishna, and Bheema rivers — an area of at least 60,000 square miles, or perhaps 15 millions of acres, for the most part cotton producing. The supply of cotton for the Bombay market from these sources is much larger than is generally known, is increasing, and capable of very large increase; and in the Rachore Dooab and Shorapoor, before their recent retransfer to the Nizam, the cultivation of the American variety of cotton was extending in a satisfactory manner among the native farmers. In the northern portion of Western India, Scinde will soon have its railway in operation, as also Guzerat, so much desired by Mr. Mackay; and we trust that metalled roads will be extended through that valuable province, the present tracks being a reproach to the Government. Madras is busy with a railway from coast to coast, which will also drain the central Madras cotton districts of produce, to be shipped at a western port or at Madras, as may be desired; Bengal makes rapid progress with her great line; and indeed it is gratifying to observe, that in no part of India does indifference exist to the great object of provision for better communication.

Among other causes affecting the cotton trade we already see, that the production of cotton in an improved form, is asserted to be dependent upon the alteration of land-tenure: and when Mr. Mackay reported to Manchester, he broadly asserted this to be the case. We now also find his assertions and opinions applied to the settlement of Europeans in India for the cultivation of cotton, as landed proprietors: and no doubt

this may be practicable to some extent in course of time. But while we believe Her Majesty's Government will make no objection to such settlements in India, so long as the local rights of the people are not encroached upon, and will gradually remove disabilities of land tenures, we look upon the increase and improvement of the cultivation of cotton at the hands of English planters to be visionary, or only to be effected in a course of many years, if at all; and that the true sources of extension of cotton produce are to be found among the native farmers, and by the establishment of European agents for purchase. Local agencies being established, may lead in time to the renting or purchasing of land from native proprietors, and thus to the application of European skill and capital to cotton cultivation, on which so much stress is now laid: but to settle, or attempt to settle, European planters without these preliminaries, would involve Government, the people, and the planters in unseemly squabbles, such as are now apparent in the Indigo questions, the results of which would mar, or at least hinder, the purpose for which the planters would have established themselves.

Mr. Mackay lays great stress upon irrigation, and its applicability to cotton cultivation. We join him very heartily in support of his views in regard to irrigation in general, and nothing can be said too highly in its favour as applicable to general cultivation. In Western India, as in the Southern and Eastern portions of the peninsula, and in Central India, it would form the true wealth of the country. Water applied to cereals, to sugar cane, ginger, turmeric, tobacco, garden produce, and the like, is invaluable, and nothing, except cereals and pulse, can be produced without it. Every cubic yard of water which runs waste to the sea is applicable to land in the localities we have mentioned, and with the highest advantage. All is saleable, because invaluable to the people; and the natural slopes of the country, and the fall of rivers, afford scope for the construction of large tanks or reservoirs, of weirs and dams in rivers, and of irrigation channels, by which a large proportion of the country could be furnished with water at a reasonable rate. Of all this there is no question at all: but it is impossible for Government to undertake works for the whole continent, though it may occasionally apply its capital, — as it has already done in the noble works on the Caverry, Krishna, Godavery, Jumnah, and Ganges, — with profit to itself and the people. For irrigation, however, India offers a wide and noble field for private enterprise. Already has one large

company been established, and we trust others will be incited to follow in the same track, and the returns on Government expenditure show what profit may be realised on well-selected operations. But that irrigation will have any or much effect on cotton cultivation we doubt very much. In poor, sandy, or shallow and gravelly soils, an occasional watering may assist a crop; but in black soil the cotton will not bear it, and it causes positive injury to the plants. We believe the majority of the reports called for from all India under the Government instructions of the 9th of September, 1857, were unfavourable to the application of irrigation to cotton cultivation.

The low price which Indian cotton has hitherto borne in the English market has, it is admitted, been the true cause of a partial and non-increasing supply from India. The present high rates we know cannot be maintained, and therefore the hopes of planters in India may after all be again disappointed; and whether they are European or native, the result would only be the same. No roads, no railways, no improved landed tenures,—nothing, in fact, that Manchester has been calling out for for years past,—will help East Indian cotton, if it is refused by the manufacturers, or American in all cases preferred to it. We hear many causes of dissatisfaction. Short staple, for which the machinery has to be ‘screwed up,’ and dirt, leaf, and other objections, we have stated before. In the Dharwar-American variety, an objection has been taken to mixture of indigenous cotton, which spoils both, and truly; but this has arisen from carelessness of the farmers in mixing the seed; and as such a mixture comes fairly under the head of fraud, it might be remedied by an Act to render it a penal offence to sow both together. And such a remedy would follow, we doubt not, were there parties on the spot interested in the produce, to observe the mixture of plants in the fields, and have the plants and seeds separated. But in regard to short-stapled cotton, what can be done? If manufacturers desire it in good faith, let them apply proper machinery to its manufacture. Can anything surpass the beautiful muslins of India, or the fabrics of ‘Dhotees,’ ‘Sarees,’ roomals, and calicoes of India, made from these much-abused short-stapled cottons? It is admitted that they take dye better than American, and there is no doubt that fabrics made from them wear better. We believe that the French and German or Swiss manufacturers prefer them,—at least do not object to them; and we know that French and Swiss muslins and chintzes are preferred in India to those of Manchester, because the dyes are better,

and the fabrics are more enduring. Why then are they refused, or neglected, except under a famine like the present? If they can be used with profit and advantage now, why not continuously,—and so as not to perplex the Indian grower. We profess we cannot understand the manufacturers on this point, nor the discrepancies in their requirements. They ought to know that no planters and no agencies can alter the real staple of indigenous Indian cotton, which is as much characteristic of its soil and climate as the American variety is of America. Let the manufacturers choose and decide. If they will use Indian cotton, and give a fair price for it, we can assure them they can get it to any amount; and year by year it will be cleaner, and of better character. In this respect, too, the manufacturers and merchants have much in their power, by encouraging good, well-cleaned cottons by liberal prices, and refusing the trash which hitherto—as the merchants of Bombay admit—has brought them the highest profit. Much may be done by good saw-gins, adapted to the cleaning of native cotton. The best attempt, as yet, has been made by Dr. Forbes, who, in 1860, brought a gin, invented by himself, on the roller or ‘churka’ principle, to England; and we believe it has been improved here, and that many will be sent to India. Once perfected, such gins should be introduced into Berar, Guzerat, Dharwar, and all localities of India which produce indigenous cotton, and we should then hear few complaints of dirt; but even by the churka and foot-roller, provided cotton be cleanly picked, excellent cleaning results can be obtained, and these means are found to injure the short staple less than any other.

In concluding this article, it is necessary to revert to the local price of cotton with reference to its cost in England; for this, after all, is the point on which the whole subject rests, and on which depends the supply of India to England. Many calculations have been made of the cost of producing cotton, and, as a general rule, they all approach very near each other. Mr. Mackay gives 3½d. per pound at the port of shipment, and as including all expenses under native agency, and including purchase and carriage, and allowing ½d. per pound for freight,—that is 3l. per ton,—and ½d. for contingencies, or 4½d. in Liverpool. This is the minimum rate at which profit can be ensured. American cotton gives the same result of 3½d. at the port of shipment, and the same in Liverpool, yet the relative value of the one is 20 per cent. usually above the other in the market. It would be useless to give details of expense of cultivation, for



after all they are delusive, because formed on estimates of labour, not actual results. In a recent report by the Commissioner of Berar, he gives details of cultivation of cotton and all kinds of grain, which show little or no profit to the cultivator on any crop; but, of all, cotton gives the highest rate of profit, and we accept his data as a proof that cotton is not, any more than any other produce, unremunerative. Mr. Mackay makes out the profit to be very small indeed; but he proves that the Guzerat farmer can produce cotton at  $1\frac{1}{4}d.$  per pound, even under a higher land rent than at present; '*and if European agency were directly employed, instead of the complex native system,*' that cotton can be landed in Liverpool for  $2\frac{3}{4}d.$  per pound, when the purchase price in India is at its minimum, and the selling price in Liverpool, which regulates the price in India, is also at its minimum. We see no reason to dissent from these conclusions: and from averages taken in every district of India, the result of *production* is found to differ very little; the cost of transit would, of course, vary with distance. By a recent report we find that cotton in Sholapoor was selling at  $2\frac{3}{4}d.$  per pound, the railway carriage  $\frac{3}{4}h$  of a penny per pound for 276 miles to Bombay; and this article would realise from  $7d.$  to  $8\frac{1}{4}d.$  per pound at the present prices in England! On this calculation Mr. Haywood, the Manchester commissioner, reports what we are glad to read as confirmatory of our views, '*that four times—or ten times the quantity now exported, might be exported if European agencies were established for buying, cleaning, and packing the cotton.*' Such agencies, introducing the cheaper manufactures of Manchester, would liberate a large amount of labour to cultivate the soil.' They would do much more than this; they would improve the cultivation and create a steady demand, while every agency for purchase of cotton would be a depôt for the sale and distribution of manufactured goods. In Mr. Haywood, accompanied as he is by Dr. Forbes, a gentleman of vast experience in cotton produce, we have at last a practical observer of what is doing and to be done, and to the result of his reports and proceedings we shall look with the greatest interest.

But the question still remains, Will the manufacturers purchase Indian cotton at a price remunerative to Indian production? It need not be a high one; but it should be steady and discriminative in regard to quality. If, in despite of the improvement in quality, which it is admitted has been rapid, and in the face of the present disturbance in the internal and external relations of the United States, which will inevitably tend to

depress the agricultural interests of that country, the manufacturers persist in depreciating Indian cotton, they must not complain if the Indian merchants and farmers refuse to grow what does not pay, and be-take themselves to the growth of other articles that are continuously profitable. On the other hand, if the manufacturers act in the good faith and spirit of encouragement they profess, there is no question whatever that India, in the course of a very few years, could render them independent of America, and that every succeeding year will make improvement in produce, to the mutual benefit of both countries. Manufacturers have called out very loudly for facilities to establish European cotton planters; but would European cotton planters thrive on the prices they have as yet given to India, when there was no particular pressure in regard to cotton supply? We think not; and therefore cannot expect that the Indian farmers' labour should be attended with a different result than would attend that of the European settler.

We hope we may not be misunderstood in regard to the strictures and requirements of the manufacturers in reference to the Government of the East India Company. That much improvement was needed, we have never had any doubt; and that the expression of wants, backed by the pressure of the whole manufacturing interests of England, led to some reforms and some removals of disabilities, the transactions of those periods prove. Where we think the manufacturers wrong is, as we trust we have proved, in their not following where Government, at great pains and expense, had led the way. Had local efforts followed Government enterprises, there can be no reasonable doubt that all further requirements would have claimed and ensured respect, and would have been attended with practical benefit.

Notwithstanding the certainty of a large increase to the ordinary export from India this year, it must be confessed that it is by no means commensurate with the wants of the manufacturers. The year 1860, as to imports from all sources, was altogether exceptional, the amount having been 3,363,994 bales, against 3,035,728 in 1861, and 2,828,489, in 1859. If the import of 1859 be taken as an average year, the import of 1860 exceeds it by 535,505 bales, or nearly one fifth. That great amount of extra import, with 207,239 bales, the excess of 1861 over 1859, form a total of 742,744 bales, which, under the present and late short-working of the manufacturers, has enabled them to economise stocks of cotton, and so

to prevent any extreme pressure, that, however, we much fear, has inevitably to come, and must be looked steadily in the face. The stock of American cotton, of which the consumption is about 10,000 bales a week, cannot last much beyond the first week of May. By that time, under the arrivals from India, the stock of East India cotton may be considerably increased, as we have shown already; but the consumption is at least 20,000 bales per week now,—16,000 for local use and 4000 for export,—and may increase as American is consumed or held back by speculators, and if the stock of Indian on the first of May be no more than 150,000 bales, as is anticipated, — with probably 200,000 to arrive, — the prospect for the future is distressing indeed — the expectation of arrivals from other sources than America and India being no more than 60,000 bales in the same period. The stocks held by spinners are, we fear, also much lower, probably not more than half the amount at a similar period of last year, or 100,000 bales against the ordinary reserve of 200,000. The cotton in foreign ports, as we write, is only 96,000 bales against 254,350 of 1861, nor is there any reserve stock that we can hear of among the foreign manufacturers. It is true that the consumption in manufactures of 1861 exceeded that of any former year, being at the rate of 48,513 bales per week, against 44,522 of 1859, and that there may be a large surplus of manufactured goods to be disposed of; but this does not help the working classes of the manufacturing interest, and we fear, that their condition will excite very serious anxiety as the year proceeds. In this anxiety we may be quite assured that every available bale of cotton will reach England from India; but there, too, a great part of the crop now ripened and ripening, must be inevitably delayed till after the monsoon, that is till the close of the year, and only that which can be transmitted from the interior so as to reach the coast before the end of May, can be forwarded to us. Whatever it is, it will be gratefully received; but our object is to prove that the manufacturing interest no longer should cling to one source of supply, however good it may be, but should enlarge their connexions, and practically invite extension of cotton cultivation in all possible localities. Among them, we need not fear, that India will take a very prominent place, if indeed she do not suffice in herself for all future contingencies.

ART. VIII. — *Lives of Lord Castlereagh and Sir Charles Stewart (second and third Marquesses of Londonderry), with Annals of Contemporary Events in which they bore a part.* From the Original Papers of the Family. By Sir ARCHIBALD ALISON, Bart., D.C.L., LL.D., &c. 3 vols. Edinburgh: 1861.

SIR ARCHIBALD ALISON appears to hold that the number of his volumes will be the measure of his posthumous reputation, like that Assyrian voluptuary who thought that his happiness in the next world would be proportioned to the number of dishes he had devoured in this. These Londonderry papers have been confided to deplorably injudicious hands. The haste in which they are edited may be indicated on the threshold by the fact that the very title-page of the work is not sense, and that the very first sentence of the preface is not grammar. But the work is as biased as it is crude. Sir Archibald acquits himself of his obligations to the Vane and Stewart families, by showering upon them such extravagant comparisons as that of Lord Londonderry with Marlborough, and Lady Londonderry with Dido. He sees Carthage in Seaham Docks, and Blenheim in a cavalry charge, until his honest and laborious panegyric blunders into satire that would add to the lustre of Junius. It is really, therefore, no more than our duty to caution other possessors of family papers, yet unedited, against this gift-bearing Greek, after his terrible severity to a chivalrous officer and an accomplished lady.

This book is marked also by mistakes of names and facts that would have seemed incredible. We frequently read Lord Gray for Lord Grey, Lord Lansdowne for Lord Lansdowne, Sir James Macintosh for Sir James Mackintosh, Lord Granville for Lord Grenville (a highly misleading error), Mr. Sturges Browne for Mr. Sturges Bourne, elusory for illusory, and so on. We observe that Sir Peregrine 'Pickle' bore the pall in the funeral of the Great Duke: such is the outrage to the shade of Maitland. We are told that Perceval was Premier when he was but Chancellor of the Exchequer; that Castlereagh was Secretary at War (an office held by Lord Palmerston at the time in question) when he was Secretary of State for the War Department; that there were six points of the Charter instead of five; that they arose in 1817 instead of about 1837; that Soult and his corps were scheming to revolt against Napoleon, and on the same page that the corps was scheming to revolt against Napoleon and Soult. We

meet also with such inelegant phrases as 'the whole Cabinet Ministers,'—such unfortunate expressions as Lady Castlereagh's 'passion for large mastiffs,'—such tautologies as 'first originated,'—such false metaphors as 'bristling with volunteers' (instead of with bayonets), as though the volunteers were so many porcupines;—and 'Lord Gray's forehead big with the destinies of England,' as if, to sustain the analogy that is implied, he were labouring under advancing hydrocephalus! We wish this work had been revised by the simple but polished pen of the lady who contributed the most valuable portion of its materials.

It is clear that Sir A. Alison—who formerly described the wars of the Revolution with considerable power—has no notion of the first conditions of biography. One half, at the least, of his three volumes consists of historical narrative that has no perceptible relation to either of his heroes. Because Lord Castlereagh was, in 1813, a Cabinet Minister in London, and Sir Charles Stewart was British Commissioner at the Prussian head-quarters, he details the German campaigns at a length disproportionate to the biography even of a Commander-in-chief. Solferino may be fairly, if concisely, described in any 'life' that shall be written of Napoleon III., since the Emperor's influence may be held to have radiated from his centre of action through the whole line of his army. But if Solferino is to be described also in a biography of M. Walewski at Paris, or of all the staff-officers on the field of battle, then it may be told a hundred times. The first characteristic of biography, which is individuality, will be lost.

Sir Archibald's defence of his scheme is yet more absurd than the scheme itself. He holds that contemplative men, such as philosophers and poets, have no claim to so much as a page of 'contemporary events;' but that the biography of 'statesmen and warriors' is to be found in a pure narrative of national changes. We totally dissent from this bald distinction. No life of the ascetic Cowper could be written irrespectively of the influence which contemporary wars had wrought on his gentle mind. On the other hand, the narrative of public events in a biography of Pitt must be strictly limited to the share which he took in them. Sir Archibald cites, however, two imaginary precedents. He appeals to the incorporation into the Life of Alexander of the account given by Quintus Curtius of Arbela and the Granicus, and to 'the full details of the Gallic and civil wars' in Cæsar's Commentaries. But we know not

how to argue with a man who can compare the acts of Castlereagh as a civilian, or of Charles Stewart as a soldier; with the military achievements of Alexander the Great, and takes apparently Cæsar's Commentaries for autobiography, in which the wars they narrate are mere episode!

A biography, like a novel, is essentially a work of art. It represents the real life, as a novel represents the ideal life, of one or more persons. The difference between a biographer and a novelist chiefly is, that the former has his incidents before him, and that the latter must create them from his own fancy. But these incidents, in either case, must delineate personal character and personal actions. We do not find Mr. Disraeli writing voluminous parliamentary statistics to portray the character of Coningsby, nor Sir Walter Scott filling *Ivanhoe* with chapters upon armour to illustrate the tournaments of Front de-Bœuf. The rules of biographical perspective are the same as those of perspective in fiction. Sir A. Alison, on the contrary, has produced a cyclo-pical deformity, which is neither biography, nor history, nor of any other acknowledged species of literary composition. He attempts to defend its peculiarity on the ground that it precludes a necessity of reference elsewhere. But does an interest in Lord Londonderry involve an interest in everyone and everything around him; or is the need of this 'reference' lessened by an incessant reiteration of dogmas on the currency which have long been exploded by universal assent?

This book fails in execution as much as it fails in design. It requires the same fidelity to write the life of any man that it requires to draw his portrait on canvass. To misstate the force of his character is as great a fault as to distort the expression of his features. If Boswell had portrayed Johnson according to Jeremy Taylor's standard of moral excellence, he would no more have survived as a painter of life than Sir Peter Lely if he had painted Oliver Cromwell in the ideal perfection of Carlo Dolce. It is because Boswell and Lely (with all the predilection of the former) painted their heroes as they were, that they have remained among the masters of their common art. You no more require a biographer to analyse the character of his hero, than a painter to tell you whether the expression he conveys is sensual or intellectual, sinister or open. The incidents in the book will speak for themselves, even more than the features on the canvass; because, unless they are defective, they must display every phasis of the mind. Biography, then, requires no

subtle analysis, much as the narrative or memory of great actions carries its own panegyric—

'How vain is reason, eloquence how weak,  
If Pope must tell what Harcourt cannot speak.'

But if the ambition of the biographer tempt him to this superfluity, his narrative is in vain, unless his panegyric be discerning and his analysis be true. Bad biographies abound on account of two main causes. The one is, that—even where biographical perspective is preserved—few curb their reflection and judgment until a wide survey enables them to judge and reflect maturely; the other is, that biographers are commonly led to their task by an antecedent bias that has already destroyed their impartiality.

Sir Archibald Alison is a signal offender against both these canons. His reflections are premature and incessant, and his preconceptions render them nearly always unjust. When the actions of his heroes are really meritorious, the praise they receive is extravagant; when they are culpable, they still receive a chastened panegyric. Their importance, often really considerable, is seen through a microscope, and their excellence survives the crucible in which the wisdom of all rival statesmen is invariably dissolved. But still more glaring than this ridiculous travesty of truth, is the fact that the biographer involuntarily arrogates to himself the foreground that belongs of right to the heroes of his work. We can never lose the jarring sense of Sir Archibald's intervention between the Londonderrys and ourselves. Biography ought to convey and sustain the illusion that the man it treats of is one amongst us. Vain and pompous platitudes, on the other hand, describe, not the hero, but the author. This book imparts no idea whatever of the character of either Castlereagh or his brother; but it leaves an ineffaceable impress of the taste and judgment of Sir Archibald Alison.

There are few men of whom more opposite estimates have been formed than Lord Castlereagh. Nearly every view that has been presented of his character has been met by a contrary view. The opinion which has praised him seems often as plausible as the opinion that has condemned him. The Radicals called him an Irish executioner in enamel. His own party held him up as a model of ministerial clemency and of good nature. He is now said to have inspired as warm political attachments, by his genial heart and unaffected manner, as almost any other statesman of his day; and he was reckoned the boldest champion of

the Tories in the House of Commons. Yet his very name was exploded as soon as he died, and no man risked his reputation by founding a school in his honour. His policy at home was associated with steadfast opposition to every liberal reform; yet he has now been paradoxically praised for the signal liberality of his disposition. The Tories certainly employed him for twenty years to retard the emancipation of the Catholics, while his apologists as truly insist that he long advocated and voted for their emancipation. The Irish Catholics described him as the immediate cause of their Civil War, and the Irish Protestant Episcopalians resented the readiness with which the Government he belonged to pardoned treason. In his foreign policy it was the same as in his domestic administration. He was charged with repeatedly forgetting, in his intercourse with sovereigns and ministers abroad, that he was the representative of England. He is now often described as the only British subject who could tackle an Emperor.

But it may seem still more strange that nearly all these opposite views of Castlereagh are substantially true. It is not—as is the case of most men who have alternately encountered extreme disparagement and undue panegyric—that justice lies in a mean between two opposite verdicts. Each of these views presents but the profile of his character; the counterpart is altogether different. Take the Catholic question as an example. If emancipation could have been readily effected, he would probably have brought a bill into Parliament for the purpose. But he had no sort of intention of relinquishing his position as a Minister in order to mark the sincerity of his own principles, or his sense of the injustice under which the Catholics were labouring. He retained his convictions in full force, but his freedom of action was unimpaired by his convictions. When the English and Irish Parliaments merged, in 1801, he was pledged, in common with Pitt, to emancipate the Catholics. But he did not scruple within a year to take office in the Addington Administration, which was formed on the distinct principle of resisting their claims. It is said that he did so by Pitt's recommendation, though Pitt himself held carefully aloof. But that defence is a plea of intellectual infancy at thirty-three. He entered also three subsequent Administrations on an equally clear understanding that the Catholic question should be shelved. He no more attempted to resolve that question in peace than in war, although he recorded his vote in favour of the Catholic

claims. No man can act thus and claim credit for the liberality of his opinions. He would simply injure the cause he professed to befriend. He would show the utter hollowness of his sympathies. The Liverpool Cabinet owed, for ten years, their bold stand against the Whig party to Castlereagh's lead in the House of Commons. Had it not been for Castlereagh, the Catholics would probably have been emancipated long before 1829.

The justification of such conduct must, of course, depend on the circumstances which surrounded it. It is intelligible that, in war, domestic questions may be less important than the maintenance of a strong Government. To lose a great administrator may possibly be even worse than to maintain a grievous wrong. Open questions have also been sanctioned by all Administrations. We should be slow, therefore, to condemn Castlereagh. But the man whom all his colleagues once found it necessary to be rid of in a situation of responsibility, in 1809, was hardly required to sacrifice his opinions to the public administration. Nor had his glaring inconsistency in 1802 any parallel among those who thought with him. It is the essence of Parliamentary Government that men support in practice the opinions they profess. This principle is bound up with political morality. It may be qualified in rare exceptions, but it was repudiated by Castlereagh during nearly the whole of his public life.

The apparent inconsistency in the popular judgment of Lord Castlereagh is readily explained. If Castlereagh had thought with, as well as acted with, Lord Liverpool, he would have definitely taken his place as a narrow and bigoted Tory. If he had been, on the other hand, all things to all men, he would be seen at once to have been a profligate politician. In either case, his public character would have suggested no doubt or misconception. But he was clear-sighted enough to see, in many cases, what was right, and he was bold enough to set his avowed convictions at defiance. Thus those who look only to his conduct draw one inference, and those who look only to his professions draw another. But we fear that they who form their estimate from a full view of both his conduct and his professions, will conclude that his first principle of action lay in the ascendancy of his own fortunes. We utterly disbelieve in so inexorable a cruelty of fate as the spectacle of an earnest Liberal involuntarily identified through life with harsher and more numerous measures of repression than any other Minister of the Hanoverian dynasty.

Castlereagh's foreign policy was equally chequered by examples from which his defenders have argued his independence and his liberality, and from which his detractors have denounced his servility and his absolutism. Neither proposition, again, is altogether without the defence of examples. He demanded the independence of Poland from the Czar himself, as freely as he would have demanded it from a Russian ambassador; yet he was ready to degrade his position as Minister of England by writing a letter of thanks to Prince Metternich for supporting his counsels with his own sovereignty. He may have wished to see the Poles a free nation; but what he demanded was, not so much their individual liberty, as their national disconnexion from Russia for the sake of a balance of power. He broke away from the Holy Alliance, when compelled, in 1820; yet he had been an instrument in its formation when its principles were obviously inconsistent with the liberties of mankind. He gained, in 1814, an immense position, in which his friends saw extraordinary qualities of mind, but which many another man would have attained as the absolute paymaster of the armies of the Allies. When he reached Vienna, he evinced an incapacity to understand the colonial interests of his country, at which no merchant in London or Liverpool could fail to be astonished.

The admirers of Castlereagh are puzzled that he left no followers and founded no school. But the answer appears very plain. He left no followers because he bequeathed no policy. There could be no heir since there was no inheritance. In an age growing daily more enlightened and more earnest, there could be no school founded in commemoration of hollow professions of liberality and odious measures of repression. Nor could a school of foreign policy be formed in honour of a man who had himself destroyed, such as it was, the work of his own hands. Lord Grey founded a school of policy at home, and Canning a school of policy abroad, because they were the earnest and consistent exponents of opinions which the next generation of Englishmen heartily maintained.

Robert Lord Castlereagh and Charles Stewart were half brothers, and younger sons of a tolerably wealthy Irish esquire. Their father was Robert Stewart, of Mount Stewart, or of Ballylawn, in County Down. There is no doubt that this family are of Scotch extraction. Sir A. Alison is very ready to do honour to their ancestry, in that generous spirit of our countrymen whereby a Scotchman will always speak

well of a Scotchman before third parties, such as an English public. We have no other reason, indeed, to criticise the pedigree he assigns them than our general scepticism of genealogies which are not directly associated with the continuous possession of estates in land. We shall, therefore, presume to account this family mythical beyond the period at which they first held property in Ulster. This is referred by the biographer to the reign of James I. of England; but the older Irish landholders assert that the Stewarts, at a much more recent date, were frugal Scotch traders. The late Lord Londonderry in his 'Memoir of Castlereagh,' claims collateral descent from royalty, on the assertion that the early Wigtownshire Stewarts were common ancestors of his own branch and of the Stewarts of the palace, who at length mounted the throne, and took the name of Stewart from their stewardship. We might almost dismiss the hypothesis as an anachronism. But we are glad, at any rate, to learn that the collateral descendants of royalty in Scotland are in no more danger of extinction than the direct descendants of Israel.

It is doubtful what the exact position of Mr. Robert Stewart was in his own county. He lived indeed in an old manor house little better than a barn; but he was a considerable landowner, and spent 60,000*l.* on the election which first returned Castlereagh to the Irish Parliament. His younger son Charles described this political extravagance as patriotic self-denial, and was proud that it compelled him to abandon his project of rebuilding the old manor-house. He need not have been dissatisfied; for the father built titles and left it to the son to build houses. Robert Stewart was a shrewd electioneer, and one of those borough-mongering commoners from whom the author of 'Sybil' delights to trace much of the modern part of our aristocracy. He rose successively to be Baron Stewart in 1789, Viscount Castlereagh in 1795, Earl of Londonderry in 1796, and Marquis of Londonderry in 1816. By extraordinary luck, two sons of an esquire, who had done something for his party but nothing for his country, became great nobles by inheritance, and the splendour of the positions they afterwards filled caused men to forget the obscurity of their origin.

Sir A. Alison pretends that the ennobling of the Stewarts was due to the public services of Castlereagh, and to what he calls their consistent Toryism. But either view is equally unfounded. The barony was conferred on the father while the son was a minor, and the viscounty and earldom be-

fore he had rendered appreciable service in Parliament. The evidence of dates thus defeats Sir Archibald's first position. It is of the Marquisate only that it can hold good. Again; the Stewarts were vehement Whigs before they became Tories. Nobody knew better than Robert Stewart the father how and when to change. The 60,000*l.* were spent in contesting the county election in 1790, on Whig principles, against the nominees of Lord Hillsborough, afterwards Marquis of Downshire. This contest is described as a spirited defence of 'the independence of the county.' But we are afraid the independence of the county was forgotten in the conflicting ambition of the houses of Londonderry and Downshire. The Stewarts were undoubted trimmers. They were no genuine opponents of the Government for being Whigs during the earlier years of Pitt's administration. Both Pitt himself and his Irish lieutenant, the Marquis of Buckingham, were still members of the Shelburne branch of the Whig party. Soon afterwards Earl Fitzwilliam became viceroy, Mr. Grattan was his organ in the Irish House of Commons; and far more liberal opinions ruled at Dublin Castle than at Whitehall. Castlereagh, then Robert Stewart the younger, could not sit on the ministerial benches under Buckingham; for he had just got into Parliament by defeating a ministerial candidate on the hustings.

But in 1795, a great change took place in the Irish Government. Pitt sent Lord Camden to Dublin as viceroy. The short Whig reign of Fitzwilliam was now ousted by the Toryism of Camden, just as the trimming of Buckingham and Westmoreland had been before ousted by Fitzwilliam. Conciliation was abandoned, and a harsh policy of repression adopted in its place. Lord Camden had neither opinions nor ideas, and was an instance of the intellectual vacancy that high rank once rendered compatible with a great public station. But Pitt chose him to be a Tory; and as a Tory he came to Dublin. Young Stewart, who had been a member of the Northern Whig Club, if not also a United Irishman\*, had been gradually veering round from the Whiggery that was growing unpopular. Lord Camden was fortunately brother-in-law of Lord Stewart. The opportunity was not lost. Both father and son now became vehement Tories. The common bond of politics and relationship were irresistible. A few months after Lord Camden's arrival, the father became vic-

\* He undoubtedly was one of the Convention of Delegates of the Irish Volunteer Corps out of which the United Irishmen were subsequently formed.

count, and earl in the next year. The son declared against all further reform, became at length Keeper of the Privy Seal, and also, under Lord Camden's reign, acting-Secretary for Ireland during the illness of Mr. Pelham.

Nor is this the whole of Sir A. Alison's error. It seems to have been thought needful to the glorification of the Londonderrys that Castlereagh's success should be referred wholly to his own merit. Sir A. Alison, therefore, says no more of his relationship to Lord Camden than of his Whiggism under Lord Buckingham. Camden is described as spontaneously 'turning his eyes' to the most prominent young man of his acquaintance. We will no more impugn his nepotism than that of Lord Wellesley in appointing his brother commander in Mysore. Castlereagh's ability may have been dimly discerned, even by Lord Camden; but we suspect it required the magnifying lens of relationship for that glimmering perception to detect its presence. The plain truth is, that when the family of the Londonderrys had been raised by the tact of the father, the son attained power by combining official connexion with moderate ability. In this country, no man can rise to the highest authority without either great connexions or splendid talents. Consanguinity is still of much more avail than intellect. Canning, it is just possible, might have attained power independently of his connexion with the Duke of Portland. But Castlereagh might have failed without the patronage of Lord Camden and the management of the first Lord Londonderry. It is fair, however, to add that Lord Camden gave him no more than his start in life; for before he was formally appointed to succeed Mr. Pelham in the office, Lord Cornwallis had assumed the office of Irish Viceroy, and in his lordship's letter to the Duke of Portland of the 7th of November, 1798, he urgently requests that Castlereagh might have the Secretaryship. To this Mr. Pitt assented, adding that, 'his being established in his office will be of the greatest use in various ways.'

We are uncharitable enough, however, to suspect that the tender gloss which Sir A. Alison throws over the notorious incapacity of Lord Camden, is due to a latent recollection of the claim which the intermarriage between the Pratts and the Stewarts had upon the family apologist of Castlereagh. Lord Camden was recalled from Ireland in 1798, in consequence of his utter inability to cope with the rebellion he had provoked. The biographer, however, extols the weak viceroy as a minister of great ability. 'Government in England,' he says, 'had the highest opinion of Lord Camden's prin-

ciples and talents.' We remember asking an eminent statesman who was a contemporary of Lord Camden, what he thought of the misunderstanding between Lord Castlereagh and Mr. Canning in 1809. He replied, 'It was really all due to the fault of Lord Camden: I am sure Lord Camden didn't mean any harm; but it was one of those cases in which intense stupidity sometimes produces the same effect as the worst malevolence.'

Castlereagh's reputation as an administrator was no doubt founded in Ireland, where he had the good fortune and the honour to be associated with the wise and temperate policy of Lord Cornwallis. He was associated in the public mind of England with the suppression of the rebellion, and with the union of the two legislatures; and to these services might have been added the emancipation of the Catholics in 1801, had the design of Lord Cornwallis and Mr. Pitt not been frustrated by the insane opposition of George III. Yet the mass of the Irish regarded him as a monster. But to be associated with these great measures at thirty-two, when he quitted the Irish Government, was sufficient to ensure him a conspicuous place among statesmen. Neither the merit, however, nor the demerit of these measures really belonged to him. It is clear that in all great questions Pitt governed Ireland. He sent over viceroy after viceroy, each charged with a policy varying with the circumstances of the hour. Ten years comprised the period of five viceroys under the same English administration. Lords Buckingham, Westmoreland, Fitzwilliam, Camden, and Cornwallis each represented a distinct line of conduct towards the Irish which was dictated at Whitehall.

There is no evidence meanwhile of any great scheme of Irish policy having emanated from the mind of Castlereagh. His name has been linked with the relief of the Catholics from civil disabilities, with the payment of their priesthood by the State, and with the legislative union. But these were the reforms of Pitt; and until they were formally adopted by Pitt, the views or professions of Castlereagh ran in a directly opposite direction. Sir A. Alison himself acknowledges that, after the Act of 1793 had given the elective franchise to the 'Catholics,' Castlereagh declared that he would go no further.' Hence it may be inferred also that Castlereagh was no more obnoxious to censure for the harsh policy which produced the rebellion, than he was entitled to praise for the liberal and original designs which might have united the hearts as well as the governments of the two countries. It was



only in the details of administration that he could be termed either a hard or a wise minister. Indeed, it may be doubted whether either the blind and predetermined despotism of Lord Camden, or the strong will of Lord Cornwallis, yielded Castlereagh any great scope of action, even as the instrument of the policy of Pitt. His chief merit certainly lay in managing the Irish House of Commons. But his mission rested, not in the tact of Peel, but in the coarse expedients of Walpole. He was instructed to buy up the Parliament, and he bought it as cheap as he could.

The spectacle presented by the Irish Executive, when Castlereagh assumed the duties of Chief Secretary in 1798, had become as ridiculous as the spectacle of Irish misgovernment had become lamentable. After Lord Fitzwilliam's attempts to reconcile the Catholics with Protestant authority had grown unpopular in England, and the English treasury had obtained in exchange for his concessions a sum of three millions from the Irish House of Commons to pursue the French war, this conciliatory policy was repudiated. Lord Camden and Pelham were sent to Dublin to replace Lord Fitzwilliam and Grattan. But Pelham at length made so violent a speech against the Catholics, as the organ of the Camden Administration, that he was compelled to retreat to his own country, and the state of his health interrupted the discharge of the duties of his office. Castlereagh, already Keeper of the Privy Seal, was then appointed to act for him, and eventually to succeed him. This was the commencement of his official life. But the next three years were beyond all question the most momentous in the whole history of Ireland.

It has always appeared to us that the Irish rebellion was at the outset as natural and defensible as any continental rebellion that has ever provoked our sympathies. If the rebels had not allied themselves with the French, and if their leaders had not been deeply imbued with the principles of the French Revolution, public opinion would hardly have borne out its fierce and sanguinary suppression. The legislature of Ireland still consisted of a tyrannical and venal oligarchy, of which even the constitutional history of the Italian Republics could hardly present a more odious example. Everything went by corruption. Parliament met but once in two years. A perpetual Mutiny Bill would have rendered possible even wider intervals between its sessions. There was hardly an instance of an abuse being reformed, or of an interest being honestly maintained. Less than a million of Protes-

tant Episcopalians may be said to have absolutely governed between four and five million Catholics and dissenters. The proscribed religions rose up against the dominant religion which long refused any concession of its privileges. The Volunteers and the Secret Society of United Irishmen were successively formed to overthrow the constitution, and the Orange Association to defend it. Yet Castlereagh stood resolutely by this iniquity. The only reform which he supported until after the rebellion had been crushed in 1798, was, as has been seen, the hollow and unmeaning compromise of 1793. The grievance of the Catholics had been, not that they were without the franchise, but that they were without a franchise to send Catholics to Parliament. The Act of 1793 gave the Catholics indeed the franchise, but still rendered Catholics ineligible for election. To grant the form of free suffrage when religious distinctions obscured all other distinctions, and then to prescribe the religion of the person to be elected, resembled the illusion of a *comgé d'élire*, under which the Crown authorises a dean and chapter to elect its bishop, and at the same time prescribes the person whom they shall choose. On religious questions, therefore, the Irish Government remained after 1793 the same oligarchy as before. The most conclusive evidence of this proposition is to be found in the fact that, after the concession of 1793, the emancipation of the Catholics continued to be one of the most unpopular questions before the Irish Parliament.

English statesmen may be pardoned for not understanding Irish character, but it is harder to excuse an Irish statesman for the same ignorance. We believe that Ireland has presented what is called a 'government difficulty' to England, simply because English policy was based on the illusive axiom that it was the duty of England to govern Ireland at all. Scarcely any man had the courage to accept the truth that the Irish constitution, down to 1829, was the living tradition of an act of conquest. So long as this continued to be the case, there was an inevitable strife between the maintenance of a state of subjugation and the acquisition of a state of independence. The attitude of Austria towards Hungary during the last ten years had not been worse than the attitude of England towards Ireland was half a century ago. No people were more sensitive to justice, as well as more resolute, than the Irish were then, and still are. But all the concessions they experienced were made, not to justice, but to intimidation. Such concessions, of course, provoked fresh

demands, instead of producing conciliation in the heart of a proud and discerning people.

The manner in which this country governed Ireland, until after the rebellion had been crushed, combined almost every conceivable blunder. The Irish Catholics were the natural allies of the Tories in their struggle against a Jacobin government in France, and Jacobin societies in England. Yet the Tories, instead of accepting their alliance, drove them into the arms of their own foreign and domestic enemies. When they had done this, they allowed the hostility of the Irish Catholics against the Irish Constitution, which was before political, to grow national. Instead of arresting the danger by prompt and substantial concession, they encouraged the foundation of association against association, until they had nearly annihilated the just influence of Government in a political dispute, and had themselves supplied the elements of a national civil war. In what proportion these results flowed from the mistakes of individuals, and in what proportion from the uncontrollable violence of parties, it is hard to say. Pitt, however, though without any practical knowledge of Ireland, adopted the views of Lord Cornwallis by proposing at length the emancipation of the Catholics, and the payment of their priesthood by the State, as incidents of a union of the two legislatures. In these measures of his own chief, Castlereagh strenuously concurred. But it was the liberality and intelligence of English statesmen which produced the conversion of the Irish-born minister of the Irish Government. Castlereagh, however, denounced with as much indignation as Lord Cornwallis himself, the subsequent departure of the English cabinet from the grounds which had been held out by them to the Catholics during the negotiations for the Union.

The union of the two Parliaments brought Lord Castlereagh from Dublin to Westminster in 1801. This was the opening of a new career to him. It was one in which he in many respects stood at a signal disadvantage. He was now thrown among the most polished and accomplished statesmen of Europe. Hitherto his position and his aims had been as inferior to theirs as his intellectual culture. He had become a public man, as we have seen, very much by an accident. His ambition had been originally to be a fine gentleman; and apparently a fine gentleman alone. Unlike such a fine gentleman as Fox, he possessed nothing of what we are apt, perhaps inaccurately though plausibly, to term innate taste. His education from books, when he died at fifty-three,

was probably little more than that with which he contrived to pass muster at Cambridge when he was two-and-twenty. Ambition, no doubt, made him at last laborious. But the labour of reading blue books or writing despatches springs from a very different incentive from the labour which makes a scholar. There can be no doubt, therefore, that when Castlereagh found himself a prominent member of the Imperial Parliament, he could ill afford to be compared with such rivals as Lord Grenville, or Fox, or Canning, or Lord Henry Petty, or Mackintosh, or Mr. Brougham. But political society, like every other society, was varied enough to enable him to find many men of eminence possessed of no greater acquirements than he was himself. The Tories, commonly speaking, were not so highly educated as their political antagonists. If we look back for the last century, we shall notice a remarkable distinction between them and the Whigs in point at once of education, of oratory, and of general intelligence. Perhaps there was something in education itself that made Whigs. Pitt and Lord Derby may be adduced as striking exceptions. But even Pitt and Lord Derby, in early life, were Whigs. Peel became an avowed Liberal at last. Canning was throughout more Whig than Tory.

This inferiority between Castlereagh and many of his contemporaries extended to his public speaking; and there it was, of course, more conspicuous. Perhaps, if Castlereagh had been either an orator or a wit, it would have mattered less that he was not a scholar or a linguist. He would in that case have had an empire either in Parliament or in society. But Castlereagh was the most inelegant rhetorician in the House of Commons. He possessed unquestionably very considerable power of mind. This power of mind, like that of the late Lord Campbell, always enabled him to speak with force and pertinence. An excellent judge, himself one of the most skilful of living debaters, and who sat with Castlereagh in the House of Commons, has told us that he often pursued his object in debate with striking discernment and sagacity. But in doing this he blundered through every conceivable confusion of metaphor. He would often hesitate, often seem confused, often express himself by some strange Irishism that became the ridicule of his opponents; but he seldom lost the thread of his argument, nor delivered a speech that was logically inconsequential.

This capacity, though chequered by so much that was inelegant and so much that was ludicrous, no doubt enabled him to de-

fend the policy of his government to practical and unbiassed minds, whenever it was really defensible. But the very prominence of his position biassed many minds. In proportion as he rose, step by step, till he became leader in the House of Commons, he of course became more and more the centre of attack. The leading members of the Whig party, many of them incomparably his superiors both in the breadth of their views and in their power of defending them, gave Lord Castlereagh but little quarter. It was a strange instance of the feebleness of rhetoric against the strength of rotten boroughs, that the government of the country was so long represented in the most polished assembly of Europe, by a man who could not speak in debate with the signs of education which almost any gentleman would evince in his conversation. When he said in the House of Commons that 'he would then embark into the feature on which the proposition before him mainly hinged,' there is no wonder that Tom Moore asked what were the features of a gate. When he commenced a reply to an inquiry—if he really said as was reported—touching a resolution of the allies at Vienna, with the words, 'I and the other Sovereigns of Europe,' the House must have laughed at the awkward slip which let fall the conviction, no doubt justly resting on his mind, that he had been on an equality at Vienna with every crowned head. It was the custom and delight of Sir James Mackintosh to record every inelegant phrase as it dropped from Castlereagh's mouth, in a little book which was ever in his pocket as he went down to the House. This little book, an hour or two later, was reproduced at many a Whig dinner-table. 'What do you think Castlereagh has been saying just now?' Mackintosh would ask, almost before shaking hands with his host and hostess, as he drew the little book out of his pocket, and all conversation was suspended to hear the best joke of the evening. We know not what Sir James Mackintosh's literary executors did with that little book; but if they destroyed it, they have certainly incurred the penalties of a high breach of trust.

But Castlereagh had, nevertheless, great personal advantages. In one respect he was almost as much without a rival in London as he had been in Dublin. He possessed the handsomest face and the most commanding figure of his day. Nor could any, but those whom he hanged, assert that he ever failed to act the part of a gentleman. Though as much without the conversational talent of Fox as he was without the wit of Canning, his manners were not other-

wise than agreeable. Much of his success in London was due to social influences. He had married, in 1794, Lady Emily Hobart, daughter of the Earl of Buckinghamshire. This lady had as high social aspirations as her lord had high political aspirations. She certainly had much of the talent which makes ladies successful in English society. But she wished to have the whole fashionable and political world at her feet. She wished her evening parties to be attended as a social devotion, which ambassadors in all alliances and statesmen in all parties should throng to perform. Perhaps this is the ambition of most ladies who have great ministers for their husbands. But the talent or the conditions of success are so peculiar, that it is of all worldly ambitions the one which is the most seldom attained. Lady Castlereagh certainly succeeded to a greater extent than almost any other lady of her own day. This success was of great service to Castlereagh himself.

It was a trait of Castlereagh, when a minister, to endeavour to effect much by personal hospitalities. He continually invited the more moderate of his opponents, with whom conciliation seemed most practicable, to dinner. So marked was this habit, that we believe they rarely went to his house without the unpleasant conviction that they were about to be made use of. It was rather a joke when a moderate Whig received Lord and Lady Castlereagh's third or fourth invitation. Whenever an emergency arose, there were sure to be Whigs at their dinner-table. We fear that when the emergency passed away the Whigs were left to dine by themselves. It bore very much the character of what a certain Lord Chancellor has called 'discriminating hospitality'—a phrase invidious in the ears of those legal subordinates of the great lawyer whom he did not invite to dinner. No wonder that Castlereagh's sincerity was looked upon by many as somewhat equivocal. The trait is not prepossessing, though it was certainly compatible with real friendships in other quarters. But the Whigs, who suspected that their preserve was about to be poached on, looked upon the invitations of the Castlereaghs, like the hospitalities of the dwarfs in the story of Vathek, as a warning of some impending evil.

No man could be so fortunate as Lord Castlereagh, without having many followers. It is now said, by such admirers as his memory can claim, that the minister had a faculty of attaching personally to himself those with whom he acted. Apparent warmth of heart, and an open manner, are

no doubt very endearing to parliamentary subordinates in a leader of the House of Commons; but no man could enjoy what approached to a perpetuity of office without being apt to confound sycophants and friends. There is no reason why a young politician, even if he has much to hope from a great minister whose friendship he possesses, should not express an admiration for him. It would be deplorable if no one could stand by a successful statesman without being branded as a hypocrite and a tufthunter. But the test of genuine devotion is to be found in the continuance of its profession when the self-interest of the devotee is at an end. With Castlereagh's death nearly all these followers were dispersed, and it was not until the publication of his despatches by his brother that the just unpopularity that had attached to him in the latter years of his career was at all dissipated.

That Lord Castlereagh's warmth of heart is praised in undiscerning terms by Sir A. Alison is but an instance of the general drudgery to which he has descended. There is, however, a story told by him of Castlereagh's boyhood that marks a noble spirit. When seventeen, and at school at Armagh, his sailing boat was capsized on Strangford Lough, three miles from shore. He had with him a schoolfellow of twelve, who could not swim, and Castlereagh himself could not swim well. But he never lost his hold of his little schoolfellow, whom he kept afloat for more than an hour, until a boat came to their rescue.

Early in 1801, Pitt's Administration had resigned, upon the impossibility of reconciling its pledges to the Irish Catholics with the blind resolution of the King. Lord Castlereagh, however, remained with Lord Cornwallis at Dublin until the autumn of that year. Addington's Ministry, meanwhile, succeeded the Ministry of Pitt, on the double principle of making peace and of resisting the Catholic claims, and although he had been one of the chief instruments of Mr. Pitt's Irish policy, Castlereagh soon contrived to find his way into the new Cabinet. In July 1802, he became President of the Board of Control under Addington. The Catholics learnt what his ardour for emancipation was worth. The new Indian Minister readily shook off the moral obligations which had been contracted and defended by the Irish Secretary.

Castlereagh being now at the Board of Control, Sir A. Alison of course requires us to believe that the credit of our Indian administration, and the glory of our Indian arms, were due to his obscure presidency in Cannon Row. He paints in vivid colours

what Lord Castlereagh achieved, and recounts with patriotic thanksgiving the effect of his interposition. He tells us how he led on Lord Wellesley to adopt one course, and how he restrained the Directors in Leadenhall Street from adopting another course. Castlereagh was prominent wherever there was success: there was a distinct negation of Castlereagh wherever there was defeat. To offer this tawdry adulation, and to expect it to be believed, is to presume remarkable stupidity of the public. No doubt Castlereagh supported at the outset the Governor-General against the Directors. This is what nearly every Indian Minister, from administration to administration, did by a sort of instinct. It does not appear that he carried the support of Lord Wellesley in India to a further point than Dundas had done before him. It does not even appear that he in any way diverged from the principles of Indian administration that Dundas had laid down for his guidance. The most famous part of Lord Wellesley's policy had been played out while Castlereagh was in Ireland. Moreover, the long period required for communication with India in those days, rendered a governor-general almost necessarily absolute. But to complete the author's view of Castlereagh's discernment, we are told that he gave Lord Wellesley his marquessate. Unluckily for the biographer, the marquessate was conferred in 1799 while Castlereagh was in Ireland. Lord Stanhope, in his third volume of his life of Pitt, quotes Lord Wellesley's letter to Pitt, in which he describes the 'anguish of his heart' in being created, after his services in India, an Irish instead of an English marquess.

Castlereagh evinced one merit at the India Board. This was his disinterestedness in abandoning a great part of his official patronage. There is a trait, however, connected with this abnegation of patronage, for which Sir Archibald claims questionable credit for his hero. Castlereagh made it his rule to give to every applicant letters of recommendation to the Indian Government. But as this indiscriminate usage tended to destroy the value of his testimonials, he privately admonished Lord Wellesley to pay them no attention, unless they expressly stated the merits of the bearer. The majority of those with whom the introduction of the Minister at home was an element in their decision to go to India, marvelled that the recommendations of the Cabinet were waste paper at Calcutta. They were simply neglected and forgotten. They found themselves in a position midway between the owners of the true passports to office, and

those messengers whom Thucydides tells us that Pausanias sent to the king of Persia, with instructions that they should be immediately put to death.

The Addington administration was as hollow as the French peace. Within a year of Castlereagh's joining it, we were again at war; and war was the death-blow of the administration. According to Sir A. Alison, Castlereagh's alleged master mind was supreme in this Cabinet. We will charitably hope that this was not the case. For such was the imbecility of the Administration, that the three non-ministerial parties in Parliament combined to dissolve it, with the hearty concurrence of the whole country.

When Pitt resumed the Premiership in 1804, Castlereagh appears to have subsided into a placeman. He passed from one Ministry to another, and slipped again into the same office. In 1805, Castlereagh was promoted to the Colonial office, to which the duties of Secretary of State for War were then annexed; but the death of Pitt in the following January transferred his duties to the abler hands of Windham. In 1807, however, he returned to the Colonial and War department, on the ruins of the Grenville Administration, which had fallen for the sake of the Catholic Emancipation that nearly every Tory appeared to have now abandoned in practice.

Lord Castlereagh's undiscerning biographer deals with this period by contrasting the acts of his hero with the alleged follies of his Whig predecessors. The Grenville Ministry, if one half of what he says of them were true, ought to have retired to a lunatic asylum. Castlereagh, whom the accomplished Grenville describes as hardly knowing Europe from America on the map, ought, with half the qualifications assigned to him, to have been made dictator for life. This part of the biography is degraded into a party lampoon, which is nevertheless answered by the blind or involuntary admission of its author. There are some assertions which call for no refutation. Thus Sir Archibald's political arithmetic demonstrated that the Whig Ministry of 1806 cost the country four hundred millions sterling, or one half of the national debt at this day. The dignity of the biographer and the charity of the critic equally demand that such positions should be consigned to the limbo of unsuccessful *jeux d'esprit*.

But one inconsistency is peculiarly unfortunate. Sir A. Alison here feels bound to compare Lord Henry Petty's and Lord Castlereagh's financial measures of this period to the advantage of the latter. He

has no doubt forgotten that in his first History of Europe, in which he lay under no special obligation to defend Castlereagh, he had the candour to acknowledge that Lord Henry's measure was by much the best.

There is no doubt that Castlereagh's war administration was from first to last an elaborate blunder. The only vigorous and successful measure comprised in it was the expedition against Copenhagen, in 1807. That is well known to have been the work of Canning. It was by Canning that the Confederacy of Tilsit was detected, and it was by Canning that it was counterplotted. With that exception, the military schemes and military expeditions of the Tories encountered perpetual misadventure. The imbecility and the unpunctuality of Castlereagh's arrangements were equally remarkable. His expeditions were nearly always too late, and they were commonly so ill-planned that they could rarely have succeeded, even if they had been more prompt. During the war of 1805, Castlereagh prepared a force to be thrown into North Germany, which was not ready until Austerlitz had been fought, and would probably have laid down its arms if it had taken the field. In 1807, he sent ten thousand men, under Sir John Moore, into Sweden, which his biographer of course describes as having produced great results to this country; but which Sir John Moore's biographer shows to have been attended with every circumstance of misfortune and affront. In 1808, he despatched a similar force into Portugal, which he so mismanaged that its command fell to general after general day by day; and the arrangements of each were upset by the intervention of the next commander. In 1809, he sent against Antwerp an army of 40,000 men, which perished on the island of Walchèren, without reaching the place it was intended to attack, under the most incompetent officer in the service; and he even failed to despatch it from England until three weeks after the decisive battle of Wagram had been won by France. Can any man wonder that all his colleagues had resolved to displace him?

Sir A. Alison pretends that all this active disaster was preferable to the prosperous neutrality of the Whig rule of 1806. Yet he elsewhere vindicates the very principles that it here suits his party purpose to condemn. He declaims furiously against intervention in continental affairs, whenever it has been afterwards practised by a Liberal Minister; yet he cannot perceive that the policy of 1806, which he equally condemns, was the first practical application of the

principle of non-intervention. He is fully alive to the blessing of peace so long as it springs from a Legitimist despot; but he withholds credit to the Grenville Ministry for the only serious attempt to make peace between France and England that occurred during the Empire. He criticises the division of our force under the Whigs when we had no great enterprises to undertake; though he praises the Tories for this very division of force when they had great enterprises dependant upon the closest concentration. He attacks the Whigs, again, for not sending an army to Germany between the battles of Jena and Friedland, though he admits elsewhere that, after Jena, nothing could have been done. He declaims against our ingratitude to Alexander, whom nevertheless he shows to have been insincere; and he even criticises the Grenville Administration, with the evidence of Russian duplicity before his eyes, for refusing, after the battle of Eylau, to guarantee a Russian loan, the only object of which was to maintain the Russian subjugation of Poland!

At length the crash came in Castlereagh's war administration. The explosion took place both in the House of Commons and in the Cabinet after the Walcheren failure. The former voted a select committee of inquiry, the latter resolved at once to be rid of Lord Castlereagh as Minister of War. Sir A. Alison of course pretends that legislature and executive went mad together. It is a less refined interpretation to conclude that the subject of their alleged insanity was not equal to his position. When the question came before Parliament, Castlereagh adopted the most deplorable line of defence that could be conceived. His speech is still remembered by some of those who heard it. They describe it as the very worst that he ever made. An uneducated criminal who is conscious that he has no defence to make against the charge on which he is arraigned, commonly has the discernment to throw himself on the clemency of the court. But Castlereagh endeavoured to laugh it off. In spite of visible embarrassment, he affected to make light of the whole question. That question was why a large army had been raised at a vast expense, and had then been sent where it perished without striking a blow. When millions had been squandered and men had died by thousands of swamp and malaria, no Parliament of rotten boroughs would endure such a vindication as this.

The duel between the two Secretaries of State had occurred shortly before this inquiry was held. In the dispute which led to it, we think Lord Castlereagh was very justly

aggrieved. Whatever had been his incompetency he was entitled to common candour from all his colleagues. In place of this, a resolution to deprive him of his office was arrived at by every one of them, and withheld from him during many months. When the Walcheren failure required his immediate sacrifice, he was informed by Lord Camden of the foregone conclusion of the Cabinet. Of course he looked round for some one to challenge. He chose Canning to be the scapegoat of the reticence of the Cabinet, as he had been made the scapegoat of its maladministration. But it is hard to see that Canning was more to be blamed than any other Minister for this woful mismanagement. Canning had meanwhile been at the Foreign Office; and during general hostilities, in which our foreign relations were, in a degree never before known, dependent on the efficiency with which war was administered, he was above all others the minister entitled to declare to the Premier that either himself or the War Minister must resign. His near relationship to the Duke of Portland, then at the head of the Government, enabled him to do this in a less formal manner than that in which a similar proposition was made seven or eight years ago. But the Duke was as much afraid of losing the support of Canning as of encountering the displeasure of Castlereagh. He put off the evil day by enjoining secrecy from Castlereagh, begging Canning to remain with him, and agreeing *sine die* to transfer Castlereagh to another office. In this strange compromise the rest of his colleagues strangely agreed. Doing the worst injustice to both ministers, the wearied Duke thus hoped to escape from the dilemma. There must have been an uneasy fear at every meeting of the Cabinet, lest some incautious colleague should blurt out the truth in Castlereagh's presence. But we can hardly wonder that Canning was led away into the indiscretion of subscribing to this false settlement by the common advice of his mistaken colleagues.

In September 1809 the army was perishing. Canning declared that further delay was equivalent to his resignation. The Duke, who had contracted an obligation which he was afraid to acquit, delegated to Lord Camden the explanation to the doomed minister. Lord Camden so mismanaged this extremely delicate mission, as has been seen, that the arrangement bore to the mind of Castlereagh the character of an ambitious intrigue. The two Secretaries met; Castlereagh wounded Canning, who had the generosity to fire in the air. Both necessarily resigned. The Duke of Portland, terrified by the ruin he had created, resigned also; the

Administration fell; and Perceval became Prime Minister.

It is hardly worth while to notice the dark criticism of Sir A. Alison on this question. He finds that Canning's conduct was 'indefensible;' but for want of courage to apply the same language to his hero, he declares that 'the duel' was equally so. In order to show that all parties, from the high Tory to the extreme Radical, condemned Canning at the time, he selects two such extravagant witnesses as Cobbett and the Duke of Cumberland. He throws the blame on the King for the appointment of Lord Chatham, who had not sufficient intellect to hunt, and could never make his way out of a field that was surrounded by a hedge or a stone wall. And he ascribes the delay of the Walcheren expedition to an intrigue of the whole Cabinet so to retard both services as to ensure a pretext for Castlereagh's removal, the very result which must have involved their own ruin as well as his!

In the great struggle of 1813 there were many duties for which Lord Castlereagh was qualified, and many circumstances calculated to develop his qualifications. Unlike the Duke of Wellington, he was no master of details. He was a miserable administrator in any department in which the success of all depends upon a vast variety of minor facts. Without this capacity no man can equip any more than he can command an army. But without being impetuous, like his brother, he was bold and determined, even to a fault. He was, therefore, well calculated to strengthen wavering counsels, when placed by adventitious circumstances in a position in which his opinion must be deferred to. It is thus that, in several critical conjunctures during the campaign of 1814, when sovereigns, diplomats, and generals were puffed up one day to exorbitant pretensions by a small success, and driven into despair on the next by an insignificant disaster, the calmness and courage of Lord Castlereagh sometimes inspired them with decisions for which they afterwards learned to be thankful. He found too that, as a French proverb says, 'Il est plus aisé d'être sage pour les autres que de l'être pour soi-même.' He certainly took better decisions for the allies than he often did for his own country. What he effected while the war continued was to maintain their union as far as possible, and to urge them forwards. At the Council of Barsur-Aube he was more influential than any other Minister, or than any crowned head.

Nearly every man's political success is of course the joint result of his position and his abilities. But without disparaging Cas-

tlereagh's qualifications, it must be acknowledged that his official authority was such as made it very difficult for any sovereign to gainsay him. The allied armies were brought to Paris in great measure by the money which he disbursed. When he declared that the retreat of those armies should be equivalent to the stoppage of the supplies, he assumed no doubt a responsibility from which an irresolute Minister would have shrunk; but he stood in the position of an absolute commissary-general who should declare that if the army marched to the right instead of to the left he would distribute no more rations. There is no doubt that without any political ascendancy in such a commissary-general, the army must have moved accordingly or have starved. The final campaign against Napoleon from first to last depended upon union and constant pressure. The confidence required to play Castlereagh's part must have been greater than the discretion.

It would be a mistake to suppose that Castlereagh carved out a new policy in the formation of this confederacy. He did but what Pitt had done during the campaign of Austerlitz. He promoted and subsidised the alliance. If the Germans had succeeded in 1805, the continental policy of Pitt would have received boundless panegyric. If they had failed in 1813, Castlereagh would have been loaded with unmerited invective. The world judges by the event; and there is no worse hell of good intentions than the fate of the minister or general who, however meritorious, happens to be unsuccessful. But as Castlereagh succeeded, the House of Commons rose to cheer him on his return, as they had cheered the Duke of Wellington. The elements of the great confederacy of 1813 lay in the public circumstances of the time. The exactions of France in Germany, her defeat in Russia, the timely duplicity of Austria, the ambitious filibustering of Bernadotte, and the successful battle of Vittoria, produced the alliance which ten millions of English money cemented. Castlereagh did little more than what every Tory Minister had done before him when a continental alliance was formed. Nor did he reach the camp of the allies until they were already on the Rhine.

We are no admirers of the territorial settlement of 1815. But it would be unjust to attack Lord Castlereagh for decisions which he could not restrain. We doubt if he could have done much more for Poland, if he had pressed his demands further. His correspondence with the Emperor Alexander was marked by an independent spirit which certainly astonished his detractors



when it was published in 1847. Elsewhere the principle of government by nationalities, now so prominent, was but in its infancy. Each Power insisted on a fresh acquisition,—Russia on Poland, Prussia on Saxony; Sweden on Norway, and so on. As it was, Castlereagh, Metternich, and Talleyrand together carried their opposition to the Northern Courts up to the verge of war. Indeed, the only hearty defenders of the Treaty of Vienna are to be found in a later generation. There were no more vehement opponents of that Treaty than the Ministers who put their names to it. They had contested every inch of territory that each had claimed against the other. They had signed the Treaty at length as a barely tolerable compromise of conflicting pretensions.

But Castlereagh linked his name with two great measures. He led France, Spain, and Portugal to acquiesce in the prospective abolition of the slave trade; and he took a prominent part in opening the great rivers of Europe to general navigation. It is true that he was the instrument in the one case rather of the Whig party than of his own, and that in the other he carried out a foregone conclusion. But public judgment, rightly or wrongly, concedes a large share of merit to the immediate agent of a great change; and it would be ungracious, and perhaps unjust, to withhold this share from the memory of Lord Castlereagh.

But of Castlereagh's protection of our colonial interests so much cannot be said. His disregard of them was described by his opponents as quixotic, and by his admirers as a noble abnegation; but the truth was that he was utterly ignorant of the whole question. Our self-denial in that settlement has generally been overstated. We abandoned some acquisitions, and we retained many; but it was owing to a want of information which would have seemed incredible in the English Minister that we abandoned the most valuable. English diplomatists are, for the most part, strangely ignorant of the commercial interests which, beyond all other interests, have made their country what it is. It is a reflection on our diplomatic service, even at this day, that whenever a commercial treaty has to be negotiated with a foreign Power, it is found necessary to send out a political economist or statistician, in point of fact to supersede the ambassador.

There must have been grave demerits in a minister of whose career, though he was during twenty years in office, the warmest of his discreet admirers can now speak with commendation in respect only of as many months. They commonly restrict their

view to the last alliances of the great French war. It cannot be denied that from this time Castlereagh possessed and neglected extraordinary opportunities which Pitt would have put to extraordinary account. Had he been ready henceforth to govern the country, as he professed, according to the traditions of Pitt, he would have resumed that domestic policy which hostilities had compelled Pitt to suspend. Had Pitt lived to terminate the war and to govern England during seven years of peace, he would without doubt have reopened the questions of the emancipation of the Catholics and the reform of the House of Commons. He would have pursued also that liberal commercial policy to which Lord Macaulay declares with truth, that he was more earnestly attached than Fox. But Castlereagh at tempted neither to free the Catholics, nor to reform Parliament, nor to lighten the impolitic restrictions upon trade. The abuses of the constitution which he was content to cherish, and the misconceptions of government which he was careless to investigate, produced everywhere discontent, often suffering, frequent violence. Public meetings, such as are now tolerated as a matter of course, were dispersed by a cavalry charge. Ministers, whom no vagabond would now maltreat by more than the best sarcasm of which he was capable at a monster meeting, were singled out for assassination. Fresh coercive measures, such as the Six Acts, were introduced. These were Castlereagh's notions of civil government in peace. The Irish executioner was found to be the English executioner in turn. No doubt there are times in which repression is necessary. We have witnessed them under Liberal rule, as well as under Tory rule. But in this case the repression was at last necessary, because it was too late to render justice and expect conciliation.

It may seem strange that Castlereagh, if so bad a Minister, was so successful an one. At fifty-three he had been ten years leader of the House of Commons and twenty years a Minister. It may seem stranger still that, with such extravagant disqualifications for the government of a country returning to peace after twenty-two years of nearly uninterrupted war, with many great constitutional questions suspended, and many great social interests to be considered anew, it should have been left in his hands during seven years of peace. For we must look upon Castlereagh, and not on Lord Liverpool, as the real First Minister. But he owed much to his own suppleness, much to accident, much to party, and most of all to the extraordinary *éclat* attached for a time

to the Ministers who had the good fortune to bring the war to a glorious and triumphant termination. He originally became leader in the Commons because he was the only man of eminence among them who was ready to throw the Catholics overboard. Had Canning and Lord Wellesley been equally pliant, they would probably have distanced his pretensions. But after they and the Whigs had refused to compromise the question to which they were committed on the death of Perceval, the Government went begging. The close of the war, the Protestant prejudice against the Catholics, and the support of the Regent and the Tories, who knew the innocence of Castlereagh's Catholic professions, together ensured him a majority in those packed Parliaments which nothing but the imminence of revolution could defeat, and was proof against the rhetoric of Windham, Whitbread, Lord John Russell, Tierney, Romilly, and Brougham.

But while Castlereagh's domestic policy was reversed by his successors, his foreign policy was upset during his own official career. It may be a question in what degree he was identified with the views of the legitimist Powers after 1815. We have no right to presume that he intended the alliances he had joined in order to restore peace to extend into all subsequent transactions. Indeed, we have seen that the Allied Powers were in 1815 on the verge of subdividing into two hostile confederacies. But Castlereagh, when he died, left his country without an ally in Europe. A proof of this is to be found in the fact that the Congress of Verona, which assembled but a few weeks after his death, and in reference to which Canning carried out his views, proclaimed so wide a divergence between England and the Great Powers of the Continent as to leave the former no other choice than between neutrality and war. Castlereagh had also persecuted the revolutionary spirit, and those with whom he had persecuted it now left him isolated in turn.

It was amid this ruin of the foreign policy of England that Canning, who succeeded him, resolved either to rely on the independent influence of England, or to carve new alliances in a new world. He certainly accomplished this bold enterprise with extraordinary success. He was harassed (as Mr. Stapleton shows in his recent work) by foreign and domestic intrigues, of both of which the King himself was made the mouthpiece. But the result proved as he had foreseen, that the power of this country was such as to render it independent of permanent alliances, which could be maintained

only by a sacrifice of principles or material interests; and, as in the instance of the emancipation of Greece, that the abandonment of permanent alliances did not form an obstacle to a conclusion of temporary alliances when the occasions for their being concluded arose. The real defect of the policy of Lord Castlereagh in our foreign relations, was that he adhered too closely after the peace to those alliances which had ended the war; the real merit of the foreign policy of Canning was that he boldly asserted the independent influence and action of this country in favour of liberal principles throughout the world.

The sketch of Charles Stewart Vane, the late Lord Londonderry, is the only part of this bulky book that possesses any biographical pretensions. But we shall not be indebted to Sir A. Alison for our present remarks on that brave man. The biographer writes with the gross and undiscerning adulation of a groom of the chambers at Wynyard. The truth is that the Lord Londonderry who has lately passed away from us puzzled public judgment by a strange compound of good qualities and demerits. He was vastly superior to most men in natural ability. He was inferior almost to every other man in common sense. Unfortunately for his memory, his failings were of a kind to acquire more publicity than his merits. English people, of all others, display an insurmountable repugnance to acknowledge that an eccentric man can possibly be wise. The public of this generation commonly associated Lord Londonderry with some extravagant correspondence in the newspapers, touching his interests in Durham and in Ireland, by which he did himself hardly less injustice than injury. The strangers who lounged at the bar of the House of Lords remembered him alike for a truly miserable exhibition of inane pompousness and awkward rhetoric. Nearly all but his immediate friends saw that he had perpetually in his mind an incredible distance which he supposed to divide them from him, and they knew him hardly less as the inveterate opponent of the foreign liberties with which they sympathised. They saw no reason why the son of a commoner should arrogate pretensions which many old aristocratic families had the good taste at any rate to keep to themselves.

Lord Londonderry, indeed, was much too honest and straightforward a man to be affected in his manner. But no one could see him with his turquoise pins and his turquoise rings, writing his letters on blotting-

books ornamented in blue enamel to match the pins and the rings, without concluding that he was either personally vain or singularly fantastic. Nor was there a single period in Lord Londonderry's varied life with which he was not connected by some eccentric anecdote. One of the best authenticated of these stories relates to his embassy at Vienna. He was always an ardent admirer of woman's beauty; and when ambassador there, we believe he once formed a select little party at the Embassy of the twelve handsomest ladies in Vienna, each of whom he expressly invited as 'one of the twelve.' The twelve ladies of course received the invitation in a rapture. But so keen was the sense of neglected merit among the ladies who were forgotten, that Lord Londonderry was unable entirely to live down the drawing-room hostility he had provoked, to the last day of his mission.

Such were Lord Londonderry's failings; and in an age in which public character is formed much less from outward consistency on great questions than from the tact of daily life, it was impossible that one, of whom it was uncertain each day what he might say or do on the next, could take any considerable position as an English statesman. But he was certainly eminent in many things. Without drawing invidious distinctions, he was almost by common consent 'le plus brave des braves' of the English army. He had led more desperate attacks, run more hairbreadth escapes, than any officer under the Duke of Wellington. If there were anything that was foppish in his air or his dress, and that perhaps would be saying too much, he was almost the only man in London who could afford to be foppish. He was something more, however, even in the army, than the bravest soldier of his day; he made an excellent general of division. But whether from want of capacity or from want of opportunity, he had no pretension to the fame of a commander.

Lord Londonderry's literary productions were not inconsiderable. He will bear, of course, no sort of comparison with Napier. But his history of the Peninsular and German campaigns is as well written as Sir A. Alison's account of them, in his earlier History of Europe, which is the only creditable production of the present biographer's pen. Lord Londonderry, too, wrote, in answer to Lord Brougham's disparagement of the foreign policy of Castlereagh, one of the most caustic and successful pamphlets that have appeared in defence of an unpopular cause. His repartee was often happy. He con-

cluded his letter to Lord Brougham by expressing a hope that Castlereagh's life would hereafter be dealt with by one 'who should be neither a brother nor a rival.' He replied to another critic with the assurance that 'the lustre of Castlereagh's fame, only just beginning to be appreciated, would endure when the very names of his traducers should have sunk into merited obscurity.' But his political life, in spite of his activity, left him no reputation. In diplomacy he was the instrument of Castlereagh; afterwards, in domestic politics, he followed the Duke of Wellington. Nor could he well have chosen two blinder guides. Indeed, the correspondence between him and the Duke, which Sir A. Alison has published, is chiefly valuable in showing that the Duke, during the reign of William IV., expected the British Empire very soon to become a republic.

So strong were Lord Londonderry's sympathies with foreign despots, that he stigmatised the Poles as rebels in 1830; and so strongly again was this remembered against him in the House of Commons, that his appointment to be ambassador to St. Petersburg in 1835, provoked the interposition of the House of Commons, and more especially of the present Lord Derby, who however, seventeen years afterwards, compensated the wrong with the gift of Wellington's Garter. But the best monument of Lord Londonderry's practical capacity is to be found at Seaham Docks. He erected a large settlement on a desolate coast, opened a field of wealth that was before almost inaccessible, and added to his income probably by twenty or thirty thousand a year at the least. It is strange enough that a nobleman who aspired to be at once general, diplomatist, parliamentary statesman, and writer of military history, should have found that his forte lay, after all, as a trader. He was as enterprising and shrewd as any manufacturer in Lancashire or Yorkshire.

The running commentary of absurdity which Sir A. Alison maintains through this period of Lord Londonderry's life is really amusing. Thus we read, touching the events of 1827, that 'the Duke of Wellington predicted that "Mr. Canning's Government could not stand. This prophecy, ere six months were over, was verified by that statesman's death!"' The Duke's foresight in all things is described by Sir A. Alison as so preternaturally keen, that the biographer may be thought to assimilate him to Mazarin's doctor, who foretold the doom of the Mazarin administration, on the ground that Mazarin had but two months to live. At page 255. of the same third volume,

we are distinctly told that Lord Londonderry was made a Privy Councillor in June 1830, in recompense for his having been dragged off his horse during the Reform Riots in 1832. Nor is the absurdity to be explained through any inversion of dates, for the dates are strictly accurate. Further on, the biographer thinks it needful to defend Lord Londonderry against the imputation of having subjected his books to copious interpolation from the Chaplain-General of the forces. But it must be obvious to almost every one, that there is no internal evidence in support of this charge. Again, Lord Londonderry's unlucky slip in terming the Poles rebels, is defended on the ridiculous plea that five years ago we stigmatised the Sepoys as rebels; as if there were a parallel between the mutiny of a barbarous army and the struggle of a civilised people to maintain the constitution they had enjoyed. We are very sure that Lord Londonderry, whatever were his indiscretion, would not have ventured on a comparison between the Sepoy army and the Polish nation. The description of Lady Londonderry's interview with the Sultan is equally ridiculous and inaccurate. This lady, according to the biographer, 'was received with the most respectful courtesy by the Sublime Porte, in whose breast, notwithstanding his eastern education, the feelings of chivalry still lived.' It seems needful to inform Sir A. Alison, that the late Sultan was not originally a Christian, and that the Sublime Porte is not the person of the sovereign, but the door of the palace. Lady Londonderry, however, in her 'Travels,' has given her own simple and unaffected account of this interview with the Sultan, which explicitly refutes the applauding biographer. The lady describes the monarch as absolutely rude, and turning away from her without having spoken a word. Once more; we find Garron Tower, built by Lord Londonderry in Ireland, described as 'aloft in air, midway between the mountain and the main;' as though it were a modern Mahomet's Coffin. And this book is written to revolutionise public opinion!

We cannot but apprehend that it may be a result of this fulsome panegyric of Sir A. Alison on the two Londonderrys, to associate their memory with the contempt which a perusal of the pretended biography must instil. Castlereagh and Charles Stewart deserved better than this. It is at least as much from the fear of undue depreciation as from the prospect of undue popular applause, that we have here been led to state our own view of the character of Lord Cas-

tlereagh. We yet more dissent from Sir A. Alison's position that his career closed too early for his fame. He had already outlived his celebrity when he died. Already in 1822, he was at strife with the rising spirit of popular government in England, and the grand alliances which had created his diplomatic reputation were dissolving before him. It was the good fortune of one so ill-fitted to understand or to cope with the progress of political science, that his public life closed in an age in which Mr. Ricardo himself was still a protectionist, before the improvement of our criminal and civil jurisprudence had become a great question with statesmen as well as with jurists and philosophers, while parliamentary reform was not yet wrenched from its opponents, in part as the necessity of a new state of society, and in part as a reaction from his own violence, and before the national zeal for the extinction of abuses in all public institutions had arrayed his prejudices in direct conflict with public opinion.

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- ART. IX.—1. *London as it is.* By PETER CUNNINGHAM, F.S.A. London: 1862.  
 2. *Gleanings from Westminster Abbey.* By GEORGE GILBERT SCOTT, R.A., &c. Oxford and London: 1861.  
 3. *Sculptured Stones of Scotland.* Printed for the Spalding Club. 4to. Aberdeen: 1856.

It has been remarked by one of the most acute observers of the phenomena of modern society, that in democratic ages the monuments of art tend to become more numerous and less important, and that the arts themselves are prone to sink from the loftier range of imagination and feeling to the trivial and mean details of real life. We do not require the assistance of Mr. Cunningham's useful and instructive little volume to remind us of the fact already too palpable to our senses, and too humiliating to our pride, that the metropolis of the British Empire, with its incalculable wealth, its energetic population, and its cultivated intelligence, contains scarcely an edifice or a monument of modern construction of which we have not reason to be ashamed; and that in spite of the pretensions of the present age to taste and liberality, and the more general diffusion of a relish for art, we can lay no claim to the production of a single work of genuine architectural originality and beauty. It is true that, in another sense,

this age and this country are not without monuments of their genius and their greatness. The same writer to whom we have just referred, finely adds that 'a people which should leave no other vestige of its track than a few leaden pipes in the earth and a few iron rods on its surface, might have been more the masters of nature than the Romans;' and if another deluge were to sweep away the human race and its records from these islands, the mighty tunnels and long-stretching embankments of our lines of railway would seem to future races more like the creations of giants than of men. But if we turn from the great works of public utility executed by those renowned engineers,\* who have in the last hundred years transformed the aspect of this country, we shall seek in vain among the memorials raised to departed worth, in the numerous modern churches dedicated to the worship of God, or in the palaces of the great, for anything more than, at the most, a careful imitation of the styles, the designs, and the execution of classical or mediæval art. Indeed, by a singular distortion of the original meaning of the different styles of architecture, considered as the genuine products of national character, we apply them simultaneously to the respective purposes with which modern taste or usage has connected them. Thus we borrow the fantastic forms of the kiosk or the pagoda for a summerhouse; we imitate the internal decorations of a Roman villa or a Moorish palace; we follow the Greeks in our museums, our theatres, and in some of our temples and public offices; we adopt the Roman bridge and the Roman arch; we copy the Italian architecture of the *renaissance* for our palaces and our clubhouses; we connect the long-drawn aisle, the pointed arch, and the coloured window of Gothic edifices with the sacred offices of religion or the ancient traditions of the monarchy; and we go back to the massive and inscrutable monuments of Egypt for the forms most appropriate to the sarcophagus and the tomb.†

The result of this eclectic system is that our cities and public edifices are entirely wanting in harmony of effect or unity of design; and that the true principles which

ought to regulate the application of the arts to these purposes are neglected or unknown. We have taken some pains to satisfy ourselves, by an examination of the writers on these subjects, whether any of them has touched upon the point we have now specially in view—namely, the production of given effects by the combined influence of architecture and sculpture. But as far as we are able to discover, no inquiry has ever been skilfully conducted into this interesting question, and no well-established principles have been laid down to regulate it. Architecture partakes of the character of an exact science, as well as of a very perfect art—perhaps in one sense the most perfect, because the laws of proportion and of beauty are in no other art so strictly and accurately defined. Sculpture, again, partakes in a less degree of the same exact character, because its primary object is the representation of that masterpiece of mechanism and proportion, the human body, which combines the strictest application of mechanical power with the graceful flexibility of the limbs and muscles governed by every mode of volition and expression. These arts, it is needless to say, have been the subject of endless study, both theoretical and practical, in all ages and all countries. They are both studied and practised amongst ourselves with considerable success, if the sole object were to design the elevation of a building or to represent the stature and lineaments of a man. Yet the effect produced by even the best works of modern artists is immeasurably below that produced by the architects and sculptors of classical Greece or mediæval Italy. We are apt to fall into the mean or the unmeaning—sometimes into the ridiculous and the grotesque.

It may be worth while briefly to point out the principal causes of these failures, as they strike us; and then to pass rapidly in review some of the most important public monuments of Europe, in as far as they appear to us to illustrate these propositions, and to concern the monuments now about to be raised.

The great artists of antiquity and of the Middle Ages were men of comprehensive genius, who made it their function and mission to give form to their conceptions, and to produce the effects they had imagined, by a mastery over every kind of plastic material. To them architecture, sculpture, and painting were but the triple mould of the same idea. It was to them a matter of comparative indifference to which particular vehicle they turned. The hand that suspended the dome of St. Peter's also struck the majestic form of 'Moses' from the

\* We cannot but refer in passing to the captivating and instructive volumes which Mr. Smiles has devoted to the 'Lives of the Engineers'—a record not before attempted of the achievements of a race of men who have conferred the highest honour and the most extensive benefits on their country. 'Who are the great men of the present age?' said Mr. Bright a few nights ago in the House of Commons, — 'Not your warriors—not your statesmen: they are your engineers.'

† See the introduction to Mr. Samuel Sharpe's 'History of Egypt.'

marble, and unveiled in the Sistine Chapel the glories and terrors of the Last Day. The power of these men lay not so much in their hand-craft, though of that they were supreme masters, as in the general conception of beauty, harmony, and effect, of which art is the true embodiment. We have architects, we have sculptors, we have painters; but the men who follow these branches or modes of art are but on the outer steps of the temple, until they have caught the central light of the shrine, and approached the common principle of all reproductive genius. The successful treatment of great subjects, and the production of grand and universal effects, depends on something higher than a mere familiarity with the manipulation of an art. Genius encircles, extends, and animates the object it contemplates with a life and lustre of its own; but unless something of this creative spirit is breathed into the stone, the marble, or the canvass—no matter which—the result is no work of art at all, but at best a mere counterfeit, of not much higher value than a waxwork figure or a photograph.

But, secondly, whatever be the intrinsic merit of a detached work in architecture or in sculpture, its monumental effect depends almost entirely on the collocation of surrounding objects, and on what may be termed its decorative character. The true test of merit in every work of art is its fitness and beauty in relation to the conditions in which it is placed. Even its size, though that is the simplest and least essential condition of a work of art, is determined, not by its actual dimensions, but by the relation it bears to the site and to other works about it. The eye measures entirely by comparison. It may be deceived by false comparisons, and it depends on the skill or inexperience of the artist in the choice of position, whether the effect of a work is grand and imposing, or crushed and mean.

To quote at once a familiar example—Mr. Scott's monument before the west end of Westminster Abbey, to the 'old Westminsters' who perished in the Crimean war, is effective, though its dimensions are not great and the taste of the column is not irreproachable; yet the opening of Victoria Street with this monument, as seen from St. Margaret's Churchyard, is one of the most picturesque parts of modern London. At the other extremity of Westminster Abbey, or rather of Henry VII.'s Chapel, in Old Palace Yard, Baron Marochetti's statue of Richard Cœur de Lion has been placed—a work of colossal size and of the highest merit—in fact by far the noblest equestrian statue in England; yet from the

overwhelming mass of the Victoria Tower just above it, the proximity of the buildings, and, we must add, from the insignificance of the pedestal on which it has been placed by the Government, the effect of the piece is greatly impaired; and we trust that when the approaches to the new Westminster Bridge are completed, this noble statue will be removed to a more suitable position.

We have referred to these monuments at the outset of our remarks, solely to illustrate the necessity of the *architectonic* character essential to the success of works of this description. The true principles of composition and the essential conditions of beauty, in all the arts, may be reduced in the last resort to geometrical elements: in other words, the forms which please and satisfy the eye in the grouping of a picture, in the form of a statue, in the elevation of a building, or in the execution of a monument, are reducible to exact mathematical figures, just as the effects of colour are determined by the complementary colours of the spectrum, and the effects of sound by the laws of the scale. The eye unconsciously passes from the salient point which first attracts it to the angles or curves formed by a monument with the adjacent buildings or scenery. Where these relations are confused, irregular, or unsightly, the effect is bad; where they are accurate, perspicuous, and natural, each object appears in its proper place and the symmetry of the whole is complete. This, we believe, to be the correct test to apply to the position of public monuments; and when these indispensable conditions are not fulfilled, or are fulfilled in a clumsy and displeasing manner, the effect of the monument will be distressing and repulsive. Yet so little is this part of the theory of art understood now-a-days, that people first decide on a particular kind of monument, and then proceed to consider where it can be placed. The consequence is, that we have arches without roads, obelisks without approaches, and statues erected without the smallest reference to the angle at which they will be seen. The Duke of Wellington on Horseback was perched, by a successful manoeuvre of the late Sir F. Trench, on the top of an archway,—an absurdity so hideous, that no lapse of time can render it endurable. The colossal statue in Hyde Park, misnamed the 'Achilles,' but which is in fact taken from one of the antiques on the Monte Cavallo at Rome, is another instance of the destruction of a fine work of art by ludicrous associations and by an injudicious position: in fact it is now effectually concealed by a group of plane-trees. Dr. Jenner has just been sent to cool his feet in the upper

basins of the Serpentine; and there are several important monuments, such as the statues of Sir Robert Peel (Westminster), and those of Stephenson and Brunel, for which no site has yet been found. Even when the site is pre-determined, as in the case of sepulchral monuments in churches, some of our best sculptors appear to have been utterly regardless of the position of their works. Thus Chantrey's 'James Watt,' in Westminster Abbey, is a masterly production; but buried as it is in a small Gothic chapel, its proportions and character are totally lost. Compare, on the other hand, the marble statues of the parliamentary statesmen of England, which line the approach to the Houses of Parliament by St. Stephen's Hall—a noble band of worthies nobly placed; nothing can be more striking and appropriate. Nobody stops minutely to criticise the details of each figure, though these, in many respects, are highly creditable; but the effect of the whole is admirable, because the size, attitude, and positions of these statues are in perfect harmony with the general character of the edifice. We may here remark in passing, that the example of the marble statues in the Palace of Westminster, in the Guildhall, in Greenwich Hospital, and in the Parliament House of Edinburgh, appears to us to prove experimentally that in our climate marble statues placed inside public halls or buildings are more pleasing and better preserved than bronze statues in the open air. He who sees the magnificent bronzes of John of Bologna and Benvenuto Cellini, which adorn the Palazzo Vecchio of Florence, or, to go back further still, the Marcus Aurelius of the Campidoglio (which only escaped the common destruction of bronze monuments in Rome by the mistaken notion that it represented Constantine, the first Christian emperor), may well think that bronze, ripened by time, is the richest and noblest of all materials for sculpture. But the effect of a northern atmosphere, and a smoky city, on the surface of bronze is simply to carbonise and encrust it. It becomes, in point of fact, not distinguishable from cast-iron or any painted substance. All its lustre vanishes; and even the venerated figure of Charles I., at Charing Cross, is in truth as black as a chimney-sweep. We are convinced, therefore, that in our desire to do honour to illustrious men, monuments of an appropriate character, whether of marble or of bronze, may with far greater propriety be placed in vaulted buildings than in the open air. The disadvantage of this system is, that statues require, to produce their complete effect, the full light of the sun;

and, indeed, one of the conditions of success in works of art, in which *relief* is an important element, consists in the adaptation of the work itself to the incidence of light at particular times and hours of the day. A picture may be removed or turned from a bad light to a good one. But a monument must be so designed and placed that light may fall on it in the most advantageous manner. The Greeks were masters of this part of their art, as of every other; every monument on the Acropolis of Athens will be found to occupy its right position, or rather every monument, from the mighty Propylæa down to the smallest frieze, was adapted to the situation it was to fill.

Amongst the numerous monuments which have been raised in our time, two of the best are the monument to Sir Walter Scott in Prince's Street, and the monument to Pascal placed under the elegant and graceful tower of St. Jacques in Paris. Doubtless, these works derive an additional charm from the associations they awaken. Scott, enthroned in his magic chair, surveys 'his own romantic town,' and many of the scenes to which his muse has given an imperishable interest, whilst the Gothic structure above him is itself consecrated by his genius. Pascal stands beneath the tower, from the top of which he made his own experiments on the pendulum, and which has now, in the mutations of French society and architecture, become the monument of his fame. These may be exceptional instances; but they serve to show what pleasing results are to be obtained by a judicious combination of sculpture and architecture, where each would be dull and lifeless without the other. They are examples, too, of statues placed in or under open buildings, an expedient which protects them from the direct action of the weather, whilst it serves to exhibit them in the most favourable light.

To speak of single statues or monuments on a smaller scale, although that is not the subject to which we designed principally to direct these remarks, it is evident that the nation greatly needs a suitable repository for such memorials. Nothing but the want of such a repository could have induced the Deans and Chapters of the Metropolitan cathedrals to turn those edifices into museums of sculpture, peopled with the effigies of departed greatness. The great Abbey and the Dome of St. Paul's are hallowed by the remains of the illustrious dead who rest within those walls, and the monuments raised there, when they are of a sepulchral character, are strictly in place. The proposal to make the monument to the Duke of Wellington a mortuary chapel in St. Paul's



is perfectly appropriate, if we may dare to hope that the execution will answer to the conception. Westminster Abbey contains no less than sixty-two recumbent statues of life-size, some of which—such as the statue of Queen Eleanor—are of extreme beauty; the tombs of Henry VII. and his queen, by Torrigiano, are fine works in bronze; and the recumbent monuments of Elizabeth and Mary Queen of Scots, supposed to be by Nathaniel Stone, are characteristic and interesting. But we view with different eyes the forty-six portrait statues, life-size or colossal, and ninety-three busts or medallion portraits which have been crowded into this sacred edifice. To erect a statue of a great man in a church, simply because other great men are buried there, is an offence against good taste and good feeling. The statue of the late Sir Robert Peel, by Gibson, in Westminster Abbey, is a complete example of everything that is most objectionable; and with the strongest desire to do honour to that eminent statesman, we wish that his figure were in any other place and in any other costume. As far as Westminster Abbey is concerned, the question is solved to a great degree by the want of space for more monuments; but from the venerable and delightful associations connected with that spot, it is much to be desired that some fitting extension should be given to the monuments in the precincts of the Abbey, by executing the restoration of the Chapter House\*, proposed by Mr. Scott some years ago, or by converting the cloisters into what they strictly ought to be—the Campo Santo of the Royal Minster of England.

One of the finest parts of Barry's conception for the Houses of Parliament, is the skilful conversion of Westminster Hall, the most time-honoured and august edifice in this realm, into the approach to the Chambers of the Legislature. We see no reason that this great Hall should not be adorned by a certain number of statues of illustrious statesmen—indeed, we think that there is no other place so fit for them. The light, which is now defective, might easily be improved by introducing plate glass into the lower tier of windows, and the effect of the Hall, so decorated, would be one of the grandest things in Europe.

A very large proportion of the monuments which now decorate the capitals and

great cities of Europe are of recent execution; and probably there has been no period since the Roman Empire in which so many statues have been erected as in the last fifty years. But the same feeling has everywhere invoked some form of art, however rude, and seeks to attach the perishable record of frail humanity to some monument of indestructible permanence or of commanding beauty. The stones raised by the Patriarch on spots hallowed by revelations from heaven; the nameless tumulus which looks out on the Northern Ocean; the Pyramids, in whose sepulchral recesses modern science has read the names of forgotten kings; the granite obelisk, whose shadow has marked day by day the passage of three thousand years, like a needle on the dial plate of time; the dome-shaped tope which covers the relic-shrine of Anuradhapoora, or the prodigious Minaret of Victory which towers above the ruins of Old Delhi; the sculptured forms of Greece, which art made the counterfeit of life, and superstition the object of idolatry, until the pagan world was peopled with a race of ideal beings, exalted by the imagination of the people and the artifices of the priesthood to the rank of gods; the stripped oak, on whose shattered branches the warrior hung the trophy of his captive's arms; the arch through which the victorious Emperor led his triumph to the Capitol; the lone column which he encircled with his Dacian conquests—were all different modes of setting up some beacon above the waters of oblivion—were all attempts to associate some permanent material object with the fame and love clinging to a human life. The pious veneration of the Middle Ages for the memory of the great and the brave took the form of elaborate tombs,—the fit resting place of a Christian knight, surrounded by the heavenly patrons of his faith and the emblems of his salvation. In Italy the splendour of the arts almost eclipsed their application to the memory of the dead, and the marvellous Chapel of the Medici, is the monument not so much of Lorenzo and Julian as of Michael Angelo. From this stage the transition was rapid to courtly adulation and allegorical imagery. A monument loses its real importance by as much as it departs from simplicity, reality and truth. It is easy to trace in any long series of monuments, erected under similar circumstances, such as the Papal tombs in St. Peter's, the progress or decline of correct taste in the centuries which have succeeded the erection of the edifice in which they stand.

The inventory of the public statues of London is not a creditable one. We have

\* In 1250, says Matthew Paris, '*Dominus Rex ædificavit capitulum incomparabile;*' and no doubt the Chapter House of Westminster was, and might again be, one of the most perfect Gothic edifices in the world. Mr. Scott gives a sketch of the restoration in his '*Gleanings*,' p. 32.

fifteen kings and queens, namely, the grand statue of Richard Cœur de Lion in Old Palace Yard, Elizabeth, formerly at Ludgate, now in front of St. Dunstan's, Charles I., Charles II. (supposed to be the statue in Soho Square), James II., the fine work by Gibbons, behind Whitehall, William III. in St. James's Square, three Queen Annes, two figures of George I., one of George II., two of George III., the colossal statue of George IV. in Trafalgar Square, and William IV. — a coarse statue in the approach to London Bridge; the Dukes of Cumberland (the butcher), Kent and York; three Wellington statues, Nelson, Napier, and Havelock; Francis, Duke of Bedford, Fox, Pitt, Canning, Peel, and Lord George Bentinck; Major Cartwright, Sir Hans Sloane, and Dr. Jenner. Statues of Stephenson, Brunel, and Lord Herbert are in preparation. The list is a lamentable one; it contains not one of the first names which have dignified English literature or philosophy; and it shows that these statues have for the most part been raised by courtly sycophancy or party enthusiasm — not by the deliberate veneration of the nation for its greatest benefactors. The present mania for 'testimonials' tends to multiply this evil, and to raise statues to men whose very names will be forgotten in another century. We have sometimes thought that it would be well if these modern candidates for posthumous fame were subjected to the same test which the Court of Rome applies to the beatification of its saints, and that no one should be added to the calendar of heroes and sages until half a century has passed over his tomb. Contemporary monuments are apt to partake too much of the zeal of adulation or the poignancy of personal regret. In some cases, indeed, time and the justice of posterity have supplied what was neglected at the moment of death. Thus the county of Salop has recently raised a forcible and dignified statue of Lord Clive; and the town of Grantham now boasts a statue of Newton, which was inaugurated in September, 1858, by Lord Brougham, who pronounced one of his most finished oratorical compositions on that occasion. Well might he exclaim, that it was a just subject of astonishment that to so renowned a benefactor of the world, exalted to the loftiest place by the common consent of all men, no public monument should have been raised in his own time or for a century and a half after his death. The statues of Newton in the ante-chapel of Trinity, Cambridge, and in Westminster Abbey, are appropriate memorials of him in the College he adorned and over the grave where he lies. But the

genius of Newton ranks him with the powers of the first order. It may be said of him with greater truth than of the philosophers of old, that the universe itself is the monument of his fame; but it is a reproach to the nation that no means should have been found to place more conspicuously before the eyes of future generations that dignified form, that serene and speculative countenance, which so nobly distinguish the first of England's philosophers.

The erection of equestrian statues in honour of sovereigns, to whom, with very rare exceptions, this distinction has been confined, commenced about the beginning of the seventeenth century, though one or two of the Italian military commanders of the preceding age undoubtedly enjoyed the same privilege at an earlier period. Thus the fine, though somewhat archaic, statue by Donatello, known as the 'Gatta Melata,' still stands in front of San Antonio of Padua; and the equestrian statue of Colleoni, designed by Verrocchio, who has been called the master of Leonardo, of Perugino, and of Raphael, may still be seen at Venice. John of Bologna (in fact, a Flemish artist, who migrated to Italy) produced the great statue of Cosmo I. for the Piazza del Gran Duca in 1591, and two other equestrian monuments in 1604 and 1608. He was the connecting link between Michael Angelo and the sculptors of the seventeenth century. Of existing modern equestrian statues out of Italy, that of Charles I. at Charing Cross is in fact one of the oldest. It was cast in 1633 in a spot of ground near the church in Covent Garden, says Mr. Cunningham; and not being erected before the commencement of the civil war, was sold by the Parliament to a brazier, named John Rivet, to be broken up. This loyal artisan, however, buried the statue, and preserved it till the Restoration. Of almost the same period is the equestrian statue to which we are inclined to assign the first rank in its class, we mean that of Philip IV. of Spain, formerly in the Buen Retiro, and now before the Palace of Madrid. It was designed in all its details by Velasquez. Mr. Ford called it 'a solid Velasquez;' it was cast at Florence by Tacca in 1640; it was poised on its pedestal by Galileo. For grace, spirit, and dignity it is without a parallel; and the Duke of Newcastle, a critic of the equestrian order in his day, pronounced it to be 'absolutely the best horseman in Spain.'

The bronze horse on the Pont Neuf, which had the honour of carrying King Henry IV. of France for nearly two centuries, was originally cast by John of Bo-

logna for Ferdinand, Duke of Tuscany. His successor, Cosmo II., presented it to Mary of Medicis; the animal was shipwrecked on the coast of Normandy, and remained some time in salt water; but he reached Paris at last in May, 1614. Some years later Henry IV. was seated on his back by a French artist: but in 1792 the King and his charger shared the fate of his successors, and were melted down in the artillery of the French Revolution.

When the Earl of Portland was sent by William III. on his embassy to Paris in 1698, he was accompanied by Dr. Martin Lister, an accomplished physician, whose account of the 'magnificent and noble city of Paris,' at that time, is full of interest. We shall make no apology for introducing some of his quaint observations, which have a direct bearing on the subject before us.

'There are an infinite number of busto's of the grand monarch everywhere put up by the common people; but the noble statues are but few, considering the obsequious humour and capacity of the people to perform. That in the Place Victoire is a foot in brass, all over gilt, with Victoire—that is a vast-winged woman close behind his back, holding forth a laurel crown over the king's head, with one foot upon a globe. There are great exceptions taken at the gilding by artists; and indeed the shining seems to spoil the features and give I know not what confusion; it had better have been all of gold brassed over; which would have given it's true lights and shadows, and suffered the eye to judge of the proportions. But that which I like not in this, is the great woman perpetually at the king's back; which is a sort of embarrass, and instead of giving victory, seems to tire him with her company. The Roman Victory was a little puppet in the emperor's hand, which he could dispose of at pleasure. This woman is enough to give a man a surfeit. The other are statues of three of the last kings of France, in brass, a horseback.

'That on the Pont Neuf is of Henry IV. in his armour, bareheaded, and habited as the mode of that time was.

'The other of Louis XIII. in the Palace Royal, armed also after the mode of the age, and his plume of feathers on his head-piece.

'The third is of this present King Louis XIV., and designed for the Place Vendôme. This colossus of brass is yet in the very place where it was cast; it is surprisingly great, being 22 feet high, the feet of the king 26 inches in length, and all the proportions of him and the horse suitable. There was 100,000 pounds weight of metal melted, but it took not up above 80,000 pounds; it was all cast at once, horse and man. Monsieur Girardon told me he wrought diligently, and with almost daily application, at the model eight years, and there were two years more spent in the moulding and furnaces, and casting of it. The king is in the habit of a Roman emperor, without stirrups or saddle, and on his head a French large periwig *à-la-mode*. Whence this great liberty of sculpture arises, I am much to seek.

'It is true that in building precisely to follow the ancient manner and simplicity is very commendable, because all those orders were founded upon good principles in mathematics: but the cloathing of an emperor was no more than the weak fancy of the people. For Louis le Grand to be thus dressed up at the head of his army now-a-days would be very comical. What need other emblems, when truth may be had; as though the present age need be ashamed of their modes, or that the Statua Equestris of Henry IV. or Louis XIII. were the less to be valued for being done in the true dress of their times. It seems to me to be the effect of mistaken flattery; but if regarded only as a piece of mere art, it is, methinks, very unbecoming, and has no graceful air with it.

'I remember I was once at the levee of King Charles II when three models were brought him to choose one of, in order to make his statue for the Court at Windsor; he chose the Roman emperor's dress, and caused it also to be executed in that other erected for him in the Old Exchange in London. The like is of King James in Whitehall, and at Chelsea College, our invalids. Now I appeal to all mankind, whether in representing a living prince now-a-days these naked arms and legs are decent, and whether there is not a barbarity very displeasing in it? The father of these two Kings, Charles I., was the prince of this age of the best relish, and of a sound judgment, particularly in painting, sculpture, architecture by sea and land—witness the vast sums of money he bestowed upon Reubens and his disciple, Vanduyke. Also the great esteem he had for the incomparable Inigo Jones, who was the first Englishman in this age that understood building. I heard M. Auzout say, when he had viewed the banqueting-house at Whitehall, that it was preferable to all the buildings on this side the Alps; and I ought to believe him, he having studied Vitruvius more than forty years together, and much upon the place at Rome. Also the ship the "Sovereign," which was truly the noblest floating castle that ever swam the sea. Yet after all this, that king had a statua equestris of himself erected now at Charing Cross, cast in the fall habit of his own time, and which I think may compare with the best of that sort at Paris.'

The city of Paris, in our time, has certainly lost none of the magnificence which amazed the inquiring gentlemen of Lord Portland's suite; yet it is probable that not one of the monuments that arrested their attention is now standing. The original statue of Louis XIV., in the Place des Victoires, described by Dr. Lister, was erected by the loyal enthusiasm of the Duc de la Feuillade. It represented the King on foot, in gilt bronze, with four slaves in chains at the corner of the pedestal. This monument led to the introduction of street lanterns, four of which were kept alight all night round the statue, to the extreme delight of the Parisians. An epigram was launched on the subject—

'La Feuillade, saudis, je crois que tu me bernes,  
De mettre le soleil entre quatre lanternes;'

and, in consequence of this squib, the lanterns were, it is said, extinguished, and the Soleil left to shine by itself. In 1792 the whole monument was destroyed—the more readily, as the mob took the allegorical slaves which surrounded it to be emblems of their own servitude. Bonaparte designed to erect a monument on the spot to Desaix and Kleber, who were killed on the same day—the one at Marengo, the other at Heligopolis; and a statue of Desaix, in bronze, 18 feet high, was actually placed there. He disappeared in 1815, and the Grand Monarque was restored, on a galloping horse, by Baron Bosio, in 1822. ‘Dans l’espace d’un siècle,’ says a popular writer, ‘la Place des Victoires a vu cinq monuments paraître et disparaître, ombres chinoises des idées et des passions du moment. Dans cet espace resserré, il y a toute l’histoire de France depuis Louis XIV. Chaque gouvernement, chaque faction dominante a imprimé sur le sable de cette place, la trace de son pied, effacée le lendemain. Il ne faut pas plus de quatre mètres carrés, pour contenir l’histoire en relief d’une nation.’\*

The equestrian statue of Louis XIV. which originally ornamented the Place Vendôme perished in the Revolution, and was succeeded by that incomparable column which is the monumental impersonation of Napoleon and the Empire. No example conveys with equal force the living power of a great monument. The allies had, in 1815, removed the imperial statue, but no other could be placed there. *Præfulgebant Imperator, ex ipso quod effigies ejus non visebatur.* Louis-Philippe, with a generous but ill-judging deference to popular feeling, restored the Emperor to his column, and his remains to the Invalides—acts which, as we now read them, prefigured the restoration of his nephew to the throne. The Column of the Place Vendôme is no doubt a copy—we may almost say an enlarged reproduction—of Trajan’s Column at Rome. It lays no claim to originality; but the beauty and costliness of the material (bronze taken in war); the grandeur of the scale†; the animation of the bas-reliefs, which are the chronicle of a campaign; its position in Mansard’s magnificent square, intersected by two of the finest streets in Europe; and the intense historical associations connected with it, make it, in our eyes, one of the most interesting and effective monuments in the world.

We have been reduced in this country,

\* Lurine, ‘Les Rues de Paris,’ vol. ii. p. 280.

† The French column is 135 ft. in height; Trajan’s column, 97 ft.

on several occasions, to adopt a column or pillar as the fittest, or rather as the least objectionable, form of a public monument, but with very different results. To say generally that a column is the worst and most unmeaning object that can be erected for this purpose, would be apparently at variance with the unqualified admiration we profess for the Column of the Place Vendôme. But from its design and position, that column differs materially in character, and certainly in effect, from every other work of the same kind. There is something displeasing in an enlarged pillar, supporting nothing; and this clumsy effect is commonly increased by the massive abacus, on which a gallery and railing are placed, the gallery itself being surmounted by a cage, which destroys whatever grace of outline such a structure may have possessed. The London Monument on Fish Street Hill is the best we have of its class. The proportions were designed by Wren; the height is 202 feet, the bas-reliefs on the pedestal are striking, and the effect of the whole would be imposing if it stood in a suitable position. But it is characteristic of the untoward fate of our public monuments, that this pillar, the chief merit of which is its elevation and grace, should stand below the level of the adjacent streets, and be partly buried in a pit which excludes it from view and destroys its proportions; if the houses between the Monument and the Thames could be removed, the column seen from the river would become a very beautiful object—surrounded as it now is, it cannot be seen at all. Two of the most important monuments which have been raised in London by private subscription, are the pillar of the Duke of York and the Nelson Column in Trafalgar Square. Both are well placed, and the first-named work, with the statue of the Duke by Sir R. Westmacott, though ugly is not inappropriate. Its elevation is increased by a handsome flight of steps and a base raised above the park. We cannot say as much for the column of Lord Nelson, which, if we remember rightly, was the last resource of a distracted committee. A column crowned by an elaborate capital, and surmounted by a gigantic figure, is at best a questionable homage to a British Admiral; and on this occasion, as on some others, a great opportunity was lost for ornamenting in a suitable manner the site which the late Sir R. Peel rather hyperbolically described as ‘the finest in Europe.’ Monuments have been placed there without the slightest reference to the general character of the site or to each other. George IV., on Sir Thomas

Munro's horse, occupies one pedestal; the corresponding pedestal is empty. The fountains are mean, and their appearance is rendered more absurd and contemptible by the pillar which towers above them. Not an attempt has been made to give harmony and proportion to the whole. With reference to the Nelson Column, it may deserve remark that the cost of it was 33,000*l.*; and it is not very creditable to our patriotic enthusiasm that the voluntary contributions were inadequate to complete the work, although they were augmented by the munificence of a foreign sovereign; and that Parliament had to assist in the completion of it. We await with great interest the production of Sir Edwin Landseer's long-promised lions, which are to adorn the base of this pillar, and may be expected to add greatly to its effect. One of the chief defects of a columnar monument is that it is generally a more pleasing and interesting object at a distance than near; and on the spot where it is erected it cannot be viewed at all. This objection may be removed by giving more ornament and effect to the base, which is the intention of the bas-reliefs and the lions below the Nelson Pillar. Nevertheless, we hold that, with all these additions, an isolated column is rarely adapted for monumental use in cities. If it be used at all, it is nowhere more in place than as a seamark on the coast, destined to commemorate some naval hero or some maritime achievement. The Nelson monument at Yarmouth, Napoleon's Boulogne pillar, and, on a small scale, the Bellot obelisk at Greenwich, and the Fulton monument on the Clyde, are successful, because they are appropriate and intelligible, — they catch the eye of the passing mariner, and bring to mind from afar off the man or the deed they were designed to commemorate. The effect of a column or a lighthouse on the sea-coast, or on a cliff commanding the sea, is incalculably increased by the contrast between the aspiring vertical lines of the monument and the illimitable horizontal lines of the ocean: the eye is agreeably affected by this contrast, even though the mind may not analyse the cause of the pleasure which the eye conveys to it. It is the business of the true artist to produce these effects, although nine-tenths of the spectators who see them do not apprehend in what they consist. There is no column in the world more impressive than the Eddystone Lighthouse, precisely because it carries this principle to its extreme limit. We shall see, in speaking of the Egyptian Needles, that the effect they produced was partly owing to the extreme flatness of the

banks of the Nile. In the crowded streets or squares of a city, on the contrary, monuments are seldom seen from a distance, and they are confused with tall chimneys and other perpendicular lines; for example, the statue of King Charles on his horse, at Charing Cross, strikes the spectator far more readily than the statue of Nelson just behind it, but 200 feet from the ground, and only to be seen at a very obtuse angle of sight. The same principle explains the fact that so many objects and monuments excite interest and admiration at a distance, which they lose on a nearer approach to them.

In connexion with the subject of monumental columns, this may be the fitting place to notice one of great importance and celebrity — we mean the monolithic Alexander monument at St. Petersburg. This great work is frequently spoken of as an obelisk; but it is described by Mr. Kohl as —

'A round column of mottled red granite, 15 feet in diameter — the greatest monolith of modern times. It is about 84 feet in height, and, with the angel on the summit and the cubic block that supports it, 154 feet. The eye is delighted with the slender form of this giant: it is highly polished and reflects the outlines of the surrounding buildings in its cylindrical mirror. In any other city its enormous size would make a greater impression; here in St. Petersburg, where the eye expands with the vast surrounding spaces, it is seen under a smaller angle of vision.

'It is incomprehensible why the crown of the pillar has been made so wide and heavy. It extends so far over the shaft that the angel with the cross is not seen from beneath, and to look at it properly one must ascend the second story of the palace, or go to the distance of a verst on the Admiralty of Platz to observe it thence with a telescope. The worst of all is that already an abominable worm is gnawing at this beautiful monolith, and it has already received a very sad and offensive rent towards the middle. It may be that the stone was at first badly chosen, or that the cold at St. Petersburg will not tolerate such monuments of human art; but a fruitless attempt has been made to conceal it by a sort of cement composed of granite fragments.' (*Kohl's Russia.*)

The real importance of this pillar consists in its being the largest single block excavated in modern times, though, as we shall presently see, it is at least twenty feet shorter than the noblest of the Egyptian obelisks in Rome. The story goes that the Emperor had ordered a block of granite to be procured in Finland eighty feet long: that being supposed to be the maximum length which could be obtained, transported, and erected. They found one 110 feet long, but in the spirit of Oriental obedience the clerk of the works ordered the extra thirty feet

to be chopped off, in deference to the imperial commands.

Having thus reached St. Petersburg, some notice is due to Falconnet's monument of the Tzar Peter, erected by Catherine in the last century. This celebrated statue owes its renown partly to the bold conception of the artist who removed a granite rock to serve for its pedestal from Lacta in Finland—four miles from the capital, to the palace-covered morass which is now the centre of the Russian empire. The position of the horse on the verge of this shattered boulder, and the free bearing of the Tzar in his national costume are highly effective, but the character of the piece is impaired by the introduction of a snake at the feet of the imperial charger—a paltry incident not worthy to figure in so important a work. This statue also owes something of its effect to its position at the end of the Isaac bridge—a flat bridge of adequate length being of great assistance to a group or monument erected at its extremity—yet from the vast extent of the Admiralty Square, and the actual proportion of the pedestal, the work itself has not a colossal appearance. The statue of the Tzar is 11 feet high, and his horse 17 feet: but the rock pedestal is only 14 feet high, 20 feet broad, and 35 feet long. Its weight is said to be 1500 tons, and the removal of this mass on rollers for four miles over a swamp, was considered a miracle of engineering skill.

We do not propose to dwell at length on the great monumental groups which have been erected in the last few years in some of the great capitals of Europe, among which Rauch's monument to Frederic the Great and his generals at Berlin, and Marochetti's monument at Turin to Charles Albert and the soldiers of Italian independence, deserve the first rank. Both are essentially military monuments, marked by a faithful and laudable adherence to the costume of the time; but the disproportion of size between Frederic and his generals in the Berlin monument, produces an unpleasant effect: and we are not sure that these groups, mingled with real and allegorical persons, are capable of as much grandeur and dignity as a single figure. In this respect the romantic and graceful statue of Emmanuel Philibert at Turin, which is one of Marochetti's earliest works, remains without a rival. It has been no common good fortune to that great artist that as he began his career by a statue representing one of the founders of the glory of the house of Savoy in the act of sheathing his victorious sword and giving peace to his dominions, so he has crowned that career by his great monument in honour of Charles

Albert in the act of drawing his sword, soon to become the sceptre of Italy.

In works of this class the element of sculpture necessarily predominates, and their success depends on those qualities of expression and life, which the sculptor, in a moment of happy inspiration, may impart to the clay, the marble, or the bronze. These are conceptions which no mere method can realise—they demand the fiery touch of genius: and even those who are most versed in the resources of art cannot reproduce them at pleasure. Monuments in which the architectural element predominates are, on the contrary, more entirely within the control of scientific combination, and if a work on the largest scale be contemplated for a national purpose, or for the ornament of a great capital, it must assume in some degree an architectural character. Of the innumerable bronze statues of antiquity very few remain—these works having been sacrificed for the value of the material; of the countless marble statues which thronged the temples of Greece and the courts of Rome, none are to be seen in their proper sites—those which survive are gathered into museums which are the dormitories of genius. The pyramids, the columns, the obelisks, and even some of the temples, have proved more enduring monuments; and the simpler the work, the greater the chance of its duration. The site of the battle of Waterloo will be marked to all succeeding ages, not by the Belgic lion, but by the gigantic mound which crowns that dreadful ridge: and when the Polish nation wished to raise a monument to their Kosciusko, which despotism itself could not destroy, they piled an earthwork in the neighbourhood of Cracow, to which every citizen contributed his eager and affectionate toil. Such monuments partake, no doubt, of a barbarous character, and owe nothing to the grace of art; but they may be the imperishable symbols of a great idea, and stand like the foundations of the globe.

Four classes of monuments yet remain to be mentioned, which deserve, we think, more attention than they have met with in modern times—we mean the Cross, the Fountain, and the Arch, considered as commemorative structures: to these must be added the Obelisk, with which we shall conclude these observations.

The Cross is the earliest and the most national of our public monuments. It dates from the first traditions of our island history in the 'Suenos stone' near Forres, and the curious monuments which have been ably reproduced by the care of the Spalding Club in the 'Sculptured Stones of Scotland.'

Four crosses still stand on the consecrated shores of Iona, where it is reported that 360 of these venerable monuments once marked spots dear to piety and affection. The large Iona cross in front of the cathedral is a monolith column of the hardest whin rock, 14 feet high, 18 inches broad, and 6 inches thick. It is fixed in a pedestal formed out of a massive block of red granite about 3 feet high. 'The labour and art,' says Mr. Graham\*, 'of quarrying such a column, of transporting it to the island, and of carving and erecting it when it was brought, are circumstances really astonishing when one considers how inadequate the power and the skill of this part of the country would now be to such a work.' It would seem that the practice of erecting these crosses lasted in Iona down to the Reformation, for that of Abbot MacKinnon, still standing, bears date as late as 1489. For monuments on a comparatively small scale, connected with the memory of the dead, or with ecclesiastical associations, we know of nothing comparable in effect to these crosses, and their monolithic character gives them importance and extreme durability. But under the denomination 'cross' we include not only these primæval monuments of a rude antiquity, but some of the most exquisite remains (alas! too few) of Gothic architecture. Most of the cathedrals had their 'cross' in the precincts of the chapter-house: thus Paul's Cross was the scene of the great ecclesiastical debates of the Middle Ages and the Reformation, and also the Forum of the citizens of London—though indeed Paul's Cross had no claims to monumental beauty, if, as Strype states, it was merely 'a pulpit cross of timber, mounted upon steps of stone, and covered with lead.'

These mediæval crosses had not necessarily an ecclesiastical character. The Cross of Coventry, which was the most elegant and splendid fabric of the kind in England, was built in 1541 by a bequest from Sir William Hollies to the city for municipal ornament. It was of a hexagonal shape, 57 feet high and 42 in circumference, decorated with the most elaborate tracery of the time: unhappily it was taken down by an 'improving' corporation in 1776. The crosses of Cheddar, Malmesbury, and Chichester are small roofed buildings of the form which may also be seen in the curious, though not very pleasing, Royal Cross of Aberdeen.†

\* Antiquities of Iona, p. 22.

† The reader interested in this subject will find an 'Essay on Ancient Stone Crosses' of considerable interest, though by no means complete, in 'Britton's Antiquities of Great Britain,' vol. i. No. IV. Mr. Petrie's work on the 'Round Towers of Ireland' con-

The crosses which marked the transport of the body of Queen Eleanor from Herdeby in Lincolnshire to Westminster, have all but disappeared: that which occupied the well-known site in the village of Charing (supposed by some to be derived from *chère Reyne*) still lives in the name of the busiest thoroughfare of Western London. The crosses of Geddington and Northampton (the Queen's Cross) are preserved, and the cross of Waltham, erected on the same melancholy occasion by the piety of Edward I., has recently been most skilfully restored. It is a hexagon, each side of the lower story divided into two arches, charged with the arms of England, Castile, Leon, and Ponthieu: the purfling finials of the second story cover twelve open tabernacles, intersected by pillars, the niches being filled by appropriate figures; and the third story rises in solid masonry to support the shaft of a plain cross on the summit. In our judgment, no monument designed to commemorate the dead, can be more touching and appropriate than this. It admits of the introduction of sculpture, it admits of inscriptions; and provided it be suitably placed, as, for example, in the quadrangle of a college or a cathedral close, it may unite all the conditions of a Christian and English monument. Indeed the example of the Scott monument at Edinburgh, which is in fact one of these crosses, shows that it may be placed without impropriety even in the thoroughfares of a great city, which has in other respects nothing of the mediæval character. We confess that we regret that the monument erected at Scutari, by order of Her Majesty, to record the gallant endurance of the British army in the Crimean war, did not assume the shape of one of these eminently national structures, endeared to us by historical tradition and religious associations, in place of the obelisk of Cornish granite which has been placed there.

Some years ago the present Dean of St. Paul's, who was then a canon of Westminster, proposed the execution of a monument to Caxton, near the Almonry, Westminster,—that being the spot where the first English printing-press had been worked. The proposal was well received, and supported by a small number of accomplished persons, who felt the fitness and grace of such a memorial; but it did not excite much public interest, and for want of funds, it fell to the ground. We now advert to it for the purpose of noticing the very appropriate character which Dr. Milman had wished to give

tains the best notice we have seen on the ancient stone crosses of that island.



to this monument. He suggested that an ever-flowing fountain, combined with a statue of the first English printer, would be no inapt symbol of the spring opened by the printing-press to the knowledge and improvement of mankind. No doubt the introduction of fountains, in itself a desirable and refreshing thing in large cities, might, with excellent effect, be combined with monuments: thus the French have erected a striking fountain-monument to Molière, and many other examples might be cited in Rome and elsewhere of fountains which have a monumental character. In their way, though they are for the most part unpretending and diminutive, many of the drinking fountains lately introduced in London and several other large towns, deserve to be noticed among our public monuments. They are in every way grateful. They offer a simple refreshment, which often diverts the hot and weary labourer from the gin-shop. They mark a kindly feeling towards the humbler classes by giving to every man 'a cup of cold water;' and as specimens of art, many of these little works are very pleasing additions to our street architecture. They serve to show how much more might be done with the introduction of a conduit of running water, when a more important monument is contemplated and more ample funds are forthcoming. No capital in Europe is so well provided with water as London in the mains underground, or so little beautified with the freshness of streams above ground. A fountain on an imposing scale is still wanting to the metropolis, and, as far as we know, there is not a town in the United Kingdom which can boast of a good one; yet fountains may well be ranked amongst the most pleasing and useful of public monuments.

Among the Romans no kind of monument to great men was more national or more permanent than the triumphal Arch. It has, no doubt, been said that the architecture of many of these structures is heavy and confused, and that their position in places where there is scarcely a pretext for passing through them may render them tasteless and absurd. But, on the other hand, they offer remarkable opportunities for every sort of architectural expression; they are capable of extreme diversity of treatment; they may, with propriety, be decorated with statues, bas-reliefs, friezes, inscriptions and, if of a mediæval character, with heraldic ornaments. If judiciously placed, they naturally fall into the lines of communication and of the adjacent buildings; and they greatly increase the effect of the entrance to a broad road, bridge, or

avenue. Upon the whole, therefore, taking the architecture of our modern cities for what it is, we are disposed to think that an arch, of a festal or triumphal character, is one of the most useful and agreeable additions that can be made to it; and that such a monument may harmonise admirably with existing edifices, in spots where columns, obelisks, pyramids, or the grotesque combinations of statues and allegories we sometimes witness, are obtrusive and out of place.

Of the twenty-one commemorative arches which are recorded to have stood in ancient Rome, five are still in existence there: they are, in fact, the oldest and most beautiful remains of Roman antiquity. The arches of Augustus, at Rimini, in honour of the restoration of the Flaminian Way, are some of the few monuments of the Augustan age. The beautiful arch of Trajan, at Beneventum, built when he repaired the Appian Way, is well preserved, and a good model for imitation. The white marble arch of Trajan, on the mole of Ancona, was erected to that prince by the Senate and people of Rome, for having constructed the mole, and improved the harbour. Thus it will be observed that the Roman arches were by no means restricted to military triumphs. That of Titus, indeed, which still records, upon the Sacred Way, the conquest of Jerusalem, was partly a trophy of his victories, and partly a memorial of his early death, for it was completed after that event, and is inscribed to his memory.\* The arches of Drusus, Septimius Severus, and Constantine, are also among the most conspicuous and pleasing remains of Roman antiquity, — a fact which serves in itself to demonstrate that they are well adapted to the purpose of all monuments, namely, to perpetuate the fame of the dead and to adorn a city. Modern arches of triumph have not, it is true, been very successful, — perhaps the Brandenburg Gate of Berlin is the best of them. Napoleon's Arch, in the Place du Carrousel, is mean and ill-placed in the centre of a square, being rather designed to serve as a pedestal to the immortal horses of Venice. The Arc de l'Etoile, with a

\* The passage in which Suetonius commemorates the virtues of Titus, is singularly applicable to the accomplished and lamented prince whose loss this country now deplores. 'Titus, amor ac deliciæ generis humani, tantum illi ad promerendum omnium voluntatum, vel ingenii, vel artis, vel fortunæ superfluit.' The description of his mental gifts, of his amiable disposition, and even of some details of his personal appearance, corresponds to a remarkable degree, and so does his early death. Titus died of an autumnal fever, after a short illness, in the forty-second year of his age.

most imposing position, and a grand air from a distance, is hideously disguised with a ponderous attic, and most clumsy allegories. Our own Marble Arch, formerly in front of Buckingham Palace, is heavy, and would be vastly improved by a chariot and group of horses,—not certainly such a group as the equestrian statue which crushes the arch on Constitution Hill. The most elegant structure of the kind we possess is Mr. Decimus Burton's triple archway and screen, ornamented with a frieze from the Parthenon, which leads from Piccadilly to Hyde Park. But there are many other sites where an arch would be a most effective monument, especially, for example, at the end of the Mall, in St. James's Park, supposing a suitable approach be thrown open from Charing Cross, and a perspective opened from that great centre, up the parks, to the palace. Had it been thought desirable to erect an arch in memory of the late Prince Consort, it might have been placed, with great propriety and effect, at the Queen's Gate of Hyde Park, between the sites of the two Great Exhibitions; or, on the completion of the northern side of the Royal Horticultural Gardens, it might have connected that interesting spot with Hyde Park.

As, however, it has been decided by the highest authority that the monument to be erected in London to the memory of Prince Albert should consist of a monolithic obelisk, placed on the site of the Great Exhibition of 1851, or contiguous to it, it only remains for us to consider, with the respectful sympathy which the subject excites throughout the country, what are the leading considerations affecting public monuments of this class, and how this obelisk may be rendered most worthy of its object and of the nation.

An obelisk, or needle, is a monument which can lay claim to no grace or beauty of its own. It owes the interest and value, which many obelisks undoubtedly possess in architectural decoration, mainly to its position or collocation with surrounding objects; and, in an inferior degree, to its magnitude, its rarity, the hardness and durability of material, the difficulty of moving and directing so large a block of stone, its cost, and, in the case of the Egyptian obelisks at Rome and at Paris, to their venerable antiquity and mystic inscriptions. It would be absurd to look for ideal beauty to the monuments of Egypt; they are massive, material, unintellectual—the very reverse of the refined elegance of Greek art, or the capricious variety of mediæval fancy. The great merit of the obelisk in certain positions

is, that of all monuments it approaches most nearly to a pure geometrical form; it coincides with the point of sight; its sharp and angular character gives precision and effect to the centre of a circle, to the *spina* or focus of an amphitheatre, to the intersection of two or more lines of buildings or avenues, or to the termination of them. As a *terminal* monument, the Egyptians—who are the real inventors of the obelisk, and the only people who employed them in profusion—placed them, not singly, but in pairs. They marked in an imposing manner the avenues of approach to the great Egyptian temples, and usually commemorated the names of the sovereigns by whom those temples were erected. We are not aware that in Egypt or elsewhere, in antiquity, obelisks were ever consecrated to the memory of the dead. In modern times, and in this country, monuments in the form of obelisks have sometimes been erected on hills, as landmarks to the country round, or in honour of some respected landed proprietor; but these hardly deserve to be noticed as public monuments, their only merit being that they are seen over a vast extent of country. In Egypt these monuments had, as we have already remarked, the advantage of a boundless flat region, which singularly increased their effect.

The application of the Egyptian obelisk to the embellishment of cities began with the Roman Emperors. Augustus brought two of these needles from Heliopolis to Rome. The great obelisk now erected before the Lateran, which is still 105 feet in height, and the largest known, was conveyed by Constantine from Heliopolis to Alexandria, and by Constantine from Alexandria to Rome, where it stood in the Circus Maximus. The Vatican obelisk, the shaft of which measures 83 feet in length, was originally placed by Caligula in the Circus of Nero, very near the spot it still occupies. Twelve of these monuments still exist in Rome. They were all thrown down by the brutality of the barbarians, or by the fanaticism of the Christians, for they seemed to have been regarded with superstitious horror in the dark ages, from the necromantic symbols indelibly engraved upon them. Sixtus V. was the first of the Popes who undertook to exorcise the demon of the pillar, to consecrate it to an apostolic patron, and (what was more difficult) to restore it to an erect position. Five hundred schemes, it is said, were tendered to the Pontiff, when it was known that he designed to set up once more the obelisk of the Vatican. The engineer Fontana was charged with the miraculous work, as it was then considered, and he has left us

an interesting account of it. High mass was performed at St. Peter's; the Pope blessed the workmen, and it was ordered that no one should speak during the operation upon pain of death—an order which was fortunately disobeyed by a courageous spectator, named Bensa, who called out at the most critical moment, 'Wet the ropes.' The Lateran and the Flaminian monuments were subsequently also raised by Sixtus V. and Fontana, and several others by his successors; the last was placed on the Pincio in 1822, by Pius VII. To these examples must be added the removal of the obelisk of Luxor, in 1833, by the French, to the Place de la Concorde in Paris, where it intersects the great avenue of approach to the Tuileries from the Arc de l'Etoile. This obelisk is the smaller of the two which stood before the propylæum of the Temple of Luxor, and the shaft is 76 feet high, and 8 feet wide at the base.

The interest which attaches to these obelisks is, in great part, historical. They are witnesses of an extinct world. They have survived the very language inscribed on them, and the names they were designed to reveal are an enigma and a mystery. It is impossible to look without emotion even on a stone which may have been hewn before the Exodus of the Israelites, and which has been raised successively by the Pharaohs, the Cæsars and the Popes. To no modern monument does any interest of this kind attach; and, indeed, we are not aware that any modern monolith has been erected as an obelisk, except the grey granite monument of the kind raised in 1805 at Seringapatam. The beautiful granite monolith at Beejanugger, in Southern India, dates from the fifteenth century, and it is not an obelisk but a pillar.

In the absence of this powerful historical interest, an obelisk to be raised in our times, requires, in addition to accuracy of proportion, good workmanship, and fine material, the grand essential of an appropriate position. The first three of these conditions are easily attainable. The proper proportion of an obelisk is a shaft ten times the length of its diameter, tapering to the summit; whence it is obvious that every foot added to the length of it adds proportionably to its bulk and its weight. Thus an obelisk 100 feet in height would weigh *eight times* as much as an obelisk of 50 feet. For material, the red granite of Mull and of several other parts of the British Isles leaves little to be desired; and it is said that a monolith of singular beauty, already partly hewn, might even now be obtained from the celebrated quarries of the rose granite of Syene. The

whole question then lies in the spot to be selected for the site of such a monument, and the mode of conveying it thither from the quarry.

We have already remarked that the distinctive peculiarity of the obelisk is its sharp, defined, rectangular form; and it absolutely requires that all the surrounding objects should lead the eye up to it by regular lines or by the combination of regular figures. An obelisk placed in the middle of a park or field would be entirely meaningless and ineffective. It is necessary, therefore, either that a site should be chosen already marked out by this exact and rectangular character, or that the ground about it should be laid out on the system required to give it effect. All the principles of English landscape gardening, of which the London parks are fine examples, are at variance with the architectural structure of avenues, vistas, and straight lines. An obelisk is a terminal monument. The beauty of our parks and gardens consists in their undulating lines, which keep the point of sight out of view. An obelisk placed in such a position would be not only out of place, but ungraceful. To this observation, there is, however, one exception. Kensington Gardens were laid out on straight principles, and much more nearly resemble the French style of gardening. There is a spot on the broad walk or avenue between the Lancaster Gate and Kensington Gore, which is the true centre of these gardens, and the converging point of eight lines or alleys, divided by wedges of trees. This spot is one of the highest in the neighbourhood: is equally visible from both the great western approaches to London, and from Hyde Park; and an obelisk placed on it would, we doubt not, be an imposing object. The spot is within sight of the ground occupied by the Exhibition of 1851, and it does in fact form part of the same royal pleasure, though separated from the park by a railing. We are far from saying that any obelisk is the fittest monument that can be raised on such an occasion; but if it be irrevocably decided upon, we hope that the effect of such a structure will be tried beforehand by a temporary and experimental erection of the same form and size on the proposed site.

As to the mode and expense of transporting a monolith, which would weigh, we are informed, nearly 1200 tons, if the shaft be 100 feet in length, these are problems which we must leave to our scientific advisers. We do not question the skill of our engineers, but there are works, the difficulty of which is very much increased by a high state of civilisation. The Egyptian obelisks

were floated down the Nile, and erected on the banks of it. The Roman obelisks are near the Tiber—that of Luxor within 200 or 300 yards of the Seine: yet the erection alone of the Parisian monument took three years and cost 30,000*l*. We do not doubt the cost of such a monolith as has now been proposed, would greatly exceed 100,000*l*. Kensington is nearly two miles from the Thames; the intervening land is covered with buildings; the roads are narrow and inadequate to support a load of many hundred tons; a tramroad must be laid down for the express purpose of carrying such a mass. We have no doubt, however, that everything will be done which modern science and public enthusiasm can suggest; and we have great confidence in the taste and judgment of the eminent men who have been requested to assist Her Majesty with their advice on this interesting and important occasion. But before the nation give effect to this great design, we trust that the principles of monumental art, which should regulate the form and position of such a work, will be thoroughly considered and understood. If it be erected at all, it is erected for all time, and it would be a just subject of recrimination and regret, if it were not worthy of the Prince to whom it will be dedicated, and the people by whom it is to be raised.

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ART. X.—*The Luggie, and other Poems.*  
By DAVID GRAY. *With a Memoir by*  
JAMES HEDDERWICK, *and a Prefatory*  
*Notice by R. M. MILNES, M.P.* Cam-  
bridge and London: 1862.

'GAUDENTE terrâ, laureato vomere, triumphali aratore,' was the device prefixed to a remarkable poem on the centennial anniversary of the birth of Robert Burns, and attributed to the Rev. W. Alexander, the Irish clergyman. These words, used by Pliny in reference to the earlier social condition of Italy, when the ordinary occupations of rural life were compatible with the highest civic dignity, and before the general employment of slaves had made labour dishonourable, are well applied to that imaginative and intellectual character of which Burns is the crowning type, but which is to be found not unfrequently among the peasants and artisans of Scotland. The various and abundant ballad-literature which filled the heart of

may seem as little compatible with the practical and careful intelligence of this people, as their love of the marvellous and ready superstition with the strict logic of their religious doctrines. But as the Westminster Confession is no check to Halloween and the belief in Second Sight, so the visionary delights of the fancy and the charms of rhythmic utterance are nowhere more naturally felt and encouraged than among this hard handed and hard-headed race. 'We often hear,' wrote Mr. Laing, the earnest vindicator of the severer manners of his country, 'what country but Scotland ever produced a Burns among her peasantry? But the real question for the social economist is, what country but Scotland ever produced a peasantry for whom Burns could write? Burns had a public of his own, in his own station of life, who could feel and appreciate his poetry, long before he was known to the upper class of the Scotch people. It is a peculiar feature in the social condition of our honest labouring class in Scotland, that none perhaps in Europe of the same class have so few physical and so many intellectual wants and gratifications.' Of this class were such men as Robert Nicoll and John Bethune, whose literary productions, though interesting in their way, are nothing in comparison with the lessons of their lives and characters. Nicoll \* 'herding kye' all summer, and paying for his winter schooling with the 'fee' of it; reading 'Kenilworth' in the woods at thirteen till he felt inspired to write verses which at eighteen he thought only good enough to burn; enjoying Milton's prose and Locke and, 'what I prize more than all, a few of Bentham's writings;' setting up his mother in a little shop with his first saving of two pounds when apprenticeship to a grocer at Perth; finding himself 'fitter to do his work after half a night's writing than others after half a night's idiotical amusement;' starting and failing as a bookseller in Dundee; reaching a pinnacle of wealth and fame as editor of a Leeds newspaper at a hundred a year; soon failing in health, and never recovering the exhaustion caused by his labours in Sir W. Molesworth's election in 1837; and dying, in his twenty-fourth year, in the arms of the mother who 'shore for the siller' that harvest-time, that she might pay for the journey to reach him—these are pictures of true humanity, that one may well remember. 'Dinna be an author, they are aye puir,' was, he says, the warning of his *aunties*; but they did not know how much the

'That poetic and triumphant peasant,  
Driving his laurelled plough,'

\* Poems of Robert Nicoll, second edition. Edinburgh: 1842.

literary faculty soothed this otherwise fierce and ambitious spirit. His wild radicalism no doubt in a great degree belonged to the circumstances and chances of his time; but there is a bitterness in the remembrances of that 'forgotten uncared-for boy,' which contrasts with the lively and genial tone of his popular poetry and shows the humanising effects of the gift of song.

The story of John Bethune\* is darker and yet stranger. A hard-tasked hand-labourer aspiring, at the most, to be a gardener or forester, and often breaking stones for months together on the roads, writing on his knees as his only desk, and on brown-paper bags and every shred which could carry ink, in the scanty time which he filched from toil or sleep—trying a didactic poem on the model of Cowper's 'Task,' at seventeen, and finishing a sad and pious life under thirty, after experiments in all kinds of literary production—none of them eminent, but none of them contemptible—he stands another of this band of humble lovers of intelligence.

When again some years ago the failure of certain commercial establishments in America silenced in one week 5000 looms in Dundee and its neighbourhood, a weaver of the name of William Thom †, in the village of Newtyle, found himself and his family starved down to an uncertain five shillings a week, till, having pawned all his little possessions, he started with them on a book-hawking expedition, of which he gives the details in the preface to his 'Rhymes and Recollections.' How they journeyed on through 'the busy singing world of spring which had become a nuisance,' and 'through the loaded fields that bore nothing for them,' not knowing 'where that night their couch might be, or where to-morrow their grave,' is told with a terrible simplicity that is far more poetical than the poetry that follows it. There is the death of the little girl from exposure on a cold night, when they had been refused shelter at several farm-houses, and the father sitting up in the early dawn watching the fluttering and wheeling of the swallows till he could find some one to speak to about the burial—there is his dipping his dry flute in a little burn and playing the 'Flowers of the Forest' in the gloaming, to convert the five pence in his pocket into the sixpence which the rigid landlady at Methven demanded before the weary travellers 'took off their shoon,' and

his grateful verses to the instrument which

'In ilka hut, in ilka ben,  
A couthie welcome found;'

and there is the wonderful five pounds dropped, as if from heaven, in return for his poem 'The Blind Boy's Pranks,' in the very moment he had resolved to seek 'the unseen, silent, sadness of the House of Refuge at Aberdeen,' as, at any rate, far better than the 'grievous taunts and grumbings that accompany the elder's eighteen pence.' 'O sir!' he exclaims to his benefactor, 'it is difficult for those in other circumstances to think what a strife is his who has to battle lip-deep in poverty, with a motherless family and a poetical temperament—the last the worst, inasmuch as it enhances tenfold the pain that is frequent, and joy that is rare.'

We have been led to these remembrances by the appearance of a small volume of posthumous verse of a far higher order, but produced under circumstances analogous to those we have mentioned, and which it becomes Scotchmen above all, not to let fall forgotten. David Gray has passed away in his green boyhood, with a promise of poetical excellences of so high an order, and so marvellously self-developed, that it is hard to point to anything superior in our literature elsewhere than in the early poems of Keats.

He was born in 1838, on the banks of the Luggie, a little stream which flows past a row of road-side cottages, designated Merkland, near the town of Kirkintilloch, wholly inhabited by hand-loom weavers and their families, who struggle in hard competition with the mechanical resources of Glasgow. The boy, one of eight children, enjoyed the advantages of that system of parochial education of which Scotland may well feel herself both glad and proud in the face of English difficulties; and was thus enabled at fourteen to go to the neighbouring University, where, by laborious tuition as a pupil-teacher in a public school, as Queen's scholar in the Free-church Seminary, and also by private lessons, he acquired the means of attending the Humanity, Greek and some other classes. Like Robert Nicoll before him, he was intended for a 'minister'—that decent independence which is open to the sons of Scotch peasants and artisans who evince a love of reading and a habit of reflection. But, while the turn of his mind was by no means ecclesiastical, there had arisen within him those poetic impulses which in the uncritical days were called 'inspiration,' and for which indeed as yet we have no better name.

\* Poems of the late John Bethune, with a Sketch of his Life by his brother. London: 1841.

† Rhymes and Recollections of a Hand-Loom Weaver, by William Thom, of Inverury. London: 1844.



With indecisive motion eddying down,  
The white-winged flakes — calm as the sleep  
of sound,

Dim as a dream. The silver-misted air  
Shines with mild radiance, as when thro' a  
cloud

Of semi-lucent vapour shines the moon.  
I saw last evening (when the ruddy sun,  
Enlarged and strange, sank low and visibly,  
Spreading fierce orange o'er the west), a scene  
Of winter in its milder mood. Green fields,  
Which no kine cropped, lay damp; and naked  
trees

Threw skeleton shadows. Hedges, thickly  
grown,

Twined into compact firmness with no leaves,  
Trembled in jewelled fretwork as the sun  
To lustre touched the tremulous waterdrops.

Alone, nor whistling as his fellows do  
In fabling poem and provincial song,  
The ploughboy shouted to his reeking team;  
And at the clamour, from a neighbouring field  
Arose, with whirr of wings, a flock of rooks  
More clamorous; and thro' the frosted air,  
Blown wildly here and there without a law,  
'They flew, low-grumbling out loquacious croaks.  
Red sunset brightened all things; streams ran  
red

Yet coldly; and before the unwholesome east,  
Searching the bones and breathing ice, blew  
down

The hill with a dry whistle, by the fire  
In chamber twilight rested I at home.

'But now what revelation of fair change,  
O Giver of the seasons and the days!  
Creator of all elements, pale mists,  
Invisible great winds and exact frost!  
How shall I speak the wonder of thy snow?  
What though we know its essence and its  
birth,

Can quick expound in philosophic wise,  
The how, and whence, and manner of its fall;  
Yet, oh, the inner beauty and the life—  
The life that is in snow! 'The virgin-soft  
And utter purity of the down-flake  
Falling upon its fellow with no sound!  
Unblown by vulgar winds, innumerable flakes  
Fall gently, with the gentleness of love!

'Now while I write, the wonder clothes the vale,  
Calmed every wind and loaded every grove;  
And looking thro' the implicated boughs  
I see a gleaming radiance. Sparkling snow  
Refined by morning-footed frost so still  
Mantles each bough; and such a windless hush  
Breathes thro' the air, it seems the fairy glen  
About some phantom palace, pale abode  
Of fabled *Sleeping Beauty*. Songless birds  
Flit restlessly about the breathless wood,  
Waiting the sudden breaking of the charm;  
And as they quickly spring on dimble wing  
From the white twig, a sparkling shower falls  
Starlike. It is not whiteness, but a clear  
Outshining of all purity, which takes  
The winking eyes with such a silvery gleam.  
No sunshine, and the sky is all one cloud.  
The vale seems lonely, ghostlike; while aloud  
The housewife's voice is heard with doubled  
sound.

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I have not words to speak the perfect show;  
The ravishment of beauty; the delight  
Of silent purity; the sanctity  
Of inspiration which o'erflows the world,  
Making it breathless with divinity.'

Our limits forbid us to add to this remarkable passage more than one extract from the lyrical poems of David Gray. But surely Wordsworth at his best might not have been ashamed of the following lines:—

'Last night a vision was dispelled,  
Which I can never dream again;  
A wonder from the earth has gone,  
A passion from my brain.  
I saw upon a budding ash  
A cuckoo, and she blithely sung  
To all the valleys round about,  
While on a branch she swung.  
Cuckoo, cuckoo: I looked around,  
And like a dream fulfilled,  
A slender bird of modest brown,  
My sight with wonder thrilled.  
I looked again and yet again;  
My eyes, thought I, do sure deceive me;  
But when belief made doubting vain,  
Alas my sight did grieve me.  
For twice to-day I heard the cry,  
The hollow cry of melting love;  
And twice a tear bedimmed my eye,—  
I saw the singer in the grove,  
I saw him pipe his eager tone,  
Like any other common bird,  
And, as I live, the sovereign cry  
Was not the one I always heard.  
O why within that lusty wood  
Did I the fairy sight behold?  
O why within that solitude  
Was I thus blindly overbold?  
My heart, forgive me! for indeed  
I cannot speak my thrilling pain:  
The wonder vanished from the earth,  
The passion from my brain.'

In 1860, David Gray came up adventurously to London, in search of fortune and fame, and his short struggle there is told by his biographer with pathos and with judgment. Exposed to the cold spring, with little comfort or protection, he fell ill; the disease became permanent, and, after a hard fight for life, he passed away in the December of the following year. 'In the Shadows' is the title prefixed by himself to his later sonnets, and they will not be read without emotion.

A great physician has shown us how willingly and welcomingly man falls into the lap of nature, taking death easier than life—but with such susceptibilities as these the combat is often terrible: hope, excited by fever, portrays a certain and glorious future, from which death appears as the cruel and unjust divorcer. Hence these piteous—yet deep and majestic—words:—

'Die down, O dismal day! and let me live.

E—20



And come, blue deeps! magnificently strewn  
With coloured clouds—large, light, and fugi-  
tive—

By upper winds through pompous motions  
blown.

Now it is death in life—a vapour dense  
Creeps round my window till I cannot see  
The far snow-shining mountains, and the glens  
Shagging the mountain-tops. O God! make  
free

This barren, shackled earth, so deadly cold—  
Breathe gently forth Thy spring, till winter  
flies

In rude amazement, fearful and yet bold,  
While she performs her custom'd charities.

I weigh the loaded hours till life is bare—  
O God! for one clear day, a snowdrop, and  
sweet air!

We have already alluded to the poetry of Kents, and we cannot close this notice without remarking on the wonderful vitality of the effects even of a superficial classic culture, upon what might seem dispositions the most alien and surrounded with the most adverse associations. Hellenic forms of fancy captivated this youth, bred in the severe simplicity of Scottish Christian life, and probably went far to render distasteful to him the prospect which to his family was the ideal of his worldly success. Thus, indeed, he writes:—

'Oh many a time with Ovid have I borne  
My father's vain, yet well-meant reprimand,  
To leave the sweet-air'd, clover-purpled land  
Of rhyme—its Lares loftily forlorn,  
With all their pure humanities unworn—  
To batten on the bare Theologies!  
To quench a glory lighted at the skies,  
Fed on one essence with the silver morn,  
Were of all blasphemies the most insane.  
So deplieer given to the delicious spell  
I clung to thee, heart-soothing Poesy!  
Now on a sick-bed rack'd with arrowy pain  
I lift white hands of gratitude, and cry,  
Spirit of God in Milton! was it well?'

Thus, again, at the last he finds consolation in the familiar adage of the 'tender Grecian trust':—

"Whom the gods love die young." The thought  
is old;

And yet it soothed the sweet Athenian mind.  
I take it with all pleasure, overbold,  
Perhaps, yet to its virtue much inclined  
By an inherent love for what is fair.

This is the utter poetry of woe—  
That the bright-flashing gods should cure despair  
By love, and make youth precious here below.'

Mr. Hedderwick describes the deceased poet as singularly attractive in person and in manner, with large lustrous eyes and a complexion of feminine delicacy. His character was irreproachable and his poverty was accompanied with scrupulous honour

and a strong sense of independence. His deep natural affections and respect for his humble home mingle with all his most vagrant imaginations and extravagant desires. His was a thoroughly pure mind in the midst of every vision. The faithful friend and editor thus describes his last resting-place:—

'Not far from Merkland, on an elevation, a short distance from the highway, there is situated a lonely place of sepulture, surrounded by a low, rude wall of stone, with a little watch-tower over the entrance-gate, useful for shelter and observation during nights, long since bygone, when graveyards were broken into and plundered, but now occupied with the few implements necessary for the performance of the last mortal rites. It has neither church nor house attached, and is known as the "Auld Aisle Burying-ground." With the poet it had been a favourite place of resort and meditation. He could see from it the Luggie, the Bothlin burn, the Woodilee farm, all the localities which he most loved. There, as appeared from the dates on the grave-stones, had the bones of his ancestors reposed for above two hundred years; and thither, on the Saturday after his death, were his own remains carried—on handspokes, after the old Scotch fashion—followed by about thirty mourners. The wintry day had been lowering, but the hour of the funeral was brightened with gleams of clear sunshine, and in the midst of many regrets, yet of some soothing, all that was mortal of David Gray was laid deep in the mould, near a solitary ash-tree—the only tree in the place—now bare and disconsolate, but ere long to break into foliage, and be an aviary for the songs of summer.'

We hope that some unpretending memorial will indicate this spot to posterity. Hardly may these verses reach so far; but who can measure the echoes of true poetic thought and feeling reverberating through the hearts of generations yet to come?

ART. XI.—1. *History of the Church of England from the death of Elizabeth to the present time.* By the Rev. G. G. PERRY, M.A., Rector of Waddington, late Fellow and Tutor of Lincoln College, Oxford. (In three vols.) Vol. I. London: 1861.

2. *The Church and the Nonconformists of 1662. An Account of the Expulsion of the Puritans from the Church of England, and the efforts made to restore them.* By the Rev. D. MOUNTFIELD, M.A., Incumbent of Oxon, Salop. London: 1861.

THE arrival of the Bicentenary of 1662, the date of the last and most stringent of the

Acts of Uniformity, and of the Tercentenary of 1562, when the present Canons and Articles were first agreed to by the Clergy, has for some months past excited the attention both of the Church of England and of the other religious bodies in the country, inducing them to review the history of the past, and to re-examine the principles which still divide them. The organs of the different denominations have long been recurring to this subject, and sounding the note of preparation for some marked effort to be made this year by the Nonconformists. At the great meetings of last autumn plans were brought forward and memorials proposed, with the view of exciting and keeping alive the feelings which the occasion suggests. And though we believe that no definite (or at any rate no united) plan of action has been agreed upon, an organised agitation has already been commenced, and there is no doubt that the subject will be the theme of innumerable sermons and lectures and pamphlets, thickening as the season advances, and dwelling with louder and louder emphasis on the recollections of "Black Bartholomew's day."

At such a moment we too are impelled to offer some remarks, not with the view of advocating this or that system of church policy, but with the hope of clearing the ground in some measure for future reconciliation and union, by dwelling on the warnings which the retrospect of the past affords. We are deeply convinced that this retrospect ought to be one of humiliation to all parties, rather than of self-gratulation to any; and on whichever side the balance of blame may be supposed to lie, we earnestly deprecate the exultant and retaliatory spirit, which is too apt to show itself in those who think that they can claim a moral advantage over their opponents. Few Churchmen will now deny that the proceedings of 1662 were as discreditable to the ruling party as they proved disastrous to the nation; and Dissenters, while pointing with justifiable pride to the character and demeanour of the most prominent of the ejected ministers, still cannot forget the history of the twenty years preceding, and must even confess that captiousness and presumption and trifling disputatiousness were but too evident in the conduct of their leaders at the very crisis of their fate.

But this being so, is it not more profitable for both sides to draw from the retrospect in question lessons of moderation and mutual forbearance rather than of repulsion and alienation? And is it quite beyond hope that such lessons may not end in sentiment only, but promote a practical advance to-

wards a better state of things? We dare not indulge in too sanguine expectations, nor connect these too closely with the occurrence of a centenary. The great clock of time rarely strikes at the exact moment when the hands point to a completed hour. But as the observance of an era naturally and necessarily draws attention to the events which it commemorates, it should be the care of all who strive to influence public opinion, so to use the occasion that progress may be made towards the desired result, even though that result may be yet far distant.

Much might be done at such a time by the rulers of the Church. A general willingness on the part of the bishops and clergy to make advances might yet work wonders. Never has there been so widely spread and earnest a desire among different sections of Christians to attain a substantial unity. Even where conflicting opinions and traditional maxims of sect render the prospect almost hopeless, still the *desire* is strongly felt. How that unity is at last to be realised is a problem which we believe it is as yet impossible to solve. But we are sure that nothing will tend so much to its solution as the manifestation on all sides of forbearance and trustfulness. We deeply regret to see indications of another spirit in some quarters within the Established Church; which the recollection of the wrongs inflicted in 1662, and never yet repaired, ought surely to dispel. Nor is it less deplorable to witness preparations on the part of the Dissenters to make this bicentenary a fresh occasion of disruption and hostility. There could scarcely be found a more inappropriate way of honouring the memory of Baxter, Howe, and Henry, than a systematic effort to organise Dissent in places where as yet it does not exist. Reverence for the character of these good men should remind all who claim to be their representatives and descendants, that the very example which they hold up for imitation dissuades and even condemns the course proposed. Rightly or wrongly, those excellent men deprecated, as earnestly as their persecutors, a breach of the unity of the National Church; nor did they doubt that the principle of such a Church was in itself sound and true. They saw so much danger and so much positive evil in rival and antagonistic communions, that they shrank from committing what they believed to be an offence against the common cause of Christianity. To whatever extent they were severally forced for conscience' sake into overt acts of separation, it was a state of things which they deeply lamented, and would gladly to the end have rectified. If experience has since justified, and indeed

necessitated, the separation (a conclusion which we cannot venture to dispute), yet surely such necessity is one to be deplored, and not to be gloried in. The present system of Dissent may amply admit of defence, upon principles of its own; but it ought not to be carried to greater lengths in the name of those who in the noblest spirit of self-sacrifice strove to avert and to prevent it.

It is our purpose now to trace briefly the steps by which the ecclesiastical laws of England assumed the stringency of the present system; drawing attention above all to the subscriptions and tests required of ordained ministers. We have so recently spoken of the Prayer-book and its offices, pointing out the slight modifications which we believe would open the way to a large comprehensiveness, that we will not again touch upon that part of the subject, but confine ourselves to the points where relaxation seems most urgently needed, and where also the present authorities of the Church show a greater willingness to make some little concession.

We cannot suppose that Lord Ebury intends to press the Bill 'to amend the regulations of public worship,' which he has just introduced into the House of Lords. Without affording appreciable relief to distressed consciences, or supplying any fresh inducement to Dissenters to avail themselves of the ministrations of the Church, it alarms and irritates by proposing to give to individual clergymen an almost boundless license in the distribution and curtailment of the Sunday services. But his other Bill, 'to amend the law respecting the declarations of assent to the use of the Book of Common Prayer,' is one, we think, which deserves the best consideration of the Legislature. Even if it does not go quite far enough, as we shall endeavour to show, it removes at least the most offensive provisions of Charles II.'s Act of Uniformity. And this alone would afford immense relief to many excellent members of the Church; and would be a pledge besides to those now excluded from its pale of a returning spirit of justice and charity, the effects of which, we are persuaded, would far exceed ordinary expectations.

We do not of course pretend to say, or profess to think, that if the restrictions we speak of were removed, there would be any such prospect now of healing the breaches of the Church as that which offered itself in 1660, and again in 1688. Many causes of Dissent would still remain untouched, some of ancient standing, others of newer development. Still of all measures of reparation this is the one most obviously suggested by the memories of 1662, and of all measures

of Church Reform it is in itself the one most urgently required. The present rules of subscription constitute the most insurmountable barrier which excludes (and we think unjustly excludes) those more moderate and large-minded Dissenters, like the late Mr. Sortain of Brighton, who are drawn in heart towards the Church and its ministry: and within the Church itself it is this restriction which exercises the most baneful influence; deterring (and that in an increasing degree) the nobler hearts and loftier minds among the youth of England from the service of the sanctuary; discrediting the clergy in the eyes of thoughtful laymen; and inflicting on clergymen themselves a lifelong injury, not the less mischievous because it is so commonly denied, and so often unsuspected. For is it not a sore injury, done to men of such high qualities and endowments as the English clergy generally, that there is one set of subjects upon which they are forbidden liberty, not of speech only, or of action, but of thought; one circle of subjects within which they are afraid even to think with fairness—the charmed circle guarded by the *ex animo* subscription, by the plenary 'assent and consent'—in approaching which truth must no longer be the first object sought, nor light the one thing most desired?

We shall not make much use of the works which are mentioned at the head of this article; though the first of them, at any rate, deserves a longer notice. Mr. Perry's book aims to supply a want hitherto unsatisfied, by giving a History of the Church of England in sufficient detail to make it interesting, without extending it to an unwieldy length. And to a certain measure this intention is fulfilled. But judging from the instalment before us, which embraces only the thirty-seven years from the death of Elizabeth to the meeting of the Long Parliament, we are at a loss to imagine how Mr. Perry is to bring us down to the present day in his third volume, as he promises to do, or even in his sixth. He would have done better, both for his own reputation and for the object which he professes to have in view, had he waited to complete his history, and to reconsider its proportions in detail, before publishing any part of it. As it is, we think many of the details extravagantly disproportionate to the scale of the proposed work. Nor can we commend the narrative as either attractive or masterly, nor speak with entire approbation of the tone which characterises it throughout. Mr. Perry is, we are glad to allow, both candid and tolerant, and even in some sense liberal; but his principles are nevertheless such as we cannot but designate as essentially sectarian; the

particular form of sectarianism in his case being that very prevailing one which sees all excellence in the Thirty-nine Articles and the Prayer-book combined, and would close the pale of the national communion accordingly, while freely allowing those who think improvement possible to betake themselves elsewhere.

We pass to the examination of our subject. We need not go back for this purpose to the reign of Henry VIII. There is probably no one in these days who would recur for principles of guidance to that particular stage of the Reformation; nor was it at so early a date that we find the beginnings of our present laws of subscription. In matters of religion Henry did but exchange the popery of Rome for the popery — we will not say of Lambeth, but of Greenwich. And he retained to the end the Roman Catholic notion of faith, as being the submissive reception by an unquestioning mind of dogmas imposed by authority. Hence the clergy, and the nation at large, the latter no less than the former, were expected to defer to the system of doctrine which the rulers of the Church were pleased to propound; this deference reaching its culminating point in the Act of 1540, which provided that 'whatever the Bishops and Divines, commissioned by the King, or others by him appointed, should determine concerning the Christian faith, should be believed and obeyed by all the King's subjects.'

Under Edward VI. a worthier conception prevailed, both of the nature of faith as essentially reasonable and personal, and of the proper position of the clergy, as depositaries of necessary truth for the benefit of the community; Cranmer and the other Fathers of the English Reformation having now the opportunity and the liberty of giving a religious rather than a political character to the movement.

In some respects, indeed, these men, to whom England owes so much, failed confessedly to understand and recognise the inalienable rights of conscience. With the 'Reformatio Legum' before us, and the recollection of the persecutions which they approved and instigated, we are far from adducing them as infallible guides in a matter in which the nineteenth century ought to have learned something in advance. Still their opinion and practice must necessarily have much weight with those who adhere to the principles of the English Reformation. And undoubtedly it adds considerable prestige to the plan of obligatory clerical subscription, that in the Eng-

lish Protestant Church the practice originated with Cranmer.

The Forty-two Articles (the originals of our present Thirty-nine) were agreed upon in the year 1552, and virtually, if not actually, confirmed by Convocation. After which Cranmer, following the precedent of the continental Reformers, and actuated more especially it would seem by the recommendation as well as the example of Calvin\*, pleaded with the Council by letter (Nov. 1552), 'beseeching their Lordships to be meanes unto the King's Majestie that all the Bishops may have authority from hym to cause all their preachers, archdeacons, deanes, prebendaries, parsons, vicars, ourates, with all their clergy, to subscribe to the said Articles.'† Accordingly, in June 1553 a royal circular letter was addressed to the bishops enjoining, as had been requested, the enforcement of subscription upon the clergy.

So far, doubtless, the advocates of the present system may appeal to Cranmer and to Edward VI. as having sanctioned and even originated it. But before this authority is quoted in support of the stringent obligations now in force, it is most important to see what the original demands amounted to. We quote from the King's letter, as given by Strype‡: —

'These Articles we will and exhort yourself to subscribe, and in your preachings and readings and teachings to observe; and cause to be subscribed and observed of all others which do or hereafter shall preach, teach, or read within your diocese. And if any person or persons, having benefice within your diocese, shall from henceforth not only refuse wilfully to set their hands to these articles, but also obstinately exhort their parochians to withstand the same, and teach the people in any contrary way, our pleasure is that being duly proved, ye shall advertise us or our council of the whole matter fully, to the intent that such further order may, by direction from us and our said council, be taken, as the cause shall require, and shall stand with justice and with the order of our laws. . . .

'And, further, that when, and as often as ye shall have any manner of person presented unto you, to be advanced by you as the Ordinary to any ecclesiastical order, ministry, office or cure within your diocese, ye shall, before ye admit him, confer with him in every these Articles; and, finding him thereto consenting, to cause him to subscribe the same in one lewger book, to be formed for that purpose; which may remain as a

\* See Calvin's letter to the Protector, Oct. 1548: and those subsequently addressed to Cranmer.

† Strype; Cranmer, Appendix, No. lxiv.

‡ Eccl. Memorials, Edw. VI. b. ii. c. 22.

§ Compare Cranmer's own assertion that 'against their will he compelled none.' (Miscell. Writings. Parker Society ed. p. 220.)

Register for a record; and to let him have a copy of the said Articles. And if any man in that case shall refuse to consent to any of the said Articles, and to subscribe the same, then we will and command you that neither you nor any of you, or by your procurancy in any wise, shall admit him or allow him as sufficient and meet to take any orders, ministry, or ecclesiastical cure. . . . And yet our meaning is, that if any party refuse to subscribe any of these Articles for lack of learning or of knowledge of the truth thereof, ye shall in any wise by teaching, conference, and proof of the same by the Scriptures, reasonably and discreetly move and persuade him thereto, before ye shall peremptorily judge him as unable and a recusant. And for the trial of his conformity ye shall, according to your discretion, prefix him a time and space convenient to deliberate and give his consent; so it be betwixt three weeks and six weeks from the time of his first access unto you. And if after six weeks he will not consent and agree willingly to subscribe, then ye may and lawfully shall in any wise refuse to admit or enable him.\*

Such were the mild and considerate regulations by which subscription was first imposed upon the ministers of the Reformed Church of England, and tempered to those who were in parochial cures already. Their enforcement would not have precluded the growth of a comprehensive National Church — a Church which should gradually learn, as experience demonstrated the necessity, to tolerate unavoidable and therefore admissible differences. And even, failing such progress, still had no further restrictions ever been imposed on clergymen, many a lamentable breach would have been averted; nor would there be just ground now for urgent remonstrance and complaint.

But not even thus much was enforced for something like twenty years. Before this mandate could take effect the King died; and in the rising flood of Romanism which followed, Articles, Subscription, and Reformation were alike swept away.

Elizabeth began her reign, as all will remember, with characteristic caution and reserve; but even when the re-institution of the reformed discipline was virtually decided on, great care was taken not to narrow unduly the limits of the Church. The Forty-two Articles were reserved for further consideration; and meanwhile no subscription to them was required of the clergy. The first Act of Uniformity makes no mention of them whatever, merely providing for the restoration of the amended Book of Common Prayer, and visiting with penalties such of the clergy and of the laity also as should neglect to use it or venture to speak in derogation of it.\*

This state of things lasted till 1562, certain provisional orders being issued in the interval. The principal of these, the Queen's *Injunctions*\*, published in 1559, having been drawn up by Smith and Cecil and other ministers of state, in concert with the leading Bishops, is a wise and moderate though decidedly Protestant paper, careful of the rights of conscience beyond what we could expect to find at a time when these rights were so little understood. This is at once the most deliberate and the most authoritative expression of the mind of the restored Protestant Church, and well deserves to be studied, as showing the temper and intentions with which the English Reformation commenced its new stage. Thus far the leaders in Church and State had acted harmoniously together. But left to themselves the bishops did less wisely. Under the name of 'Interpretations' they shortly afterwards published on their own authority a supplement to the *Injunctions*: containing a short summary of faith, to which (though quite unobjectionable to our Protestant belief) they somewhat unwarrantably required new ministers to subscribe; and adding a 'Declaration' to the same effect, consisting of eleven Articles, which still more unwarrantably they required parochial clergymen to read aloud in their churches, expressing full and voluntary assent to the same.† How far these orders were ever enforced, we have no means of knowing. But as they had neither synodical nor parliamentary, nor yet royal sanction, and were avowedly provisional only until the Articles should have been revised, they can no more be considered as Acts of the Church than episcopal manifestos of our own day; nor should we have noticed them at all, but for the fatal use which was afterwards made of them as precedents in the imposition of obligatory tests.

In about three years this intermediate state of things came to an end. The Articles of Religion, reduced very nearly to their present form, were 'agreed upon by the archbishops and bishops of both provinces, and by the whole clergy, in the Convocation holden at London in the year 1562;‡ and (as afterwards in 1571, though less completely and formally) were 'subscribed by the hands of the archbishops and bishops of the Upper House, and by the subscription of the whole clergy of the Nether House,‡ as the representatives of the whole clerical body. But this represent-

\* Cardwell's Documentary Annals, No. xliii.

† Cardwell's Documentary Annals, No. xli.

‡ Subscription and Ratification of the Thirty-nine Articles, in the Prayer Book.

\* 1. Eliz. c. 2.

ative assent was thought sufficient. Though a petition was presented in the Lower House of Convocation that all ministers and all graduates in the universities should be compelled to subscribe, the proposal was not admitted.\* Nor was any such necessity imposed afterwards, either by Act of Parliament, or by Royal ordinance; not even by the Advertisements of 1564 †, which, by insisting on the ceremonies and habiliments, caused the first open secession of Nonconformists; so that it long continued unnecessary for a clergyman to subscribe the Articles either at his ordination, or on his admission to a benefice. What may have been required in every case by individual bishops, it is, of course, impossible to say. We know that their practice and requirements varied. If Parkhurst of Norwich, for instance, and Pilkington of Durham, exacted no more than what the law required, there were other prelates who imposed harder terms. But whatever they did, was done by a separate exercise of their episcopal authority, unsupported even by the express sanction of the Crown. In the eye of the law, both statute and canonical, clergymen continued free from any such obligation till the year 1571. The Articles in fact might still be regarded, not as an inquisitorial test of opinion, but as the utterance of the parental wisdom of the Church, given for the benefit and instruction both of ministers and of people. The very form in which they were subscribed by the Houses of Convocation themselves in 1562, shows a graduated assumption of the right to pronounce upon them even in the legislative body. While the bishops say, 'Hos articulos . . . nos archiepiscopi et episcopi recipimus et profiteamur, et ut veros et orthodoxos manuum nostrarum subscriptionibus approbanus;' the clergy of the Lower House more modestly add, 'Hi quorum nomina sequuntur propriis manibus subscripserunt libello articulorum à reverendis-imo Archiepiscopo Cant. et episcopis Provinciæ Cant. ad inferiorem domum Convocationis transmissis.' ‡

It is impossible to trace with perfect accuracy, and hard to trace at all, so delicate a thread as that which we are endeavouring to follow, through the coarse tissues of the contests that ensued. No party, in fact, cared much about the matter, except in so far as it bore upon immediate results. The Vestibarian controversy had already begun, and was soon raging at its height, about sur-

plices and rochets and four-cornered caps; and in comparison with these disputes the rights of conscience and the laws of thought were treated as matters only of incidental importance. Even Parker, superior as he was to the ordinary ecclesiastical level, was soon provoked by his adversaries and stimulated by Elizabeth into a course of conduct and a state of mind unworthy of his former self, and brought often into antagonism with the great statesmen with whom he had at first been associated.

On this unsatisfactory footing things continued till the year 1571: when Parliament, zealous for the maintenance of the Protestant cause, endangered afresh by the excommunicatory bull of Pope Pius V., and taking advantage of the Queen's fears on that account to overcome thus far her dislike of their interference in matters ecclesiastical, passed and obtained the royal assent to the Bill, which we may designate Elizabeth's second Act of Uniformity.\* So far as subscription is concerned its regulations were as follows:—

'§ 1. Every person, under the degree of bishop, who doth or shall pretend to be a priest or minister of God's Holy Word and Sacraments, by reason of any other form of institution, consecration or ordering, than the form set forth by Parliament in the time of the late King Edward VI. . . . shall before Christmas next, in the presence of the bishop, . . . declare his assent and subscribe to all the Articles of Religion, which only concern the confession of the true Christian faith and the doctrine of the Sacraments, comprised in a book imprinted, entitled "Articles whereupon it was agreed by the Archbishops and Bishops of both provinces, and the whole Clergy in the Convocation holden at London, in the year 1562, &c.;" and shall bring from such bishop a testimonial of such assent and subscription; and openly on some Sunday . . . read both the said Testimonial and the said Articles upon pain [of *ipso facto* deprivation].

'§ 2. If any person ecclesiastical shall advisedly maintain or affirm any doctrine contrary or repugnant to any of the said Articles, and being convented before the bishop . . . shall persist therein, or not revoke his error . . . such maintaining shall be just cause to deprive such person of his ecclesiastical promotions.

'§ 3. And no person shall hereafter be admitted to any benefice with cure, except he be then of the age of twenty-three years at least and a deacon, and shall have first subscribed the said Articles in presence of the Ordinary, and publicly read the same in the parish church of that benefice, with declaration of his unfeigned assent to the same.

'§ 5. None shall be made a minister, or ad-

\* 13 Eliz. c. 12. 'An Act for the Ministers of the Church to be of sound religion.' This Act was stated by Lord Stowell in *Stone's case* to be 'in viridi observantia,' and has recently been put in force in the case of Mr. Heath.

\* Strype, Annals (Part I. c. 30.).

† Cardwell, Documentary Annals, No. lxx.

‡ Strype, Annals. (Part I. c. 28.).

mitted to preach or administer the Sacraments . . . unless he bring first to the bishop, from men known to the bishop to be of sound religion, a testimonial both of his honest life, and of his professing the doctrines expressed in the said Articles . . . and be able to render an account of his faith in Latin, according to the said Articles . . . nor shall be admitted to the order of deacon or minister, unless he shall first subscribe to the said Articles.'

Here then at last we have the law of ministerial subscription settled clearly and authoritatively, and this almost exactly as Cranmer originally intended. It was an arrangement with which all parties ought to have been satisfied, each component part of the church and realm of England having been allowed herein the full exercise of its proper functions. The Articles had been drawn up by learned and approved divines and bishops, and afterwards confirmed by the synod of the whole clergy, ratified by the Queen, accepted by Parliament: and now their bearing upon the rights of persons and the liberties of the commonwealth was in turn defined by the Legislature, not without the assent of the Lords Spiritual who represented the clerical estate, and of the sovereign who was 'over all causes ecclesiastical as well as civil supreme.' But, unhappily, so fair and just a settlement did not satisfy the ruling powers of the Church. The Convocation, hardly less than the Crown, was jealous of the action of Parliament; and a contest immediately began, which was destined to be prolonged through three generations. The records of the proceedings of Convocation at this juncture are scanty, and forbid us to speak with all the certainty we should desire. But the dates and facts which are ascertained have a curious significance of their own. On the very day after the Bill which we have described was sent up from the Commons to the Lords (May 4. 1571), Convocation resolved in a secret conference to reconsider and republish the Articles of Religion, thus making them, technically, and to some extent substantially, a different document from that which Parliament was engaged upon; and, with a strange disrespect for the Legislature, proceeded later in the month ('secretè, semotis omnibus arbitris') to frame amongst other 'constitutions,' an Order of their own for the regulation of clerical subscription.\* The considerate provisions of the

Act, confining obligatory assent to those Articles, 'which only concern the confession of the true Christian faith and the doctrine of the Sacraments,' and intentionally excepting matters of ceremony, discipline, and the like,\* were deliberately contravened; and an absolute submission, approaching in stringency to that which is now enforced, was demanded instead. Had the Queen by her licence and approval under the Broad Seal given the force of canons to these orders of Convocation, they would doubtless have accomplished the purpose of their framers, and would practically have superseded the statute law so far as the clergy were concerned. But Elizabeth seems to have been as jealous of Convocation as both she and this latter body were of the Parliament. The course which she adopted was a strange one. She confirmed the revised Book of Articles, thereby (whether intentionally or not) invalidating to a great extent the Act of Parliament to which she had just assented; but peremptorily refused to ratify the other proceedings of Convocation, which remained therefore as devoid of force as any similar resolutions emanating now from the Jerusalem Chamber. The consequence was, that the rules of subscription were once more rendered doubtful, disputable, and variable. The stricter bishops claimed to enforce the so-called Canons of 1571; and the Court of High Commission, when brought into action, was invariably on their side. But the claim was one which could not have been sustained in the ordinary Ecclesiastical Courts. The only law really in existence was the statute of which we have just cited the provisions.

It is very noticeable too, that during all this time no *form* of subscription was prescribed, whether by statute, by canon, or by royal ordinance: though the word 'assent' was introduced by the Act of 1571. The written form, if any form were employed at all, seems to have been confined to the bare enunciation of the fact. We have an instance of the usual practice at the end of a document emanating from Convocation in the year 1575, itself a modified repetition of

\* See Cardwell's *Synodalia*, vol. i., Articles Nov. Canons No. i.; Vol. ii. No. xi., and Hardwick's *Hist. of the Articles*. Collier, and even Strype, seem to have been unaware of these dates, or at any rate to have overlooked their significance. So, too, does Neal, though fully alive to the *animus* of the Convocation.

\* That this was the *intention* of the statute is clearly proved by Hallam (*Const. Hist.* ch. 4.), though Collier and other High Church writers maintain (and perhaps correctly) that the qualifying phrase of the first section was held by the lawyers not to apply to the following sections. However this may be, Sir E. Coke's judgment (*Inst.* part iv. c. 74.), quoted by Collier and those who follow him, proves nothing of the sort, but merely that the Act did not admit of a *conditional* subscription qualified by the reservation 'so far forth as the Articles are agreeable to the Word of God.'



the Orders of 1571. 'To all which Articles we the said Archbishop and Bishops have assented, and subscribed our several names with our proper hands.\*'

Thus far in Elizabeth's reign the Primate had been Parker; a prelate, who though justly revered by his own and by succeeding generations for his learning, his integrity, and his statesmanlike qualities, yet allowed himself to be led into harshness unworthy of his character, by the impatience natural to a man of strong sense and stern disposition when harassed by the vexatious scruples of the earlier Puritans. He had been very active for some time past in suspending or silencing the non-conforming clergy, using unsparingly the formidable powers of the High Commission Court for that purpose; and at the time of his death, in 1575, he was vigorously engaged in the suppression of the prophesyings, or doctrinal conferences of the clergy, which, however useful (as Bacon justly maintained) for the training and improvement of individual ministers, were dreaded both by Parker and Elizabeth (and probably with good reason) as encouraging the new doctrines of Presbyterianism, which Cartwright was now advocating with more than Genevan intolerance.

His successor in the Primacy, the gentle and exemplary Grindal, took, as will be remembered, an exactly opposite view of this matter; and so grievously offended his arbitrary sovereign by pleading for the practice which she had condemned, that he spent many years of his life in disgrace, and narrowly escaped degradation from his office. So far as his authority and influence prevailed, the rules of clerical subscription were not pressed during his time beyond the requirements of the law, and perhaps were allowed to fall below them.

But Grindal's death (1583) brings us to the turning point in the history of the Church of England. Queen Elizabeth, whose jealous and arbitrary character was now assuming its most repulsive aspect, and who was yielding less and less to the judgment and advice of her wiser counsellors, had long had her eye upon a prelate well fitted to be her instrument in carrying out her policy of government, in one direction at least. While the Roman Catholics were left to the cruel action of the penal laws, the Puritans were given over to the correcting hands of Whitgift.

Archbishop Whitgift is the especial favourite of Strype, and is regarded with approbation by most of our ecclesiastical

historians, including writers so different as Collier and Bishop Short. That he had several good qualities is certain. We quite concede Mr. Perry's claim on his behalf, that he may be acquitted of inhumanity and vindictiveness, and must be allowed to have done good service in protecting the temporalities of the Church. But without altogether subscribing to the judgment of his contemporary antagonists, we fully coincide with Hallam, and almost with Macaulay, in our estimate of him and of his measures. Narrow, opinionated, disputatious—ready to push all his propositions to their utmost conclusions, by aid of a logic, which, if sometimes acute, was always one-sided, and impatient of the modifications which moral reason can never dispense with,—he was enabled and incited by the powers put within his hands to assail and crush that party in the Church with which for many years he had been engaged in controversy. In this direction, unhappily, he was allowed and encouraged to do all that he desired; in another direction, fortunately for the Church, he was stopped at once by the imperious interposition of Elizabeth. For the famous Lambeth Articles, embodying the extremest doctrines of Calvinism, were drawn up under his sanction and with his co-operation; whence the name by which they are known. So that, could he have had his way in all respects, the communion of the Church of England would have been narrowed to those peculiar few who could contrive to unite the faith of the school of Calvin with the reception of all that is in the Prayer-book; to reconcile the tenets of Supralapsarianism with the sacerdotal pretensions of the Ordination Service and the dogma of Baptismal Regeneration.

A few months after his elevation Whitgift published his memorable Orders to the Church, unlegalised by the direct warrant of the Crown, but with the Queen's avowed approbation. Amongst other things, it was enjoined in these Orders,—

'That none be permitted to preach, read, catechise, minister the Sacraments, or to execute any other ecclesiastical function, by what authority soever he be admitted thereunto, unless he consent and subscribe to these Articles following, before the Ordinary of the diocese wherein he preacheth, readeth, catechiseth, or ministreth the Sacraments, viz. :—

'I. That her Majestie, under God, hath and ought to have the sovereigntie and rule over all manner of persons born within her realmes, dominions, and countries, of what estate ecclesiastical or temporal soever they be; and that no foreign power, prelate, state, or potentate, hath or ought to have any jurisdiction, power, superiority, pre-eminence or authoritie, ecclesiastical or

\* Strype's Grindal; Appendix, b. ii. No. 4.

temporal, within her Majesty's said realmes, dominions, and countries.

'II. That the Book of Common Prayer, and of ordering bishops, prestes, and deacons, conteyneth nothing in it contrary to the word of God, and that the same may lawfully be used, and that he himself will use the forme of the said book prescribed in public prayer, and administration of the Sacraments, and none other.

'III. That he alloweth the book of Articles of Religion, agreed upon by the archbishops and bishops of both provinces, and the whole clergy in the Convocation holden at London in the yere of our Lord God M. D. LXII., and set forth by her Majesty's authoritie, and that he believeth all the Articles contained therein to be agreeable to the word of God.\*

As these three Articles form the first authoritative precedent of the system which was afterwards carried to greater lengths, and which is still maintained in the English Church, it is peculiarly important to notice them minutely. Setting aside the first as foreign to our present subject, and as amounting to no more indeed than had been prescribed in the Oath of Supremacy imposed by statute, we remark that these requirements of Whitgift introduced three new demands on clergymen in their mode of assent to the formularies of the Church.

1. They made no distinction, as the statute law directed, (and here was the chief complaint of the Puritans) between those Articles which 'concerned Christian faith and the doctrines of the Sacrament,' on one side, and those on the other which related merely to matters ceremonial, ecclesiastical, and political; requiring that all alike should be pronounced 'agreeable to the word of God.'

2. By the introduction of this last phrase they altered the whole character of subscription, making it no longer to be the avowal of a deferential reception of doctrines systematised and authenticated by the Church, which the subscriber might be content to feel that he was not altogether capable of judging about; and throwing upon him individually the necessity and responsibility of comparing everything with the words of Scripture, and forming an independent judgment upon it; while, nevertheless, it was demanded of him that this judgment

should exactly coincide with the foregone conclusions of the Church.

3. Besides this additional burden thrown upon thoughtful and conscientious minds,—a burden which they would feel exactly in proportion as they were conscientious and thoughtful—an entirely new test was devised by treating the Book of Common Prayer as a separate body of dogmatical divinity to which assent was to be required. It was no longer sufficient to obey the regulations and use the prescribed forms of the Church. Approval must now be expressly declared of the whole Book of Common Prayer, even of those parts of it which Roman Catholics call the *Pontifical*, parts with which an ordinary clergyman is nowise concerned in the fulfilment of his parochial duties.

It may appear indeed at first sight that it was very little to ask of a clergyman of the Church, that he should pronounce the Prayer-book which he used, to 'contain nothing contrary to the word of God;' and certainly the expression is a mild one, in comparison with that which is enacted now. But it must be remembered (and this was the reason why Whitgift introduced the clause, and hence the special mention of the Ordinal) that the controversy was then at its highest respecting the Presbyterian scheme of Church government; and that multitudes of the clergy were either convinced that such was the scriptural model, or were at any rate wavering in judgment between contending arguments. To force them at such a time, by a sudden and arbitrary summons, to pronounce upon a point of ecclesiastical polity unconnected with their own personal duties, was (to say the least) a cruel as well as an unwise proceeding. It led to deplorable consequences. But we deplore it most as the first fatal precedent which has perpetuated its evil effects to the present day—which first ranged the Book of Common Prayer by the side of the Articles as a co-ordinate body of doctrine, and imposed upon all English clergymen a declaration of entire approval of its contents, as an indispensable condition of admittance to the ministry.

Whitgift's measures were not carried into effect without a generous opposition from the wiser and more liberal statesmen, to whose counsels the prosperity of Elizabeth's reign is mainly due. A remonstrance was addressed to him by the council, bearing, amongst others, the names of Burleigh, Walsingham, and even Hatton, entreating him not to enforce these ill-advised and indeed illegal Orders. But to no effect. Whitgift knew that he was backed by his

\* Cardwell's Documentary Annals, xcix. Whitgift habitually asserted that his Articles were no more than the law had required since the beginning of the Queen's reign. But the only foundation for this statement of his (besides the arbitrary demands of the Courts of High Commission) is to be found in the 'Interpretations' and 'Declaration,' set forth by the bishops in 1559, documents (as we have seen) of no legal validity in themselves, and intended to be provisional only. These former orders had evidently been aimed against Romanising ministers, through the influence of the stronger Protestant party. So sure is intolerance to recoil upon itself!

self-willed and jealous mistress, and he returned a haughty answer to her discomfited councillors. Nor, as may be supposed, did the more pathetic remonstrances of the clergy on whom he enforced his Articles weigh with him any more. Many of these were ready to submit to all which human rulers have a right to command. In vain they represented that—

‘We in all reverence judge of the authority which is established, and the persons who were the authors of those books [Common Prayer, Ordinal, &c.], that they did not only speak, but also did highly to the glory of God promote the true religion of God and the glorious Gospel of Jesus Christ; and that *we so esteem of those books that there is nothing in them to cause us to separate ourselves from the unity of the Church*; which in the execution of our ministry, in participation of the public prayers and sacraments we have in our own example testified, and by public doctrine maintained. . . . And lastly, that we have and always will show ourselves obedient to her Majesty’s authority in all causes, ecclesiastical and civil, to whomsoever it be committed.\*

Such submission as this, the submission of free and reflecting minds, would not content Whitgift. He would crush the exercise of independent thought in ‘the inferior sort of clergy;’ he would force them to a humiliating adoption of his own narrow line of opinion. When he condescended to argue with these unlearned persons, who ‘being such as they were, dared to the greatest authority in the land, next to her Majesty, so boldly offer themselves thus to reason and dispute,’ it was to treat them to such arguments as follow. We give his own self-landatory summary of them.†

1. ‘If you subscribe not to the Article concerning the Book of Common Prayer, then by necessary consequence must follow there is not the true service of God, and right administration of the Sacraments in the land.’

2. ‘If you subscribe not to the book of Ordering Ministers, then it followeth your calling is unlawful, and the Papists’ arrangement is good. No calling—no ministry—no church.’

3. ‘If not to the last Article, then you deny the doctrine to be established in the Church of England, which is the main note of the churches. And so I see no reason why I should persuade the Papists to our religion, and to come to our church, seeing we will not allow it ourselves.’

These Articles, which their author thus attempted to justify, were, as we have seen, imposed on all ministers alike, under pain of suspension and deprivation. Nor was Whitgift satisfied with even these means of reach-

ing the disaffected or suspected clergy. The Court of High Commission, founded on the Act 1 Eliz. c. i., which on various occasions before this had been called into temporary existence, was now more permanently and formidably constituted with augmented powers for the discovery and punishment of heresy and schism, and with a view, above all, to clerical offenders.

‘Master of such tremendous machinery,’ writes Hallam, ‘the archbishop proceeded to call into action one of its powers, contained for the first time in the present commission, by tendering what was technically styled the oath *ex officio* to such of the clergy as were surmised to harbour a spirit of puritanical disaffection. This procedure, which was wholly founded on the Canon Law, consisted in a series of interrogations, so comprehensive as to embrace the whole scope of clerical conformity, yet so precise and minute as to leave no room for evasion, to which the suspected person was bound to answer upon oath. So repugnant was this to our rules of English law, and to the principles of natural equity, that no species of ecclesiastical tyranny seems to have excited so much indignation. Lord Burleigh, who, though at first rather friendly to Whitgift, was soon disgusted by his intolerant and arbitrary behaviour, wrote in strong terms of remonstrance against these articles of examination, as “so curiously penned, so full of branches and circumstances, as he thought the inquisitors of Spain used not so many questions to comprehend and to trap their preys.”’\*

It is not our purpose to enter further into the executive details of Whitgift’s primacy; but we think it necessary to dwell on the points we have adduced, and emphatically to call attention to them, because they illustrate so forcibly the *animus* with which the three Articles were drawn up, and mark the true nature of that change in the terms and the significance of clerical subscription, which dates from this disastrous period. Unhappily, Whitgift’s Articles have been taken as the model of the formula, which has been in use ever since within the Church of England, and still continue almost verbatim to be imposed upon every ordained minister.

It is urged by the admirers and apologists of Whitgift that the Church was at this time in so lamentable and disgraceful a state of insubordination, that it required severe measures and the strong hand of a determined ruler to bring it to the requisite order. There is doubtless much truth in the statement. We are not for a moment defending the self-willed license assumed by those who disobey legitimate authority, and set at nought the rules which they are bound and even pledged to observe; nor

\* Petition of Kentish Ministers. Fuller’s Ch. Hist. b. ix. s. ct. v.

† Strype; Whitgift, b. iii. ch. 3.

\* Hallam’s Const. Hist. ch. iv.

do we plead for those who avail themselves of the advantages of an establishment which at the same time they denounce as anti-Christian. We have little sympathy for Cartwright, and still less for Brown. Had Whitgift employed the utmost rigour and determination to enforce conformity to the rites and the Liturgy of the Church, and even to repress the advocacy by clergymen of principles contrary to the authorised formularies—formularies which they were bound to respect—we should have nothing to urge against the justice, and but little against the expediency, of such proceedings. Expediency indeed, and Christian wisdom also, would have suggested care and gentleness even in such a course. Still it was one which Whitgift might justly have adopted. Nor did the leading members of the Council, though always inclined to milder measures, show themselves backward or unwilling to support him, as they had supported Parker before him, in the exercise of his just authority. But he preferred (and it is a preference, unhappily, to which ecclesiastical rulers in all ages are too generally prone) to detect and destroy the germs of disaffection, heedless of what he destroyed together with them—heedless of outraged consciences, and violated liberty of thought, and flagrant departure from the principles of the Reformation of which he professed himself the champion.

And the consequences of the policy which he inaugurated were the alienation from the National Church of thousands, besides those whom he ejected, of the bolder and more independent spirits, and the intellectual and moral deterioration of almost all who remained within—consequences which bore their worst fruits half a century afterwards in the strong antipathies and mutual intolerance which marked contending parties in the civil wars; consequences which have been perpetuated, though in a milder form, even to our own day, and are still reproduced by the refusal of the Church to abandon the policy then begun.

Whitgift was succeeded in the second year of James I. by Archbishop Bancroft; a prelate concerning whom we are content to accept the verdict of so good a Churchman as Mr. Perry—that 'it is difficult to dwell on his character with satisfaction and pleasure;' and that 'he had the strictness of Whitgift without his geniality.'

We shall not dwell on this melancholy period of Church history, nor dilate on the mockery of justice and of free discussion witnessed at the Hampton Court Conference, the disgraceful adulation offered to James by the bishops with Bancroft at their

head, and the passing of the Canons of 1604, which the Church only screens at this day from the indignation of the laity by prudently keeping them in a seemingly obscurity. But on one of these Canons (the thirty-sixth) we must dwell particularly, since it forms an essential link in the series of legislative encroachments which we are tracing. The canon in question confirms almost verbatim the three articles of Whitgift which we have quoted above, requiring that they be subscribed by every person admitted to deacon's orders, or to the exercise of any ecclesiastical functions; while at the same time it makes the third article more stringent still, by substituting for the last clause the words, 'He acknowledgeth all and every the Articles therein contained, being in number nine and thirty, besides the ratification, to be agreeable to the word of God.'

But this is not all. An important addition was also made to the form of subscription. The authorities had discovered that some unfortunate clergymen had managed to reconcile it with their consciences to comply with the requirements forced upon them, although recusant at heart, on the plea that they were submitting to the powers to which they owed obedience. The plea was doubtless an evasion, such as is often occasioned by unwise and oppressive laws; yet such as it was, it might have been tacitly conceded to those who had availed themselves of it. But no: this would not satisfy the rulers of the Church. The form now prescribed as indispensable was, 'I, N. N., do *willingly* and *ex animo* subscribe to these three Articles, and to all things that are contained in them.' And this fresh form of subscription having been made obligatory upon all preachers, catechisers, lecturers, &c., even those who had passed through the former ordeal, England once more was doomed to witness a wholesale ejection of her best and most conscientious ministers.

We are glad to observe that Mr. Perry has a heart to feel for 'the painstaking and earnest-minded pastors who were ejected by the new *ex animo* subscription.' But when he proceeds to excuse this cruelty on the ground that the very victims of it approved the principal of non-tolerance which prompted it, we must stop to challenge this statement. In the first place, we deny the fact, remembering the tone of the Millenary petition and the avowed principles of many of the ejected ministers. It is not fair to point to the noisiest and most violent members of a class as the representatives of all who suffered with them. But even if it could be

shown that in the matter of intolerance there was little to choose between Bancroft and his victims, what is the legitimate conclusion to draw from this? Is it not that we do ill in the nineteenth century to follow examples which need apology even in the seventeenth? Granting such excuse as may be found for these proceedings in the plea that men at that time knew no better; are we, therefore, to accept what was then done as a precedent which we are still bound to approve and to follow? The argument is most paradoxical. Yet such is, in fact, the inference which is drawn by those who resist reform in this matter. Arguing first that Whitgift and Bancroft may be excused, their apologists assume as their conclusion that they ought also to be imitated! The Church is still condemned to the evil course which in evil days it entered on. The formula which must still be subscribed by every young deacon of the English Church consists of the three Articles of Whitgift, pointed afresh by the cruel ingenuity of the Convocation of 1604.

It is true that had the other party in the Church obtained the mastery at this time, and acquired the power of doing what they pleased, the result in all probability would have been equally disastrous—perhaps would have been still more disastrous. The cause of liberty in the Church of England would have suffered still more in the hands of the Presbyterians than in those of the Episcopalians. The victory of the latter has, we believe, been favourable on the whole to freedom of thought and of opinion. Still this cannot blind us to the faults of the victorious party; and least of all to the faults of those prelates who, had they been worthy of their position, would have risen far above the vulgar herd. Nor can we forget that there were even then some who could understand and advocate the principles of toleration, and (what is better still) of a wise and Christian comprehensiveness. Cecil and his fellow-statesmen (as we have seen) were in this respect beyond their age; and the son of one of those statesmen, the great Bacon himself, had already at the time we have now reached, wrought out the conclusions of his profound and unrivalled wisdom,—holding forth a light which even now the Church is slow to recognise,—a light which was kindled afresh in the next generation by Hales and Chillingworth and Selden, not unsupported by the noble band of Christian patriots of whom Falkland was the noblest.

We hasten over the history of the next sixty years; for, eventful as these were in the annals of the Church, they present little or nothing to detain us in respect of the sin-

gle point which we are illustrating. Even Laud's primacy, though affording a notable example of the consequences of carrying out the policy against which we protest, yet added nothing permanently to the stringency of subscription, or to the tests imposed upon clergymen. Nothing permanently; for it is not Laud's fault that there remains not to this day, superadded to the obligatory forms of assent and consent, the necessity of taking 'an oath for the prevention of all innovations in doctrine and government.' This oath, which was enjoined by the Canons of 1640, and required not only of every ecclesiastical person whatever, but of all graduates of the universities, is usually called the *Et cetera* Oath; because it bound every one who took it 'never to consent to alter the government of the Church by archbishops, bishops, deans, archdeacons, *etcetera*.' Decried by the memorable Convocation of 1640, which continued to sit and legislate in the summer of that year, after Charles had dissolved his refractory Parliament, it marks the extreme limit of arrogance reached by the ecclesiastical authorities, and was speedily followed by the severe retribution which not only swept away the *etceteras* from the Established Church, but all the ancient formularies, and episcopal government itself. Theoretically it is still a nice point of law whether these canons of 1640, having been passed under the authority of the Crown, are not equally binding on the clergy as those of 1604. Happily the oath in question was not re-imposed by the Act of Uniformity in 1662; though, in addition to all other forms of subscription previously devised for coercing consciences, that Act provided a fresh one, the most burdensome of all.

We will not attempt a narrative of the ecclesiastical events which accompanied the Restoration. Seasonable as it might be on the present occasion, we have not space to combine it with the object we have more immediately in hand. Every one is familiar with the main facts of the case, as recorded by our civil hardly less than our ecclesiastical historians. The best account will be found in the calm, wise pages of Hallam, and those of our living historian of the Puritans, Marsden. The promised publications of the Nonconformists will throw additional light upon these proceedings, which all lovers of truth will welcome, though with some necessary caution. For the temporary purposes of special information we can strongly recommend Mr. Mountfield's pamphlet, cited at the head of this article. It is an expanded version of a lecture lately delivered; and we should rejoice to see it widely circulated both among Churchmen

and Dissenters. Mr. Mountfield brings together very effectively some of the less well known details of the story; though the story is itself, of course, the old and oft-repeated one,—of the advances made by Charles to the Presbyterians, through whose friendly assistance indeed his restoration was very principally effected,—the declarations which he issued, both from Breda, and still more specifically after his return, breathing the very spirit of wise Christian toleration,—the temporising policy both of himself and of his ministers when he found that popular opinion favoured the adoption of exclusive and vindictive measures,—and the treatment which the weaker party met with accordingly when handed over to Sheldon and the Episcopalians,—how they were cajoled, deceived, and trifled with at the so-called Savoy Conference; drawn artfully into the line of conduct which was then made the pretext for refusing all concessions whatever; betrayed by the imprudent eagerness and culpable self-confidence of Baxter into demands and representations which their opponents could justly stigmatise as unreasonable;—till at last, when their scruples had been ascertained and so plainly avowed as to render retreat impossible, the fatal Act of Uniformity was framed with the studied intention of ejecting them; and 2000 clergymen, including the best and holiest and most honoured ministers of the Church, were cast out from their cures and from their homes, without even the pittance which the Long Parliament had granted to their predecessors in misfortune.

It does not concern us to touch upon the other provisions of the Act in question; nor to notice in detail the injuries inflicted by it and kindred enactments on the original sufferers. Our subject confines our attention to the additional demands it made upon conforming clergymen, not only of that but of future generations. It is this Act, 13 & 14 Car. 2 c. 4., which still rules the conditions of clerical communion within the English Church, and which has developed the measures which preceded it into the full stringency of the present system. It gives the sanction of statute law to the thirty-sixth canon by recognising its binding force in the case of all applicants for deacon's orders; and it imposes further upon every clergyman instituted to a benefice, on pain of *ipso facto* deprivation, the necessity, amongst other pledges, of making the well-known declaration: 'I, A. B., do hereby declare my unfeigned assent and consent to all and everything contained and prescribed in and by the book intituled the Book of Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacra-

ments, and other rites and ceremonies of the Church, according to the use of the Church of England; together with the Psalter or Psalms of David, pointed as they are to be sung or said in churches; and the form or manner of making, ordaining, and consecrating of bishops, priests, and deacons.'

Such then is the law of England upon these points, which has now remained for 200 years unaltered and unmodified—a law unparalleled in stringency by any other Church in Christendom. In vain have the most enlightened statesmen and prelates endeavoured to procure its repeal or mitigation; Hale, Halifax, Nottingham, King William himself, Stillingfleet, Tillotson, Burnet, Tenison, Wake. In vain has it been deplored by the historians and the philosophers who stand highest in the estimation of their countrymen. The attempt to repeal it was defeated at first by the same vindictive spirit which caused its enactment; afterwards by political and party considerations in 1688; and by prejudices or timidity ever since. Is it beyond hope that our own generation may witness a measure of justice and moderation so long delayed? The statesmen who should effect such a change, the bishops who should consent to it, would earn a lasting title to gratitude from the Church and Nation.

We have now traced the steps by which the Church of England departed from the principles of her first founders and her statesmanlike restorers, in the matter of clerical subscription, till she reached the point to which she was conducted at the Restoration of the Stuarts. And in making this retrospect, two things strike us principally and at once. First, that the system now enforced is no legitimate outgrowth of Protestantism, and still less of unpolemical Christianity, but has been a gradual and in some respects an accidental accretion, resulting from the action of party contests,—contests mostly of a political rather than a religious nature. Secondly (and we call attention particularly to the fact), that the evils of the system thus developed cannot justly be imputed to the dominant influence of the Legislature. In every instance, except the last, the steps were taken, not only without the consent of Parliament and of the laity, but in spite of repeated protests. Under Elizabeth, under James, under Charles I., these protests were uttered again and again; and they represented the judgment, not only of a vast majority of the laity, but of a very large minority among the clergy also. The alterations were made by the arbitrary exercise of the sovereign's prerogative, and through the powers entrusted to persecuting

prelates, confirmed (we fear that we must add) though not even this in every case, by the support of Convocation; a body, however, which never faithfully represented the whole clerical order, and to which no one will attribute, in the time of the Stuarts, such a measure as it may now claim of independence and discretion. Once, and once only, since the Act of 1571, have these new restrictions obtained the sanction of Parliament; and that was in 1662, when the nation, intoxicated with loyalty to a restored King and a restored Church, was ready to lay its dearest liberties at the feet of either; when the House of Commons consisted of a body of representatives (to use Lord Macaulay's language), 'such as England has never seen — men whose minds had been exasperated by many injuries and insults suffered at the hands of the Puritans—a House of Commons more zealous for royalty than the King, more zealous for Episcopacy than the bishops.\*' In appealing to Parliament, therefore, against the decision then arrived at, we are but appealing to Philip sober; and this in a matter which belongs inalienably to Philip to decide. There is no need here to consult Convocation or an ecclesiastical synod. In pleading for a revision of the Prayer-book, we readily conceded that no step could well be taken without the consent or concurrence of the clergy. But this is no matter of doctrine, or even ritual. It concerns personal rights and public advantages, and belongs essentially to the relations subsisting between Church and State. Parliament has always claimed to control such matters, and no one now will dispute the claim. The old contest between the Crown and the Commons is happily at an end. And as to the clergy, if conflicting pretensions were ever advanced in that quarter, this Act of 1662 is itself the proof of their abandonment. That Act was never submitted to the Convocation before it passed the Legislature; nor can Convocation, therefore, ever challenge the right of revising it. No one can complain that in reviewing a measure of its own, Parliament would be laying unhallowed hands upon the sacred furniture which Priests and Levites alone are qualified to bear.

We ventured just now on the assertion that the obligations of subscription imposed by the Church of England are unparalleled in stringency by any Church in existence. We are not, of course, alluding to those religious bodies which are essentially and avowedly denominational; but those only which claim to have catholic sympathies

and aims. Among these the Anglican communion stands, we believe, in one respect alone. For besides exacting subscription to the articles of religion, and an oath of canonical obedience to ecclesiastical authority, the Church of England has converted its devotional formularies into a co-ordinate body of doctrinal statement, to which its ministers must give a plenary assent. No other Church upon earth that we are aware of does this, or has ever done so; not even the Church of Rome. In judicial processes, it is true, the Church of Rome has often gone to this length, as occasion required, in consistent accordance with her claims to infallibility and with the right which she arrogates to coerce the conscience. But such processes are avowedly exceptional and inquisitorial. The Church herself prefers the parental character to that of the judge: nor when the latter character is assumed, is there any distinction in the measure dealt out to clergymen and to laymen. The Roman Catholic priest at his ordination merely gives a pledge of absolute obedience to his bishop; and even when he is appointed to a cure of souls, the Canon Law directs only that he shall make the Tridentine profession of faith, and pledge himself to submit his opinions unreservedly to the authoritative teaching of the Church. *Mutatis mutandis* we could not wish for a better model; the *mutanda* however involving, of course, the very points on which the Roman system rests; so that instead of 'absolute obedience to the bishop,' should be substituted obedience in all things relating to order and discipline; and instead of 'unreserved submission to the teaching of the Church,' respectful deference to its standard of doctrine, with the understanding that when that deference can no longer be paid, the ministerial functions of the dissentient must be resigned.

But how different from this is the allegiance and submission which the English Church actually requires! While renouncing Roman Catholic pretensions, she has almost come round again to the points which had been abandoned; so strangely have later modifications nullified the principles of the Reformers. The Church disclaims the possession of infallibility; but her ministers nevertheless must now pronounce that practically she has proved herself infallible! She expressly submits herself to the judgment of Scripture; but her ministers, at her bidding, must assert her to be faultless in the eyes of her judge!

Others of the Churches of the Reformation — perhaps all the others have — doubt-

\* Hist. of England, vol. i. ch. 2.



less made mistakes also, and belied their principles more or less, while striving to shape a course divergent from the traditions of Rome. All have offended in a greater or less degree against the rights of conscience and the laws of human thought, and some in a greater degree than the Church of England has. Their confessions of faith have been in some cases far less tolerant, far less cautious and wise and comprehensive; their regulations and discipline have been in many cases far more oppressive, far more vexatious and meddlesome and imperious. But in the one particular province with which we are occupied, that of ministerial subscription to authorised formularies, we repeat that we know of none so stringent as the Anglican Church; above all, in that one point to which we are now calling attention. Many of the Protestant communities indeed, such as the Church of Scotland, having no fixed offices of devotion, cannot, of course, exact any declaration of the kind. And those which have something of a settled liturgy, as the Kirk itself had once, do but enjoin the orderly use of it, requiring for greater security a promise to that effect, or the expression at most of a general approval.

Such a profession of adherence is too much to ask in any case, even when the formularies in question are carefully worded statements of doctrine. But the great and peculiar injustice of the English system arises (we emphatically repeat it) from the treatment of devotional forms as though they were deliberate enunciations of doctrine; thus converting them to a use which the compilers never intended, for the purpose of wringing from them a body of dogmatic propositions which shall modify or overbear the carefully balanced judgment or intentional silence of the Church, and carrying withal the demand of acquiescence so far as to extort an assertion of 'assent and consent to all and everything.'

With regard to this last expression, it is often said that nothing more is intended by the formula than assent and consent 'to the use of all and everything contained and prescribed in and by the Book of Common Prayer,' and that this conclusion is proved by the language of the statute itself, which employs these very words in its directive clauses. We readily admit that the formula can thus be construed. If it were otherwise, many clergymen who now can manage to conform would be obliged to resign their cures. But at the same time we cannot forget that the same House of Commons which passed this Act refused to modify the required declaration so as to

suit the meaning thus attached to it, deliberately keeping the words that had been enjoined, to be a snare to the conscience of the declarants, and to produce upon the hearers the impression which was really desired. Nor can we forget that the words are to this day understood, and must needs be understood, in their plain grammatical sense by the congregations before whom they are uttered and by the laity in general; and are even appealed to not unfrequently by the authorities of the Church themselves for the very purpose which, when it suits them for a while, they are ready to repudiate.

Again, to pass to the subscription required to the *Articles*. Here too we accuse the law of the Church of England of being peculiarly and mischievously stringent. We know of no other National Church which demands so plenary an assent. The formula of the Church of Scotland would probably be cited in reply; but to our mind even that is decidedly less exacting.\* We have spoken already of the Roman Catholic practice. Similarly, the venerable Eastern Church imposes no subscription on its ordained priests, either in the ancient Patriarchate or in the branch which subsists under the imperial authority of Russia; the Moravian Church none whatever. In the Protestant National Churches on the Continent the growing practice for more than a century has been to forego subscription altogether. In the Calvinistic and Reformed Churches especially, where subscription and compulsory adherence to formularies was once the most stringently enforced, a natural and perhaps an extreme reaction has introduced the largest liberty. In Geneva, and most of the Swiss Cantons, and in some Protestant States of Germany (not to speak of the French Church also), subscription is entirely abolished — ordained ministers merely engaging to teach their flocks faithfully out of the Word of God; though the National Confessions remain for the most part as acknowledged and venerated standards of doctrine. In Holland, if matters have not been carried quite so far,

\* Besides declarations of approval and adherence to the constitution, discipline of the Church, &c., in which the Formula resembles Laud's *Ekctera* Oath, it contains the following declaration relative to doctrine: — 'I hereby declare that I do sincerely own and believe the whole doctrine contained in the Confession of Faith approved by the General Assemblies of this National Church, and ratified by law in the year 1690, and frequently confirmed by divers Acts of Parliament since that time, to be the truths of God ['to be founded on the Word of God,' in the previous questions put at the Ordination], 'and I do own the same as the confession of my faith.'

yet Arminians are once more enabled to take their place in the Church of Grotius and of Barneveldt. In the Lutheran Churches, where a freer spirit has all along prevailed, as in Prussia and other German States, and among the Scandinavian nations, the ancient Confessions retain a more formal and acknowledged authority; yet it is not so much by subscription, as in the solemn declarations and pledges advanced in the Ordination Service, that ministers bind themselves to accept the doctrine, and teach according to the guidance of their Church. Nor in any of these required declarations have we seen anything approaching those which are enforced by the Church of England.\* Indeed, the very form which the Augsburg Confession takes—the form of an apologetical rather than a dogmatical statement—forbids it to be treated as the Articles have been treated in England; and even the Helvetic is materially qualified by the deferential appeal which it makes to the further judgment of the Scriptures.

Our last observation is made only in passing; for we are not comparing, let it be observed, the various Confessions of Protestant Europe one with another, viewed as they are in themselves. We are simply speaking of the terms in which assent to them is enforced. Viewed in themselves we believe the Articles of the Church of England to be unsurpassed, perhaps unequalled, by any; certainly they have a marked superiority to some in wisdom and moderation and comprehensiveness. Open as they may be to correction in sundry points, after three centuries of trial and experience—centuries, too, not barren of progress in biblical criticism and mental philosophy,—still they commend themselves on the whole with marvellous success to the judgment of the general Christian mind. But while thus admiring the wisdom of the framers of the Articles, are we to be forbidden to point to that wisdom also as teaching us best how we ought to use them? Are we to set aside the intentions of those who drew them up at the bidding of those who employed them chiefly as instruments of party

warfare? Not contented with receiving them as the best and truest summary of Christian doctrine extant, are we to insist 'that all and everything contained in them' (including by the terms of the expression statements metaphysical, historical, political, expository, no less than doctrinal), must be pronounced 'agreeable to the Word of God'?

We have often found that the point upon which we are dwelling now, that of the *terms* in which subscription is enforced, is thought to be of little consequence by ordinary persons. With them subscription is subscription, whatever be the form adopted. They regard such objections as we are urging now as mere hair-splitting—subtle distinctions without a difference. But critics of this sort (whatever amount of rough common sense they may justly claim) have little notion of the difficulties felt by minds more delicately constituted, in giving a pledge of such grave moment as this. Thoughtful, conscientious, truth-loving men, and this at a time when conscience is stimulated to the utmost, shrink from committing themselves to more than they can unhesitatingly believe and assert. Is it just to treat such scruples as unnecessary and overstrained? Is it wise and well to wish that at such solemn moments conscience should be less tender, the love of truth less sensitive?

We have endeavoured now to trace both the origin and the results of the severe restrictions against which we protest. It remains to touch briefly on the remedy. For our own part we do not desire to see all subscription to the Articles abolished. We think it would be neither wise in itself, nor accordant with the general feeling of the nation, to follow the example of those Protestant Churches which merely exact a pledge from their ministers that they will preach the truth out of the Scriptures, or will follow the doctrines of the authorised standard 'so far as it is consistent with the word of God.' We deeply appreciate the wisdom of Burke's remarks on the necessity of maintaining a definite standard of faith in an organised Christian community, and the inadequacy of the Scriptures to answer a purpose which they were never intended to meet. We are not recommending the removal of the ancient landmarks, or a venturesome embarkation on an unknown sea. We are but pleading for the restoration of the ancient usage of the Reformed Church of England—the return to that point of departure from the Church of Rome which was reached before party passion gave a disastrous inclination to the course. The actual

\* In Sweden, the candidate at his ordination declares 'that he will be faithful to the doctrines contained in the Holy Scriptures as expounded by the Confessio Augustana and the Decretum Upsalense.' In Prussia, &c., that he 'will continue faithfully and diligently in that interpretation of Holy Scripture which is carried on according to the laws of language by the Holy Spirit in unison with the Confessions of the Universal Church, and with the Confessional books of the Evangelical Church, as testimonies of the fundamental facts and fundamental truths of our Salvation, and as types of sound doctrine.'

practice of the Church of Rome, modified necessarily and almost *ipso facto* by its transference to Protestant uses, seems to guide us to the only method which is at once Catholic, and reasonable, and secure. For what more can be desired of an accredited minister, found, upon examination, to be duly qualified for his office, than that he should subscribe *deferentially* to the Articles, promising at the same time conformity to the ordinances, and obedience to the rulers, of the Church he serves? Such a profession of allegiance would raise no such scruples as we have been speaking of in the minds of conscientious men. The most truth-loving, the most independent could give in his adherence on these terms to the Church of his choice, without loss of self-respect or abdication of his rightful liberty. Assuming him to be truly and heartily at one with the main principles of that Church (and it is only such a case as this that we are contemplating throughout), he will gladly bind himself to defer to its authority in minor points of opinion, checking even his thoughts (so far as thought is capable of such control) by the recollection of a higher and wiser judgment; and tempering his words, and regulating his ministerial teaching by reference to the standard which both he and his people venerate. Deference to this extent (and if at any time such deference can be felt no longer, then the ministerial character must be surrendered) can be yielded without any loss of mental freedom, or abandonment of the honest search for truth. And if in some respects a minister should find that the Church to which he belongs, needs (as he believes) some further reform either in practice or in doctrine, is he to be debarred from uttering his convictions, so long as this is done with modesty and forbearance, and with a due regard to his ministerial position? Ought he, as a Christian among Christian brethren, to be forbidden to 'speak the truth in love:' or, as a member of a free society, to be denied the privilege of advocating progress? We think neither. We think that a Church sinks itself at once to the level of a sect, if it binds itself irrevocably to a system devised by human thought, imposing this as the condition of communion, whether upon its laity or its clergy—if it treats the introduction of fresh light as a crime, or the suggestion of improvement as treason. The true Catholic Church, while inheriting the wholesome doctrine and the rich experience of the past, inherits no less the never-failing hope of the future. And we are sure that if the clergy were less bound to the letter of the past, their words would have more weight with

the laity, both as teachers and as spiritual guides.

How then should we propose to modify the present form of ministerial subscription?

If we hesitate to answer this question more definitely than we have done already, it is simply because we feel that it needs the co-operation of many minds to decide on the most unobjectionable form, while we are satisfied also that the decision would not be a difficult one, if only the principle which we contend for were admitted. Lord Ebury's proposal does but relieve ministers of their unqualified adhesion to the Prayer-book; and though we regard this as by far the greatest grievance among existing obligations, we cannot by any means consider it as the only one. We would gladly see something more attempted by the wisdom of the Church and the legislature. The forms which have already been proposed by distinguished statesmen and prelates, not without the advice and concurrence of the Nonconformists of their own day, would facilitate further consultation now. Each and all of them are in great measure free from the objections which attach to the present forms. We quote from Mr. Mountfield's pamphlet:—

'It may interest my readers to compare the declarations which have been proposed as substitutes for the subscriptions, &c. at present required of the clergy. Through the courtesy of one of the Peers I have obtained a copy of Lord Nottingham's Bill (1689). The declaration there proposed is as follows: "I, A. B., do submit to the present constitution of the Church of England. I acknowledge that the doctrine of it contains in it all things necessary to salvation; and I will conform myself to the worship and the government thereof as established by law, and I solemnly promise in the exercise of my ministry to preach and practise according thereunto." Tillotson proposed the following: "I, A. B., do submit to the doctrine, discipline, and worship of the Church of England, as it shall be [is] established by law; and promise to teach and practise accordingly." (Birch's Life of Tillotson, p. 169.) The declaration proposed by Bishop Wilkins, or Sir Matthew Hale (1668), is as follows: "I, A. B., do hereby profess and declare that I do approve the doctrines, worship, and government established in the Church of England, as containing all things necessary to salvation, and that I will not endeavour, by myself or any other, directly or indirectly, to bring in any doctrine contrary to that which is so established: and I do hereby promise, that I will continue in the communion of the Church of England, and will not do anything to disturb the peace thereof." (Mountfield, p. 95.)

Of these proposed forms that of Archbishop Tillotson seems to us the best as well as the simplest, though we should be quite willing, for our part, to see some

stronger term of approval admitted into it. And let those who are disposed to object to any such declaration as insufficient remember that the candidates for the ministry of whom it would be required would be only such *as had already satisfied the bishop* by the examination they had undergone, the testimonials they had procured, and the production of such other securities as the Church of England requires in those who offer themselves for ordination; to say nothing of the solemn answers and engagements embodied in the Ordination Service. If all these precautions fail, what additional safety can be ensured by the imposition of a test which of itself excludes none but the sincerely conscientious?

We will linger no more over this subject.

But let one more remark be made, in conclusion, on the difficulties which are apprehended in devising a new form of subscription to the Articles, should matters ever happily be brought to so advanced a stage as that. If it should appear impossible after long discussion to bring contending parties to an agreement upon this point, let it be remembered how easy a solution of the difficulty is offered by a mere recurrence to the original practice of the Anglican Church, a practice which was thought sufficient by the law (even when it was enforced at all) as late as the year 1583, or more properly speaking the year 1604,—a statement in writing of the simple fact that the person whose hand is set to the document '*assents and subscribes*' to the Articles of the Church.



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- ART. I.—1. *Narrative of an Expedition into Central Australia, performed under the Authority of Her Majesty's Government, during the years 1844–45–46.* By Captain CHARLES STURT, 2 vols. London: 1849..
2. *Three Expeditions into the Interior of Eastern Australia, with Descriptions of the recently-explored Region of Australia Felix, and of the present Colony of New South Wales.* By Major T. L. MITCHELL, F.G.S. and M.R.G.S., Surveyor-General. 2 vols. London: 1838.
3. *Physical Description of New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land, accompanied by a Geological Map, Sections, Diagrams, and Figures of Organic Remains.* By P. E. DE STRZELECKI. London: 1845.
4. *Journals of two Expeditions of Discovery in North-West and Western Australia, during the years 1837–38–39, under the Authority of Her Majesty's Government, describing many newly-discovered, important, and fertile Districts, with Observations on the Moral and Physical Condition of the Aboriginal Inhabitants.* By GEORGE GREY, Esq., Governor of South Australia, late Captain of the 83rd Regiment. 2 vols. London: 1841.
5. *Journals of Expeditions of Discovery into Central Australia, and overland from Adelaide to King George's Sound, in the years 1840–41, sent by the Colonists of Australia, with the sanction and support of the Government; including an Account of the Manners and Customs of the Aborigines, and the state of their relations with Europeans.* By E. J. EYRE, Resident Magistrate, Murray River. 2 vols. London: 1845.
6. *Discoveries in Australia of the Victoria, Adelaide, Albert, and Fitzroy Rivers, and Expeditions into the Interior, with an Account of the hitherto unknown Coast surveyed during the Voyage of H.M.S. 'Beagle,' between the years 1837–1843.* By J. LORT STOKES, Commander, R.N. 2 vols. London: 1846.
7. *Journal of an Overland Expedition in Australia, from Moreton Bay to Port Essington, a distance of upwards of 3000 miles, during the years 1844–45.* By Dr. LUDWIG LEICHHARDT. 1 vol. London: 1847.
8. *Diaries of J. M. Stuart.* Adelaide: 1860–61.
9. *Australian Exploring Expedition of Burke and Wills.* Papers presented to Parliament, 28th March, 1862.
- Now that the centre of Australia has at length been reached, and the continent itself crossed from shore to shore, it may not be without interest if we review the several labours of our explorers in this field. We propose, therefore, to trace the progress of Australian discovery from its first small beginnings. We propose to follow the white man from his small village on Port Jackson to his rich settlements along the borders of the great Interior. We shall accompany the adventurous pioneer into that great Interior itself. With the materials which he has given us, we shall endeavour to draw the chief outlines of the continent as it now stands disclosed to us. Here we shall be able to place a flourishing colony, mapped, surveyed, and portioned out into its several districts and townships; there the mere fragments of a river or mountain range; often we shall be obliged to leave an absolute blank. Nor shall we have to revert to any very distant period. It is not quite fifty years since the inhabitants of one small village discovered a rift in the mountain range which confined them to the shores of Port

Jackson. Thence we shall trace the tide of settlement and the explorers who led it. We shall find them again and again repulsed, but again and again returning to the charge. We shall behold them now retreating from their lines, and now breaking through to rich territories which lie beyond. Now we shall abandon the search as worthless, and anon we shall be led through waving pastures and by the banks of deep and clear waters. We shall turn aside from the hot blast of the desert, and find the cool breezes of the south sighing around us. For a moment, too, we shall behold the curtain raised on the awful Interior, and then dropped for years. For a moment we shall gaze on those vast ruins of nature—lifeless among the tropics, blasted amid perpetual sunshine; and then all is conjecture—how far do they extend? What lies beyond them? Where have they entombed the lost expeditions which ventured into them? Through all these changing scenes we shall find a great empire growing up. We shall see it occupying new territories; and we shall pass through great territories which it is yet to occupy. Not indeed that the explorer is far ahead of his fellow-colonists. Australian occupation has kept close on the heels of Australian discovery. If we find the explorer much in advance of the settler, we may be sure that the way is too difficult, or the information too scanty for immediate pursuit. Since the Australian colonist took to flock-keeping, there never was a time when he did not want more land. He would have explored for himself, but that the discovery of secure halting-places—sometimes few and far between—made absolutely necessary this division of labour. The occupation of the Australian colonies has been entirely peaceful, but it has never been continuous. From time to time, settlers suddenly poured into new districts, while all beyond seemed a desert. Then, while flocks and herds were multiplying and demanding new pastures, again commenced the task of the explorer. Thus, while the Australian colonist was obliged to leave the management of exploration mainly in the hands of his Government, he watched the proceedings of the Government exploring expeditions pretty closely. Not seldom, he was tending his flocks and rearing his homestead on the scene of some discovery before the Governor's despatch had reached England. Great and prosperous cities, too, we leave on the route behind us. We pass through a wilderness, and, in a few years, it is an independent colony, constructing its roads and its railways, making its own laws, and astonishing us by its wealth. On the future of these colonies we have not

now to speculate. However closely commerce and politics have pursued the Australian explorer, his duties are clear and distinct; and at present we propose merely to trace the progress of geographical discovery through the great continent which it has recently added to the four quarters of the globe.

Some fifty years ago, a thriving English town had grown up on the shores of Port Jackson. The Governor's house was of stone. The judge and a few government officers had brick; but the main portion of the inhabitants were content with plastered logs and shingled roofs. Yet the people of Sidney felt no small pride in their town. They would have liked a little more land for their few sheep and cows. But the flocks on which they relied roamed through far different pastures. When the season came round, they sailed away down the great Southern Ocean, and came back laden with black oil and sperm. Their harbour was the finest in the world, sending its arms in among their cottages and town gardens, and capable of containing the whole British navy; their log huts were bathed in everlasting sunshine, and business was good. From the sparkling waters of the Bay to the Blue Mountains behind, all was bustle and activity—whalers from Europe and America refitting, immigrants landing, new houses building, and vineyards and orange-groves creeping round the Bay. Such as it was, it comprehended all the English in Australia. Through those Blue Mountains no man could find a way to the boundless regions which lay beyond. Rewards were offered for the discovery of a mere sheep-track. The more adventurous citizens risked life and limb—not always without fatal results—in clambering up and down their craggy sides, and peeping into their black fissures. At length, the long-sought pass was discovered. In 1813, Mr. Evans, a Government Surveyor, found himself, after repeated attempts, on the other side of the Blue Mountains, and, with care and great labour, retraced his steps to Sidney. Immediately the pent-up flocks and herds of the colonists poured themselves out over Bathurst Plains and the western districts of New South Wales; and the people of Sidney began to desert their town gardens for sheep-feeding and wool-growing.

But a new impediment arose. Land was to be had for the taking of it, but there was scarcely any water. Ruin hung over the head of the flock-owner who was not within reach of a permanent stream. An unusually dry summer left him a beggar. In vain he hurried his flocks to the nearest watering-place. They strewed the way with their carcasses. All the

permanent streams were quickly occupied. New South Wales was not to be a great wool-growing country after all, unless more rivers could be discovered. To little purpose they had searched Europe for the sheep most famous for their wools, if these priceless animals were now to die of thirst. The Government surveyors were instructed to be always on the look-out for rivers. Rivers promised to be the death of the Government surveyors. Such rivers no man ever heard of before. They all ran inland. They stopped when least expected, leaving no visible channel or watercourse. Sometimes they were as salt as the waters of the ocean; at another period of the year they contained excellent drinking water. Now they formed merely a chain of ponds; and now, in a perfectly dry season, they boiled over their banks, filling whole valleys with crashing timber, and sweeping away the apparently secure homesteads which had sprung up on their shores. In 1818, Mr. Oxley, the Surveyor-General, on a river exploration, was surprised to find the Lachlan and the Macquarie, the most important rivers then known, ending in vast reedy marshes. What did become of the rivers had already been repeatedly discussed. The records of Cook, and the Dutch and French maritime discoverers, had been searched; but they contained no notice of any considerable stream finding its way to the ocean—certainly none within thousands of miles along the sea-coast from Sidney. Mr. Oxley's discovery now appeared to bring the discussion to an end. It was now laid down, as beyond all doubt, that the interior was an immense sea, into which all the rivers emptied themselves, either by ordinary channels or by underground passages.

In 1828, Captain Sturt, an officer of the 39th Regiment, then stationed at Sydney, set out, with the approval of the Colonial Government, to explore Mr. Oxley's inland sea. But, on sailing down the Macquarie to the point marked on Mr. Oxley's chart, all trace of sea or lake had disappeared. 'The channel, which had promised so well, without any change in its breadth or depth, ceased altogether, and, while we were yet lost in astonishment at so abrupt a termination, the boat grounded.' The reeds were still there, but the whole country beyond, as far as his party could travel, contained not a drop of water. Abandoning all hope of taking up the Macquarie again, Captain Sturt struck into a more northern course, and came upon the Darling—a river far exceeding in size the Lachlan or the Macquarie. From a sloping bank on which his party stood, stretched, some forty feet below them, a magnificent stream, seventy or eighty yards broad, 'evidently very

deep, and literally covered with pelicans and other wild fowl.' Eagerly the men, parched under an almost tropical sun, and after several days' toil, rushed down its green bank to taste its waters. 'Nor shall I ever forget the cry of amazement that followed their doing so, or the looks of terror and disappointment with which they called out to inform me that the water was so salt as to be unfit to drink.' Further search was now impossible, and a hasty retreat was made to Sydney.

It was not quite so certain now that there was an inland sea. Many abandoned the theory altogether. Yet how was a district, larger than Spain and Portugal put together, drained? Every settler could tell of the mighty floods which had swept away his sheep, his cattle, his farmyards, and, not seldom, his farm servants and shepherds. Where did these mighty floods go to, or how were they carried off? The freshwater streams had been found to disappear altogether, after a short course inland. The Darling, which was quite large enough for a main drain, was salt. Yet whole seas went somewhere, for Mr. Oxley's sea had disappeared before Captain Sturt could overtake it. Nothing was to be discovered by following the course of the ordinary sluggish freshwater streams. Creeping through a vast extent of level country, more like canals than rivers, they were stopped by the first impediment that came in their way. Captain Sturt, whose arguments we are repeating, could trace their cessation to nothing stronger than a bank of more than ordinarily stiff soil. To solve the mystery, it was necessary to follow the course of some more impetuous stream. The Australian Alps, lying to the south of the Settlement, supplied such a stream. A thousand rills, fed by its snows, joined themselves into one impetuous torrent, and dashed down a steep and rocky channel. No ordinary impediment was likely to stop the Murrumbidgee, and Captain Sturt determined to trace its stream whither it might lead. The settlers who had already secured its green banks reported that it made directly for the interior, and showed no signs of abated strength. They would have followed its course themselves, but that it exhibited unmistakable symptoms of leaving behind it the rich fertility which marked its early progress. In 1829, Captain Sturt started on a journey with which may be said to commence the history of the Australian colonies.

Striking the Murrumbidgee at Yass Plains, about 300 miles from Sydney, he proceeded along its banks with a large and well-equipped party. The stream continued to gain in breadth and body of water, but all appearance of fertility was fast disappearing from its course. In little more than a week after its



departure from Yass Plains, the expedition found itself in an absolute desert. The drays loaded with provisions and other necessaries, had caused immense labour to the men from the shifting sandy nature of the soil and the dense patches of 'scrub' which grew down to the water's edge; but now neither horses nor men could bring them any further. Yet a stream so impetuous in its course was not to be abandoned. A friend, who still held fast to the theory of an inland sea, had prevailed on the leader of the expedition to add the timbers of an old whaleboat, which had already seen service at the South Pole, to his equipments on leaving Sydney. They were nailed together, and a small raft, capable of carrying a few bags of flour, was constructed from the fallen timber on the river's bank. Half a dozen picked men were retained. The remainder, with the drays, were sent back to Sydney. And, next morning, at break of day, this small boat's crew dropped down the stream, bound for that mysterious and unknown Interior, which, alike, the European and the savage of the coast regarded with curiosity and awe.

The Murrumbidgee is composed of alternate deep and broad reaches of water, and steep rapids. In these rapids, the stream, contracted within a narrow channel, hurries through a dark and gloomy gorge, deep down between frowning and precipitous rocks, hid from the sun by dense overhanging woods. Successive ages had almost choked up these sunless chasms with fallen trees, whose branches, pointing up stream, threatened to rip up the boat. On the seventh day of the voyage, from one of these sunless rapids the boat unexpectedly shot out into a broad and noble river, running at right angles to its tributary, the Murrumbidgee. In a country singularly deficient and uncertain in its means of communication by water, they had discovered a river not unworthy to be classed with the great watercourses of Europe, and doubtless owing its broad stream to the unfailing snows of the Australian Alps. Wherever the Murray might lead them, at least it solved a very important portion of their inquiry. It was certainly the main artery of New South Wales. 'I directed,' says Captain Sturt, 'the Union Jack to be hoisted, and, giving way to our satisfaction, we all stood up in the boat, and gave three distinct cheers.'

More safely the whaleboat now dropped down the even tide of the Murray, and on the thirty-third day of the voyage on its stream, the banks retired on each side, and then were lost in the distance. The explorers found themselves floating on the bosom of an extensive lake, becoming slightly brackish as they advanced, while over its waters was borne the

distant thunder of the great Southern Ocean. To this was given the name of Lake Alexandrina, and Sturt's observations showed him that he had cut off the south-eastern corner of the continent. Indeed, Lake Alexandrina is separated from the Southern Ocean merely by a narrow bar of shifting sand. The shores of the lake were clothed with green pastures, and the whole surrounding country seemed excellently adapted for agriculture—a want beginning to be severely felt by the colonists of New South Wales, who were already getting their wheat and potatoes from Van Diemen's Land, and even from New Zealand. It is almost unnecessary to say that the Adelaide district has since become the granary of Australia, producing the finest wheat in the world, and supplying the early goldminers of New South Wales and Victoria with the necessities of life.

But time permitted only a hasty view of these new discoveries. Our explorers had a long and weary row, up stream, before them: They were already on famine allowance, and even famine allowance would last them only on condition that they rowed up the stream in the same number of days in which they had rowed down. This they accomplished after great exertion and suffering, prolonging their journey into each night until they had reached their former camping-ground. When relieved from Sydney, they had divided their last morsel of food, and, owing to privation and incessant toil at the oar, symptoms of insanity had already appeared among the men.

Wheat-lands and fresh waters had been the two wants of New South Wales. If they were not now brought to the very door, they were, at all events, near enough to relieve the colonists from serious apprehensions. Flocks and herds had increased with extraordinary rapidity, and all the available districts had already been taken possession of. Whether flocks and herds could be driven to the shores of the Southern Ocean was indeed questioned, for Captain Sturt reported portions of the banks of the Murray to be little better than a desert. But a new class of men, known as 'overlanders,' now appeared. The loud stock-whip of the overlander, and not seldom the sharp crack of his rifle, as some Murray tribe attempted to steal his cattle, now resounded through these dark woods. Many thousands of horned hoofs daily thundered over its bank, or plunged into its tide to cut off some tedious bend of the river. Down the Murray poured the overflowing flocks and herds of New South Wales, and spread themselves over the new pastures round Lake Alexandrina.\* The

\* 'The overlanders are, nearly all, men in the prime of youth, whose occupation it is to convey large herds of stock from market to market, and

fame of the new settlement reached Europe, and the English and the German emigrant were soon sowing their wheat-fields and tending their vines on the shores of Spencer Gulf. In a few years more, the district was erected into an independent colony under the title of South Australia, and the foundations laid of the present City of Adelaide.

That the rich pastures of the present Colony of Victoria should all this time have escaped the notice of the colonists of New South Wales, is indeed matter for surprise. So early as 1824, two settlers, Messrs. Hume and Hovell, had crossed the Murrumbidgee, and penetrated to the shores of Port Philip. Explorations undertaken by private settlers in search of new pastures were then kept as secret as possible. In general, the discoverer waited until he could get a sufficient flock to take possession of them himself. But it was whispered that a rich territory would yet be found to the south of the Murrumbidgee. Still, the opinion of the Surveyor-General was entitled to weight, and Mr. Oxley had assured his fellow-colonists, that no rich territory could possibly exist to the south of the Murrumbidgee. It was reserved for another surveyor-general to lead the way to a colony, for its size and population certainly the richest and most flourishing under the British Crown. Major Mitchell had, succeeding Captain Sturt's trip down the Murray, conducted several expeditions to the northern and western portions of the colony of New South Wales, for the purpose of tracing the connexion between the river system of the colony and this new stream. In 1836, he placed beyond question the junction of the Murray and the Darling, a point which had been in considerable dispute; and then, crossing over to the left bank of the Murray, he struck into his Australia Felix, or Colony of Victoria, as we now know it. Nor did he proceed far before the great importance of the new district became apparent. Lying between Sydney and Adelaide, and within the bend of the Murray, it possessed the well-watered pastures and deep agricultural soil which the people of Sydney were only too glad to seek at the more distant mouth of the Murray. On his

from colony to colony. The overlanders are generally descended from good families, have received a liberal education (Etonians and Oxonians are to be found among them), and, even at their first start in the colonies, were possessed of what is considered an independence. Among them is to be found a degree of polish and frankness rarely to be looked for in such a mode of life; and, in the distant desert, you unexpectedly stumble on a finished gentleman. The magnitude of the operations of the overlanders would scarcely be credited. A whole fortune is risked, and in the wilderness.'—(*Journals of Sir George Grey.*)

return to Sydney, the Colonial Government immediately made known the capabilities of their new province, and settlers from New South Wales, and from the neighbouring island of Van Diemen's land, poured, in a continued stream, into Port Philip Bay, and spread their sheep over its broad plains. The government auctioneer came down from Sydney, and knocked down town-building allotments at unheard-of prices—such was the great promise of the new territory—and, within twelve months after the discovery of Sir Thomas Mitchell (who had received the honour of knighthood on receipt of the news in England), its new colonists were building the present City of Melbourne.

Thus were permanently occupied the three colonies of New South Wales, South Australia, and Victoria—a group which fills the south-east angle of the continent. But we cannot proceed to the vast solitudes which yet lie behind this group without some notice of the great and long-continued services of a gentleman with whose name the history of these colonies must be ever associated. And we can here the more suitably enter into some explanation of the services which Count Strzelecki has rendered to the Australian colonists, inasmuch as he brings us to the very garden of the colony whose discovery and occupation we have just described. The Blue Mountains, whose dark abysses and sunless streams had so long shut in the settlers on Port Jackson, are but a portion of the immense chain which stretches from north to south of the continent, and which, from Cape York, the extreme northern point of Australia, to Wilson's Promontory, its extreme southern point, are known as the Australian Alps, the Snowy Mountains, the Warragong, the Liverpool Ranges, or, more generally, as the Great Dividing Range which separates the eastern seaboard from the interior. This immense chain, plunging into the Southern Ocean at Wilson's Promontory, and now and then rising to the surface of Bass Strait, at length emerges permanently from the ocean on Van Diemen's Land, and forms the chief feature of that island. Along this Great Dividing Range are displayed the chief geological and mineralogical elements which constitute the soils and subsoils of New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land; while its several peaks, snow-clad summits, and immense richly-clothed tablelands exercise considerable influence over the climate, and over the drainage of the regions on either side of it. Immediately succeeding the explorations of Sir Thomas Mitchell, which we have just brought to a close, Count Strzelecki entered on an examination of these ranges, which extended over several years, and entailed an

immense amount of labour and hardship. The various summits of the chain within the two colonies of New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land were named by him; their heights ascertained; their mountain streams traced; the geology and mineralogy, the terrestrial magnetism, the climate, the fossil and existing flora, the fossil and existing fauna, the state and prospects of agriculture, the physical, moral, and social condition of the aborigines investigated; and the whole of this vast district brought within a geological map of great scientific value. All which may be found in the Count's 'Physical Description of New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land.'\*

We have now to follow him into what we have not unfairly called the garden of Australia Felix. We have already seen that the Great Dividing Range runs from north to south of the East Coast, and buries itself in the Southern Ocean at Wilson's Promontory. Before, however, reaching Wilson's Promontory, it throws off a spur which traverses the whole of Australia Felix, or Victoria, from east to west, and on those slopes the rich goldfields of Bendigo, Ballarat, Mount Alexander, the Ovens, Omeo, McIvor, and several others now cluster. Coming down this spur from the Great Dividing Range, and on the slope of it opposite to that traversed by Sir Thomas Mitchell, Count Strzelecki found himself within a beautiful district, whose existence had not been even suspected. Enclosed between the sea and the snow-clad summits of this Alpine barrier, sheltered by it from the hot blast of the interior, and watered by numerous unfailing streams fed from its snows, a large district,† not many degrees

from the tropics, possesses an almost English climate. Later tourists from Melbourne and Sydney are loud in their praises of the Arcadian beauty of Gipps' Land. Its lowlands are interspersed with some splendid lakes; while its rivers, navigable for sixty and eighty miles from their junction with the lakes, are the finest and most valuable within the Australian colonies. Flowers in endless variety, and of great beauty, form a widespread carpet. The tall fern-trees, with their gigantic leaves, droop into natural bell-shaped tents. A hundred deep pellucid streams display the crystal quartz, and sharp clean sand and gravel, which compose their beds. Everywhere the traveller comes upon opening glades, leading up to the ranges, and clothed with many varieties of flowering heaths and acacias. Nor is the soil less profitable than gay. All the productions of a temperate climate attain to absolute luxuriance here, and Gipps' Land, under a proper system of settlement, would in a few years become the granary of Australia.\* From this garden, however, Count Strzelecki was obliged to make a hasty retreat, and found himself almost hopelessly entangled in the dense hedge which forms its north-west boundary. With provisions running short, and suffering from the fatigues of their previous labours, the Count and his men attempted to reach Melbourne by a short cut across the ranges. The skirts of these ranges are clothed with a dense and almost impenetrable scrub. They had to abandon their pack-horses and all the botanical and geological specimens collected on the way. For twenty-two days they literally cut their way through the scrub, seldom advancing more than two miles a day, and being in a state of complete starvation. Their clothes were torn piecemeal away, and their flesh, lacerated by the sharp lancet-like brambles of the scrub, was exposed to the keen air of these snow-crowned ranges. With difficulty

\* We cannot refrain from quoting the words of Sir George Gipps, with which he introduces the discoveries of Count Strzelecki within what was then the district of Port Philip. 'I cannot do so,' he writes, 'without making your lordship aware of the feelings of respect and esteem which have been incited towards him amongst the people of this colony.' Similar tributes were also paid by the colonists of Van Diemen's Land, among whom we recognise the name of his brother in geographical discovery, Sir John Franklin, who was then Governor of the island. It is with surprise we notice that, up to the present, these tributes have been merely honorary, both on the part of the colonies and the Home Government. The researches of Count Strzelecki were conducted entirely at his own expense (thus differing entirely from all the explorations which come within the limits of our subject), and on them was expended by himself a very considerable sum. On the part of the Australian colonies, this is, we believe, a singular exception. We cannot call to mind any other Australian explorer with whom the colonists have not promptly shared the golden tide which has inundated them.

† The district of Gipps' Land contains about ten millions of acres.

\* Strange as it may appear, these solitudes have scarcely been interrupted since they echoed to the footsteps of Count Strzelecki and his men. Its exploration has been carried no further; some of its finest rivers have not yet been traced. The colonial land system threw it, at an early period, into the possession of some half-dozen flockowners; and the tide of settlement, turned from the very shore of Port Philip Bay, spread to the north and west of Melbourne. Already, however, there are evidences of a change in this injurious system of land policy. Town and country allotments are now being sold within the Gipps' Land district; and Captain Cadell, who has successfully opened up the Murray, the Darling, and the Murrumbidgee to steam navigation, has proposed to the Colonial Government to introduce steam vessels also on the Gipps' Land lakes and rivers. Should these exertions be followed up, we may shortly expect to see Gipps' Land taking its proper place at the head of the agricultural districts of Victoria.

Count Strzelecki and his men reached Melbourne, but the horses, with all his valuable collections, were never recovered. In his report of this expedition to Sir George Gipps, then Governor of New South Wales, we have the first official notice of the discovery of gold. It stands thus among an enumeration of the mineralogical specimens collected in the district, in the report, dated 1839,—the despatch of Sir George Gipps to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, with which it was forwarded, bearing date 1840:—

‘Gold—An auriferous sulphuret of iron, partly decomposed, yielding a very small quantity or proportion of gold, sufficient to attest its presence.’

Thus was lying for twelve years, entombed among the Parliamentary papers, that important discovery which was to effect such changes in the Australian colonies, until at length, in 1851, another Governor of New South Wales, taught by the prosperity of California, consented to make more publicly known Mr. Hargreave's fresh discoveries of gold. But to Count Strzelecki the first discovery on the spot was unquestionably due in 1839; which was corroborated by Sir Roderick Murchison's scientific precognition in 1845 and 1848.\*

But the great continent still lies before us. Captain Sturt has brought us from Sydney westward to Adelaide, and at Adelaide we arrive at the extreme limits of eastern settlement—almost of Australian settlement; for the Swan River Colony, at the opposite, or western, corner of the continent, scarcely effected more than a landing, and, until these last few years, with difficulty maintained even that position. From Adelaide we shall have chiefly to follow the further progress of discovery; but as the Swan River Settlement influenced in some degree the direction which exploration took, we shall, while the people of Adelaide are planting their wheatfields and building their city, take a glance at the coast on which the Swan River settlers had landed. With the early history of this settlement we have little to do. Soon after Sturt's trip down the Murray, several English capitalists brought out a number of hired labourers to found a colony on the banks of the Swan River. All the elements of wealth were in abundance. The capitalists, in addition to labour, brought with them supplies of everything necessary for the farmer and the flockowner, and the land was most excellent. The Home Government, however, made one fatal error. It was too bountiful with its

lands. To Mr. Peel were given 500,000 acres; to the Governor of the new settlement 100,000; similar grants were made to the other capitalists. Each had so much land he did not know what to do with it. For a trifle he parted with large portions of it. The imported labourers found they could be landowners instead of farm-servants. They all left their employers, and lived on their estates, doing nothing. The very seeds were not put in the ground. The cattle were neglected, and died. The employer of 300 servants found himself without one. He had to make his own bed, cook his own meals, and behold his property going to ruin around him. The imported labourers fared no better. When autumn came round, they had no harvest to reap. They came back to their masters, and insisted on the terms of their contract. Failing to obtain what they had eaten and destroyed, they insisted on hanging them. With difficulty the Governor and the capitalists escaped with their lives. A few ships took away most of the hired labourers to the colonies of New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land, where they found themselves much more comfortable as highly paid farm-servants than as starving landowners.

There still remained, in Perth and at King George's Sound, around Cape Leeuwin, the nucleus of a settlement destined to expand into the Colony of Western Australia, though without any material increase of population. Of the immense North-West Coast, stretching thence to the shores of the Gulf of Carpentaria, and, as a ship sails, some 3000 miles long, nothing was known, nor were the settlers around Swan River inclined to push occupation towards the north. The successes of Captain Sturt and Sir Thomas Mitchell in opening new lands had now attracted the attention of England towards Australia. The importance of connecting the North-West Coast of Australia by means of a settlement, nearer and under happier fortunes than the Swan River Settlement, was urged upon the Home Government. It was replied that no settlers would go to a coast of which nothing whatever, save the misfortunes of the Swan River settlers, was known. Sir George Grey, the present Governor of New Zealand, was then a captain of the 83d Regiment in London. Seized with a spirit of adventure, he proposed to the Government to go and explore the North-West Coast of Australia. H.M.S. ‘Beagle’ was then lying at Plymouth, preparing for a marine survey of the Australasian seas and gulfs, which was to extend over some years. Captain Grey's proposal was accepted, and a passage was offered for himself and his exploring party in the ‘Beagle.’ To him we chiefly owe the little

\* See Count Strzelecki's supplement to his ‘Physical Description,’ published in 1856.

we know of this coast. It is much to be regretted that his researches were interrupted by continued mishaps. But for these mishaps we should now possess a more complete knowledge of this portion of Australia—a portion apparently abounding in all that can conduce to successful colonisation, and the nearest of the whole continent to our Indian Empire, to China, and to the rich islands of the Indian Archipelago. Of Sir George Grey's progress along this coast we shall now offer a rapid sketch.

Captain Grey was to land in Hanover Bay, towards the north of the continent, and to explore the coast down towards the Swan River Settlement. His expedition accordingly reached Hanover Bay in 1838, and immediately found themselves in a most delightful tropical country. Everywhere—the sparkling cascade of the Prince Regent's River, along the picturesque banks of the Glenelg, through deep alluvial meadows watered by countless rivulets—Captain Grey pauses to admire the beauty of the scenery:—

'Those of the party,' he writes, 'who were not very tall, travelled, as they themselves expressed it, between two high green walls, over which they could not see; and those green walls were composed of rich green grass, which the ponies ate with avidity. On a subsequent occasion, when we re-visited this valley, we had to ogle to one another, in order to ascertain our relative positions, when only a few yards apart. And yet the vegetation was neither rank nor coarse, but as fine grass as I have ever seen.'

From Hanover Bay the expedition proceeded for seventy miles inland along the banks of the Glenelg, a river discovered in the vicinity, the country still preserving its favourable appearance.

Here, however, all further progress was abandoned. Soon after landing, Captain Grey, with two of his men on an excursion in the neighbourhood of the bay, came upon some natives. One of the men, betraying his terror at their unusual appearance, and seeking safety in flight, encouraged some of them to cast their spears, from which Captain Grey received a severe and dangerous wound. Fatigue and want of proper remedies had now brought on more threatening symptoms, and with the advice of his companions, he abandoned further advance. On his return to Hanover Bay he was received on board the 'Beagle,' luckily then off the coast, and sailed thence to the Mauritius in order to recruit his health.

In the following year he again started with an exploring party consisting of thirteen men. By the advice of the settlers at Swan River, where he put in before proceeding to the north of the coast, he departed from his

original intention of exploring downwards from Hanover Bay to Swan River, and determined to land at Shark Bay, about 600 miles to the north of Swan River, and explore the coast district thence upwards to Hanover Bay. At Shark Bay, however, a violent tempest put an end to further exploration at its very starting point. The sea rose, and washed away the whole depôt of stores. Two leaky whaleboats, and a little flour and salt-provisions, were alone left, and with these Captain Grey and his men made a hasty retreat for Perth. About half-way from Perth, the two boats were so shattered by the surf as to be found useless, and the retreating party took to the land. Here they would have all miserably perished, but for the superior strength and endurance of the commander. They lay down, and declared themselves unable to proceed any further. Leaving them on the sea-shore, at a native well, Captain Grey pushed on for Perth, and reached the out-settlements. Horsemen were immediately despatched with food, and arrived in time for the relief of all the party, save one.

From King George's Sound, Captain Grey took ship to Adelaide, to meet the regular Australian passenger vessels, on his return to England. And to him the people of Adelaide now eagerly applied for information of the North-West Coast. Indeed, nothing could be more indistinct than the knowledge which the settlers around Adelaide possessed of the immense wilderness lying to the north and west of them. The very coast-line of the whole continent was most uncertain. Since the days of Captain Cook, scarcely a white foot had crossed it; and the Dutch previously had contented themselves by naming a few of its most conspicuous headlands. Owing to his mishaps and forced marches, Captain Grey could give them little information of the North-West Coast. Hanover Bay, diametrically opposite to them, at the other extremity of the continent, was of little avail for immediate occupation, but King George's Sound, at the extremity of their own coast, the South Coast, contained fine pasture lands, and but few settlers to make use of them. But of their own coast the settlers of Adelaide knew probably less than of the other two, the East Coast and the North-West Coast. Mr. Bass had, indeed, several years before, drifted through the strait which now bears his name in an open whaleboat, and made the discovery that Van Diemen's Land was an island. Captain Flinders, his companion in the whaleboat, had, at a later period, followed up this discovery by coasting along the whole of the south mainland and sketching its singular shore from the deck of his

ship; but the impetuous current which, coming up from the South Pole, sweeps through the Great Australian Bight, and an uninterrupted wall of precipitous cliffs, some 500 or 600 feet high, into which this current was eating, deterred him from endangering his vessel by a too near approach. Such was the scanty information which the people of Adelaide had now to guide them in seeking an extension of settlement towards the west.

It might, indeed, at first sight, be supposed that the unexpected acquisition of such important territories as Australia Felix and South Australia would, for some considerable time, satisfy the eastern colonists. But the old craving for land had soon grown as strong as ever. In truth, it had scarcely abated. Australia Felix was surrounded by New South Wales, by South Australia, and by the sea. Its 'tenants of the Crown,' as they chose to be called—or 'squatters,' as they soon came to be called—were permitted to take up 'runs,' or sheep and cattle stations, as large as English counties. In a wonderfully short time, Australia Felix was occupied from the Murray to the sea. South Australia was little more than a geographical expression. Its parliamentary boundaries, on the north and west, exist only on paper. To the present day, none but the foot of the explorer has ever crossed their meridians. The land in the neighbourhood of Adelaide was such as Captain Sturt had described it—rich in pastures, and needing but the care of the husbandman to give forth its corn and wine; but the traveller to the north of Adelaide soon found himself in a wilderness. The early settlers on Port Jackson never sought more eagerly to escape beyond the Blue Mountains than did the inhabitants of the Adelaide district now seek to know what lay beyond the desert which encompassed them. Within a few short years, the city of Adelaide had grown with amazing rapidity; the whole of the surrounding district was already overflowing with flocks and herds; but the settler who endeavoured to push to the north or west could nowhere discover either water or grass. The efforts of its new government were unremitting; settlers were most ready to contribute to the expenses of exploring expeditions; and various were the plans discussed. Already Adelaide had its Press, its lecture hall, and reading rooms. A file of Adelaide newspapers for 1839, the year in which Captain Grey called at Adelaide, will be found very much occupied by letters on exploration, 'papers' read, and reports of discussions on the subject. The distance to King George's Sound was certainly immense, the coast line anything but inviting; but might it not be worth while to ascertain, by

practical experiment, the possibility of driving sheep overland thither? Would not such an experiment most certainly lead to the discovery of good intermediate districts? Then, to the north of Adelaide, there was that mysterious Lake Torrens. Might not a better country commence with its northern shores, if they could be reached?

In 1840, these discussions were brought to a practical issue. After much debate, the attempt to form a junction with the western settlement was abandoned; and an expedition, called the Northern Exploring Expedition, was formed by the united assistance of the Government and the colonists. Mr. Eyre, the late Governor of St. Vincent, was then a settler in the colony of South Australia. He had already gained considerable experience as an explorer, both in New South Wales and in its new dependency, the Port Philip district, as Sir Thomas Mitchell's Australia Felix soon came to be called. More recently he had made some incursions into the country to the north of Adelaide, and, on the opposite shore of Spencer Gulf, in the Port Lincoln district; and to him was entrusted the command of the expedition. He was to ascertain the extent and nature of Lake Torrens. A range of hills, called Flinders' Range, ran from Adelaide northwards; they might lead to a change of country, or feed some inland stream. And, if possible, he was to penetrate to the centre of the continent.

The centre of the continent this expedition was fated never to reach; nor even to cross to the opposite shores of Lake Torrens. Its steps we shall have to follow in a widely different direction. Of Lake Torrens, however, we may say that its southern shores were now found desolate and dreary in the extreme. The lake itself was about twenty miles broad, covered with a thick coating of salt, which had all the appearance of freshly fallen snow. Under this salt was found a bed of soft mud, becoming so deep towards mid-channel as to frustrate all their efforts to cross the lake. On maps of Australia, Lake Torrens figures very much in the shape of a horseshoe. The appearances observed by Mr. Eyre on the present occasion at four different points on its western arm, together with some researches of Captain Sturt, on its supposed eastern arm, on an exploring expedition to which we shall presently come, are the principal grounds for this view of the Torrens basin. More recently, however, it has been ascertained that what was known as Lake Torrens is not one, but several lakes—in fact, a semicircular chain of lakes, or mud ponds; and that, more curiously still, a portion of its western arm is the terminus of a river, which takes its rise on the East Coast

of the continent, some 1,500 miles distant. At present, however, we have to follow the strange adventures of Mr. Eyre.

Abandoning Lake Torrens, he threw himself entirely upon Flinders' Range, hoping that the slopes of its hills would furnish sufficient water to his party in their progress northward. But hill after hill grew smaller and less frequent, and gradually the country settled down into a desolate level. One peak still rose from the plain, and from this, named by him Mount Hopeless, he determined to take a last observation. Without water or food for the horses, and through a low sandy country, his party bore down on Mount Hopeless, and ascended to its summit. 'And cheerless and hopeless, indeed,' he writes, 'was the prospect before us.' As he had feared, all trace of Flinders' Range now ceased, and before him lay a wide desolate level, interrupted only by the ridge forming the shore of the still more gloomy lake. This ridge of the lake, which, at each point of previous observation, had been bending round from west to east, now appeared on his right hand. Supposing, therefore, that his only means of escape from this apparently uninterrupted semicircular basin was by descending to either of its southern extremities, he returned to the head of Spencer Gulf, where a narrow isthmus separates the waters of the gulf from Lake Torrens, and crossed into the Port Lincoln district, intending to resume his northern course when sufficiently clear of the lake. Repeated attempts, however, proved the impracticability of forcing a passage northward from this portion of the coast. At every point, when advancing a few miles inland, impenetrable scrub, and a total absence of water and food for the cattle, drove the expedition back. Nor did it appear an easier task to advance along the coast itself. Leaving the main portion of his men at Fowler's Bay, Mr. Eyre made three several attempts to reach the Great Bight, hoping that, after passing that portion of the coast, the country would be found to open up more favourably inland. But, after encountering great hardships and the loss of several of his horses, he rounded the Great Bight only to behold the same impenetrable country. The objects proposed for the Northern Exploring Expedition seemed, therefore, impossible of attainment; and Mr. Eyre, on his return to Fowler's Bay, sent the men composing it back to Adelaide. Mr. Eyre himself we have now to follow through a feat the most wonderful in the whole annals of exploration.

We have already mentioned that the rich pastures of King George's Sound and Swan River had been the subject of discussion in Adelaide. They lay at the extremity of the

South Coast, but was it likely that they were confined to the extremity of the South Coast? Was it likely that a coast district, 1,500 miles long, was absolutely barren? An explorer would be certain to meet good intermediate districts, and good intermediate districts would bring the whole of the North-West Coast within reach of the Adelaide flock-owner. The northern route had been adopted at Mr. Eyre's own request, enforced by his own experience in the Port Lincoln district. His present excursions to the head of the Great Bight proved the difficulties of a western route along the coast to be far greater than he had urged upon the Exploration Committee in Adelaide; but Mr. Eyre now determined to take up the western route, and to force a passage to King George's Sound.

The South Coast, from Fowler's Bay to King George's Sound, lay as Captain Flinders had sketched it from his ship. Indeed, down to the present time, Mr. Eyre himself is the solitary white man who has trod its desolate wilds. From the summit of the cliffs, which had frowned down on the topmasts of H.M.S. 'Investigator,' stretched inland a table-land without rise or fall, until a dense and impenetrable skirting of scrub hid it from sight. This table-land Mr. Eyre had now ascertained to be an unbroken sheet of limestone. At the bottom of the cliffs the action of the current had hollowed out immense caverns; and, occasionally, huge portions of the rock became detached and tumbled into the ocean, showing by the rapidity with which they were engulfed the hopelessness of finding any path by the margin of the sea. Inland, the country seemed equally unpromising, and the only portion capable of sustaining animal existence was a narrow strip extending along the edge of the table-land, overlooking the sea. Here the action of the wind had collected some scattered heaps of sand, on which grew a few tufts of sour grass and salsolaceous herbs. But already from Fowler's Bay to the head of the Great Bight, neither lake, pond, nor stream had been discovered; and we may now say that from Fowler's Bay to King George's Sound, a distance of upwards of 1,500 miles, no vestige of a watercourse, nor any surface-lake, or pond was met. During the day, a strong wind blows from the interior, sometimes scorching in its heat, and loaded with fine sand. Towards evening, this is met by a chilling breeze, coming up from the great Southern Ocean; and, doubtless to the action of these two winds is to be attributed the deposition of sand on the limestone surface along the edge of this exposed table-land. Occasionally, at intervals of 150 and 200 miles, the sand had been



formed into a cluster of hills, and on digging down to the limestone, at these places, a little brackish water was found to ooze out between the sand and the rock. Strange as it may seem, this was the only water at all approaching fresh, which could be discovered along the whole course of this terrible journey.

In undertaking this most forbidding task, Mr. Eyre had determined to risk the life of no European save himself. The men composing the North Exploring Expedition had, therefore, been sent back to Adelaide. But the overseer of the party, a servant long in the employment of Mr. Eyre, and a man of great energy and courage, refused to leave his master, and Mr. Eyre at length consented to accept his assistance. In addition, he retained two aboriginal young men, who had been some time in his service on his farm, and a third aboriginal, named Wylie, a native of King George's Sound, who had lately arrived in Adelaide in a vessel which had touched there. With these, Mr. Eyre commenced making some necessary preparations, and giving his horses rest before finally leaving Fowler's Bay. He had informed the Governor, by letter, of the resolution which he had formed, but, in addition, the officers and men of the disbanded expedition made known, on their return to Adelaide, the great difficulties which Mr. Eyre had already experienced in his several efforts to round the Great Bight, and the singularly unpromising nature of the country beyond its head. From these it appeared that Mr. Eyre was advancing on certain destruction, and a Government sloop was immediately despatched to Fowler's Bay with a strong recommendation from the Governor to return, accompanied by an official approval of his conduct as leader of the late Northern Exploring Expedition. But Mr. Eyre's resolution was not to be changed, and the sloop returned to Adelaide without him. 'We were now alone,' he writes, 'myself, my overseer, and the three native boys, with a fearful task before us. The bridge was broken down behind us, and we must succeed in reaching King George's Sound, or perish. No middle course remained.' Having constructed bags to hold water, and having given the cattle sufficient rest, Mr. Eyre commenced his journey. His stock of provisions then consisted of some sheep remaining over from the disbanded expedition, and a few bags of flour. The head of the Great Bight was again rounded, and the same forbidding nature of country was found to extend along its western arm—the only vegetation being a few scattered tufts of grass, and the only water being procured from beneath the sandhills, occurring at intervals of 100 and 200 miles.

That man or beast should travel through a succession of such intervals, extending over upwards of 1,500 miles, is indeed wonderful, and, we believe, wholly without parallel. Sometimes a group of sandhills occurred at the end of one or two days' march; more frequently, scarcely a blade of grass, and not a drop of water, was met for a whole week, and human endurance, taxed beyond what it might be believed possible for human endurance to sustain, was no longer supported by the hope that another group was yet in advance, or that retreat was possible. Mr. Eyre's progress during one of these long intervals between water and water, may be thus sketched. After a halt of three or four days at one of these groups of sandhills to recruit, the horses were again loaded for a fresh start, the bags were filled with water, and the sheep were led out of their pen. For two or three days the horses were able to carry the few bags of flour, water, and other necessary baggage. On the fourth day their strength began to fail, and it became necessary to lighten their loads—the rejected articles being left on the wayside. On the fifth and sixth days the horses became totally exhausted, and no exertions could force them to proceed further. Leaving them also stretched on the wayside, Mr. Eyre and his men, with the empty water-bags, hurried forward until the next group of sandhills appeared above the horizon. Arriving at these, they immediately proceeded to scoop out a well, considerable labour and delay being occasioned by the repeated falling-in of the sand. Reaching the surface of the limestone they quenched their thirst, and took a few hours' rest while the water-bags were filling. The whole party then shouldered their bags, and proceeded back to the horses; and these they generally succeeded in bringing on by easy stages to the sandhills; though occasionally they found one of the wretched and worn-out animals in its last struggles. Having brought everything living to the water, the most laborious task yet remained. Their provisions and few indispensable articles were still strewed along their track; and, while the horses were taking some rest, it was necessary to go back and collect them, Mr. Eyre and his men carrying them on their backs a distance of sometimes forty or fifty miles. In addition to these immense labours, a further task devolved on Mr. Eyre and the overseer. The horses, though found unable to endure the same privation as the men, were, nevertheless, essential to the preservation of the party. Notwithstanding their fatigue, the want of water made them restless during the night, and, when not closely watched, they seized every opportunity to re-

turn to the last watering-place—the scattered position of the few tufts of herbage rendering it impossible to tether them. Nor could so important a task be safely entrusted to aborigines. Mr. Eyre and the overseer, therefore, agreed to divide each night between them, so as by strict watch, to ensure the possession of the horses in the morning.

In this manner Mr. Eyre and his small party had toiled on for a couple of months, and had now accomplished more than half their journey, when an appalling act of treachery plunged him in fresh difficulties, and seemed to render his ultimate escape hopeless. In the midst of one of these long stages between water and water, they had encamped for the night, and Mr. Eyre had taken the first watch over the horses. It was approaching towards midnight, when Mr. Eyre's watch would expire and he would be relieved by the overseer. The horses in their restlessness had led him some distance from the camp, when the report of a gun interrupted the sighing of the breeze over these desolate wilds. Startled by so unusual an occurrence, Mr. Eyre immediately hastened back to camp.

'I met the King George's Sound native, Wylie, running towards me, and in great alarm, crying, "Oh, Massa, oh Massa! come here;" but could gain no information from him, as to what had occurred. Upon reaching the encampment, which I did in about five minutes after the shot was fired, I was horror-struck to find my poor overseer weltering in his blood, and in the last agonies of death. Glancing hastily around the camp, I found it deserted by the two younger native boys; whilst the scattered fragments of our baggage, which I left carefully piled up under the oil-skin, lay thrown about in wild disorder, and at once revealed the cause of the harrowing scene before me. Upon raising the body of my faithful but ill-fated follower, I found that he was beyond all human aid. He had been shot through the left breast with a ball. The last convulsions of death were upon him, and he expired almost immediately after our arrival.

'The frightful, the appalling truth now burst upon me, that I was alone in the desert. He who had faithfully served me for many years, who had followed my fortunes in adversity and in prosperity, who had accompanied me in all my wanderings, and whose attachment to me had been his sole inducement to remain with me in this last and, to him, alas! fatal journey, was now no more. For an instant, I was almost tempted to wish that it had been my own fate, instead of his. The horrors of my situation glared upon me with such startling reality as, for an instant, almost to paralyse the mind. At the dead hour of night, in the wildest and most inhospitable wastes of Australia, with a fierce wind raging in unison with the scene of violence before me, I was left with a single native, whose fidelity I could not rely upon, and who, for

ought I knew, might be in league with the other two, who, perhaps, were even now lurking about, with a view of taking away my own life, as they had done that of the overseer. Three days had passed away since we left the last water, and it was very doubtful when we might find any more. Six hundred miles of country had to be traversed before I could hope to obtain the slightest aid or assistance of any kind, whilst I knew not that a single drop of water or an ounce of flour had been left by these murderers from a stock that had previously been so small.'

Their small store of flour had indeed been the incentive to this horrible deed. The two natives had taken with them all the flour and water they could carry, and the double-barrelled guns of Mr. Eyre and the overseer, leaving behind them only a brace of pistols and a rifle which had a ball fast in the breech, and was useless for the time. The encampment showed that they had laid their plan for murdering the overseer over night; but, as the country around was entirely destitute of food, it is most probable that they perished as soon as their stock of flour was exhausted.

'After obtaining possession,' continued Mr. Eyre, 'of all the remaining arms, useless as they were at the moment, with some ammunition, I made no examination then, but hurried away from the fearful scene, accompanied by the King George's Sound native, to search for the horses, knowing that, if they got away now, no chance whatever would remain of saving our lives. Already the wretched animals had wandered to a considerable distance; and although the night was moonlight, yet the belts of scrub, intersecting the plains, were so numerous and dense that, for a long time, we could not find them. Having succeeded in doing so at last, Wylie and I remained with them watching them during the remainder of the night; but they were very restless, and gave us a deal of trouble. With an aching heart, and in most painful reflection, I passed this dreadful night, every moment appearing to be protracted to an hour, and it seemed as if the daylight would never appear. About midnight the wind ceased, and it became bitterly cold and frosty. I had nothing on but a shirt and a pair of trowsers, and suffered most acutely from the cold. To mental anguish was now added intense bodily pain. Suffering and distress had well-nigh overwhelmed me, and life seemed hardly worth the effort necessary to prolong it. Ages can never efface the horrors of this single night, nor would the wealth of the world tempt me to go through similar ones again.'

With daylight, Mr. Eyre and Wylie prepared to hasten from this dreadful scene. There was not sufficient sand on the surface of the limestone to bury the body of the overseer, and nothing remained but to wrap his blanket around it. The sheep had all been consumed, or perished on the journey.

Forty pounds of flour was now their only stock of provision; and, abandoning everything else, save his charts and papers, Mr. Eyre hurried from the spot with his solitary attendant, Wylie. The two natives again appeared before starting, and made efforts to gain over Wylie, but they could not be induced to speak to Mr. Eyre, and, after a short time, they disappeared in the desert.

The two travellers were now obliged to live chiefly on their horses, curing the flesh in the sun, and carrying on a sufficient quantity for some days' consumption. On these occasions, Mr. Eyre, in the midst of such overwhelming troubles, records in his notebook the strange appetite of Wylie for horseflesh. When a horse was killed, he ate several pounds before lying down. During the night he got up almost hourly to resume his feast. He lay on the ground. He roared in agonies of indigestion. He begged to be allowed to rest a day. He was very bad; too much walk had made him bad; he was curing himself with horseflesh. In the morning he loaded himself, notwithstanding his illness, with choice pieces, and, with tears in his eyes, left behind him all he could not carry. The singular wall of cliffs, too, retired inland, and they were enabled to gain access to the sea-shore, where they occasionally caught a stinging-ray-fish. At length, when human nature threatened to sink under such long-continued fatigue and exposure, and to reach the settlement at King George's Sound, now close at hand, appeared beyond their strength, a whaling barque was sighted off the coast. On perceiving their signals, the commander—Captain Rossiter, of the French whaling-ship 'Mississippi'—sent a boat for them, and they were received on board with much hospitality. After recruiting themselves here for some weeks, they were again landed, within easy reach of the settlement, where they arrived in July 1841, after an absence of over twelve months from Adelaide.

This immense journey places beyond question the astonishing fact that a seaboard 1,500 miles long, from Spencer Gulf to King George's sound, does not add one drop of water to the ocean. How the drainage of the immense district to the north of this coast is conducted, remains as yet unknown. Frequent thunder-clouds, rising from the great Southern Ocean, passed over Mr. Eyre's head, and evidently burst before they proceeded many miles inland. At particular points, too, flights of parrots were observed, birds which are rarely seen at a considerable distance from water. From these and other considerations, it is not improbable but that the absolute wastes which Mr. Eyre traversed

may extend little beyond the sea-coast, and be succeeded by good and valuable land. For many years the barren results of his coast journey have deterred research in that direction; but recent explorations to the west of the Torrens Basin, to which the course of our narrative will bring us, are beginning to open a more promising tract of country to the colonists of South Australia. At present, however, Mr. Eyre brings us to the extremity of the South Coast, and, rounding Cape Leeuwin, we again come out on the North-West Coast. Here, while we have been following Mr. Eyre, the 'Beagle' has been accumulating some further information for us. Of the immense coast, however, from Perth to Hanover Bay, we have nothing further to add. To the present day it lies almost wholly unknown.

The 'Beagle,' it will be recollected, received Captain Grey on board at the mouth of the Glenelg, after his encounter with natives, and from the Glenelg we have to follow her still more to the north, as she takes up the remaining portion of the North-West Coast. Soon after her arrival in the Australasian seas, the command of the 'Beagle' devolved on Captain Stokes. Of the portion of mainland now examined by this traveller, our curiosity is greatly increased to know more. The country appears a continuation of those rich and picturesque scenes on the banks of the Glenelg, already described by Sir George Grey; but the 'Beagle' allows us so little time to examine them or to discover to what they lead inland, that we must consider even this portion of the North-West Coast as yet awaiting and inviting examination. Captain Stokes' instructions, as commander of the 'Beagle,' applied only to a marine survey of the coast, and his hours on land, which we owe to a love of exploration and to the very great promise which the country held out to him, were necessarily limited by this duty, and by the safety of his vessel. Stolen hours are pleasant; and certainly the hours which Captain Stokes has stolen to explore this portion of the North-West Coast furnish very pleasant reading. We have adventures with crocodiles and alligators, to remind us that we are among the tropics. We go boating up river after river, thrusting aside, for the first time, the overhanging thickets, amid the screaming of cockatoos and the flights of innumerable paroquets, of every imaginable hue. We obtain glimpses leading us to hope that we are about to lift the veil from the mysterious Interior. In King's Sound, the Fitzroy River was discovered, and followed up by a boat's crew of the 'Beagle' for ninety miles beyond the Coast. It was found to pass

through a rich alluvial soil, abounding with tropical vegetation, and the country beyond seemed equally promising. Higher up on the coast, the River Adelaide was discovered, and also followed up for about eighty miles inland. But Captain Stokes' most valuable discovery on this coast was the River Victoria, which he followed for 140 miles inland, and quitted with regret. His explorations along the course of this stream led him to regard it as the most promising inlet to the Interior, and, with this view, he most strongly urged the formation of an expedition to start from some point on its banks. At the solicitation of the Royal Geographical Society, Captain Stokes' recommendations were ultimately acted upon by the British Government; and Mr. Gregory's Victoria River Expedition of 1856 is, doubtless, still in the recollection of our readers. Owing to mishap and mismanagement, the Victoria River Expedition has not added much to our knowledge of the Interior; but it may not be uninteresting to refer to it again in its proper place. With the Gulf of Carpentaria, Captain Stokes completed his survey of this portion of the coast. At the head of the gulf he discovered some considerable streams. The chief of these, the Albert, he traced, by boat, for fifty miles inland, when, finding the channel choked by fallen timber, he proceeded on foot for several miles further through his Plains of Promise. In taking leave of the 'Beagle,' we have to regret, equally with Captain Stokes, that the safety of his vessel obliged him to relinquish each of these tempting opportunities to obtain an insight into the vast solitudes which lie behind the North-West Coast.\*

At present, our narrative takes us back to the city of Adelaide, now hemmed in by Mr. Eyre's gloomy Lake Torrens, and the terrible South Coast which he had just traversed. The settlers of the Adelaide district had abandoned all hope of finding an outlet to the west. What was the nature of the great Interior which lay to the north of them was now the most important inquiry. Mr. Eyre's exploration in that direction had terminated

with Mount Hopeless. But Mount Hopeless was situated on their side of Lake Torrens. It was impossible to say what good land might lie on the northern shores of the lake. It was impossible for the colonists to rest satisfied until the centre of the continent was actually reached, and the possibility of an extension in that direction finally ascertained. Captain Sturt had been the most successful of Australian explorers; and Captain Sturt must now settle this question for them. In 1844, he started from Adelaide with a strong and well-equipped party, consisting of sixteen men, the officers of the expedition being Mr. Poole, as second in command and surveyor, Mr. Stuart (now so well known for his late exploits in exploration), as draughtsman, and Mr. Brown, as surgeon.

Desirous to escape altogether from the meshes of Lake Torrens, which had already entangled Mr. Eyre, he left that district on his left hand, and passed up the Murray and the Darling, merely making a descent, at intervals, on the Torrens basin, to ascertain the existence of an eastern arm. On each of these occasions a shore was seen, similar in many respects to the shore described by Mr. Eyre on the western arm; and hence we have Lake Torrens, with its horseshoe shape, on our maps.

Leaving the Darling, which was taking him too much out of his northern course, at its junction with a small tributary, called by the natives the Williorara (the Menindie of the late expedition under Burke and Wills), he endeavoured to pass up the Williorara. But its waters quickly failed him, and pasture was becoming daily more scarce. The expedition had started in winter, so as by help of the spring showers to push to the north. The sun was now beginning to dry up the pools, and no time was to be lost. By means of forced marches, Captain Sturt and his men passed over a very inhospitable tract of country, and reached as high as lat.  $29\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ , when they unexpectedly came upon a picturesque spot, well watered and supplied with food for the cattle. To this was given the name of the Rocky Glen Depôt; and here Captain Sturt determined to allow both men and horses to recruit for some time, while he explored the country beyond, for the purpose of selecting the most safe northern route. With dismay he gradually ascertained that no northern route was to be found. The Rocky Glen ceased as suddenly towards the north as it had opened, and the country beyond became an absolute desert. In vain Captain Sturt and the officers under his command followed the course of every creek—now a cracked, baked channel—and made long and harassing excursions into the district

\* A further attempt has been made, within the past year, to learn something more of this Coast. An exploring expedition, under the command of Mr. F. T. Gregory, landed in Nickol Bay, midway in the immense gap left by Sir George Grey between Swan River and Hanover Bay, and endeavoured to penetrate inland, but was stopped at some distance from the Coast, and obliged to return. It has, however, ascertained the existence of a broad seaboard of excellent agricultural land behind Nickol Bay, and makes it all but certain that the North-West Coast is backed by a dividing range similar to the dividing range of the East Coast.

around. Neither water nor pasture was to be found beyond the Rocky Glen. Retreat, too, was cut off. The summer's sun had now dried up every pond and creek which had supplied them on their line of march, and six months' imprisonment in the Rocky Glen Dépôt became certain.

For six months no rain fell. The violence of the sun became insupportable. To escape from its rays, a large underground chamber was excavated, to which the men retired during the heat of the day. Gradually the surrounding desert closed in on them. The whole vegetation of Rocky Glen became mere snuff, and was carried away by the hot blast. Nothing was left but the naked rocks, and the pool of water on which their lives depended. Day by day, it too yielded to the fury of the sun. 'Under its effects, every screw in our boxes had been drawn, and the horn handles of our instruments, as well as our combs, were split in fine laminæ. The lead dropped out of our pencils; our signal rockets were entirely spoiled; our hair, as well as the wool on the sheep, ceased to grow, and our nails had become as brittle as glass.' Scurvy now attacked the whole party. Some of the men would be unable to proceed with the expedition, and Mr. Poole was dying. In this condition, the winter months came slowly round, and the first refreshing shower fell. The way was again open, and it might be possible to save Mr. Poole. A litter of boughs and dried leaves was already prepared; and with Mr. Poole six of the men endeavoured to make a retreat on Adelaide. But the winter had been too long in coming. Mr. Poole died a few hours after his attendants had quitted the camp, and his body was brought back just as Captain Sturt and the remainder of the expedition were about to start on their northern course. His companions raised a rude pyramid of stones on a neighbouring hill to mark the place of his interment, and Mount Poole is all that is left to tell of the weary days spent in the Rocky Glen Dépôt. 'That rude structure,' writes Captain Sturt, 'looks over his lonely grave, and will stand for ages, as a record of all we suffered in the dreary regions to which we were so long confined.'

About fifty miles further on, a fresh halting-place was discovered, called Park Dépôt. And from Park Dépôt Captain Sturt made two sustained efforts to reach the centre of the continent, passing each time through districts of a most singular nature. And now, for the first time, we approach the great Interior,—that region from which the Murray had formerly borne Captain Sturt aside, and from which the gloomy prospect seen from Mount Hopeless had, more recently, com-

pelled Mr. Eyre to turn. Doubtless, to the results of these two efforts is to be mainly attributed the opinion, up to a late period so almost universal, that all Central Australia would be found of a very worthless character. How strong were the grounds for this opinion we shall the better judge when we have followed our explorers on these two excursions from Park Dépôt.

Accompanied by Mr. Brown and three men, Captain Sturt started from Park Dépôt, maintaining a course 25 degrees west of north, or, in other words, bearing right down on the centre of the continent. In a short time, the country assumed all the appearance of a desert. Neither grass nor water was any longer visible, and the eye rested on nothing, to the brink of the horizon, but reddish-brown sand. Gradually, as they advanced, this sand swelled into long parallel ridges, running from east to west, and rising higher and higher, until at length our explorers found themselves toiling over a very ocean of solid billows, some 50 or 60 feet high, and succeeding each other in endless uniformity. This formation bore no traces of the action of water, and must have been the slow result of a prevailing wind accumulating its solid waves in the gradual course of ages. At the distance of about two hundred miles from Park Dépôt, this singular country came to an abrupt termination, and our explorers stood before what is now known as Sturt's Stony Desert. The parallel sand ridges, running from east to west, were suddenly chopped off at right angles, and, in their stead, stretched an immense level plain, uninterrupted all round the horizon from south to north, and thickly strewn with small fragments of quartz, firmly packed together, and rounded as if water-worn. Still adhering to their course, 25 degrees west of north, our party descended into this singular plain, and proceeded on their way over its natural pavement. Neither herb nor shrub protruded through the firmly-wedged quartz fragments. No sound or movement could be heard or seen all round them, and the dray-wheels and hoofs of the horses left not the least impression on the surface of the plain. All that could attract or sustain animal and vegetable life Nature seemed to have rigidly excluded from this scene of desolation. Thus the sun went down, and Captain Sturt and his men encamped for the night in the Stony Desert.

With the morning, our party was again under weigh; and, at the distance of about thirty miles from its commencement, the Stony Desert was found to come to an equally abrupt termination. An immense plain of clay, or dried mud, now lay before them, entirely destitute of vegetation, and resembling,

as Captain Sturt describes it, 'a boundless ploughed field, on which floods had settled and subsided.' No water, however, could be found, and the earth, cracked by the heat of the sun, abounded in immense fissures, which were avoided only by extreme watchfulness and care. Still maintaining their original course, our party arrived at the termination of this plain also, and found the tall sand ridges re-appear precisely as they had left them on the eastern shore of the Stony Desert. In fact, the whole district seemed merely interrupted by the course of the Stony Desert and Mud Plain from north to south, and again resumed its former appearance without any disturbance whatever. Again our explorers toiled over this solid ocean of red billows—an ocean seen, as it were, under the glare of some great conflagration,\* lashed into waves running mountains high, and then suddenly frozen all round from centre to horizon. From want of food and water, the horses were now almost exhausted; and the men, who could bring nothing with them from Park Dépôt but some tea and a little flour, were scarcely better able to encounter the difficulties of this most harassing country.

At length a small creek appeared ahead, and revived the hopes of the party. It received the name of Eyre's Creek. It contained some good water, and communicated sufficient fertility to its neighbourhood to furnish a meal for the horses. On following it down, however, it soon died out on the desert, leaving merely a few incrustations of salt, and leading to a country as destitute of vegetation as that they had already traversed. Resuming their original course, from the slight deviation along Eyre's Creek, the party again proceeded on their way, and penetrated to lat. 25° 50' without meeting any further signs of vegetation, and only a creek—whether a continuation of Eyre's Creek was not ascertained—which afforded no relief to man or horse. 'Its channel was glittering white, and thickly encrusted with salt, nor was any water visible; but, on going down to examine it, in several places, where the salt had the appearance of broken and rotten ice, we found that there were deep pools of perfect brine underneath, on which the salt floated, to the thickness of three or four inches.' They were now more than 400 miles from Park Dépôt, and, with the exception of the head of Eyre's Creek, some fifty miles behind, had nothing in the intermediate region to fall

back upon. They had advanced 200 miles beyond the Stony Desert, without meeting any indications of a permanent change in the nature of the country, or any encouragement whatever to proceed further. Both men and horses were so weak that any further advance would greatly endanger their retreat on Eyre's Creek. Under these circumstances, Captain Sturt decided to fall back on Eyre's Creek, and, by its assistance, to regain the Dépôt. To reach the centre of the continent, in their present condition, would strain both horse and man; and should the centre of the continent be found a desert, their destruction would be certain.

'Yet I turned from it with a feeling of bitter disappointment. I was, at that moment, scarcely a degree from the tropic, and within 150 miles of the centre of the continent. If I had gained that spot, my task would have been performed, my most earnest wish would have been gratified; but, for some wise purpose, this was denied me. Yet I may truly say that I should not thus have abandoned my position, if it had not been a measure of urgent and imperative necessity.'

The party regained the main expedition with considerable difficulty, and in a most exhausted condition. And so ends the first excursion from Park Dépôt.

After some short rest at Park Dépôt, Captain Sturt again started with Mr. Stuart and two men. His present object may be shortly explained. The whole appearance of the Stony Desert—its immense deposits of mud on its western bank, the waterworn appearance of its quartz pebbles, the sudden change from sand ridge to level pavement and from mud bank to sand ridge, the similarity of the country for so many miles on each side of it—all led him to the conclusion that it was the dry bed of some immense watercourse coming down from the north. Should this conclusion be correct, the Stony Desert would be again met by a more northern route, and might possibly furnish a key to the solution of this strange country. With this object Captain Sturt left his former course to Eyre's Creek a little on the left, diverging from it at a small stream which he called, in honour of his friend and fellow explorer, Strzelecki's Creek, and maintained a course from Strzelecki's Creek almost due north.

After some days' travelling, our explorers were agreeably surprised by increasing signs of fertility, and on the seventh day of their journey they came upon the banks of a fine creek flowing through an extensive and even picturesque tract of pastoral country. This is Cooper's Creek, so recently associated with the melancholy fate of Burke and Will, after they had solved the most important problem of Australian exploration. Returning to their

\* 'Even the lower surface of the clouds assuming a lurid tinge, from the reflection of the bare surface of red sand.' (*Despatch of Mr. A. C. Gregory, published in Proceedings of Royal Geographical Society for 1857.*)

original course, after some examination of the Cooper's Creek district, Captain Sturt and his small party soon left this oasis behind them, and were again toiling over a sea of red sand ridges, exactly similar to those met with in the first excursion from Park Dépôt. At the end of another week's travelling, the Stony Desert again appeared in all its awful stillness. It seemed broader at this point, and, though preserving the same features on its eastern bank, some changes were now observed on its opposite shore. There was no mud plain, and the Stony Desert itself, instead of being replaced by the red sand ridges, seemed to extend its character to the surrounding country. Some hills were completely covered to their summits with the same description of quartz fragments, so closely strewn as to obstruct all vegetation. Nor could any water be discovered. The country beyond seemed of a most forbidding character, and both men and horses were now suffering severely from want of water. For half an hour Captain Sturt sat on the summit of one of those quartz-clad hills, sweeping the horizon with his telescope, hoping to find some encouragement to advance. But no change in the nature of the country could be detected, and the attempt was abandoned.

'I was now nearly fifty miles from water, and feared that, as it was, some of my horses would fail before I could get back to it. Yet I lingered, undecided, on the hill, reluctant to make up my mind, for I felt that, if I thus again retired, it would be a virtual abandonment of the task undertaken. I should be doing an injustice to Mr. Stuart and my men, if I did not here mention that I told them the position we were placed in, and the chance on which our safety would depend, if we went on. They might well have been excused, if they expressed an opinion contrary to such a course; but the only reply they made me was to assure me that they were ready and willing to follow me to the last. After this, I believe I sat on the hill for more than half an hour, with the telescope in my hand; but there was nothing to encourage me onward.'

Reluctantly the horses' heads were turned, and the most protracted effort yet witnessed to reach the centre of the continent was finally abandoned. The party now hastened to throw themselves back on Cooper's Creek, some 200 miles distant, and the nearest halting-place. It was a journey for life or death. The horses which refused to proceed were abandoned on the way. When a horse fell, his light baggage was hastily distributed among the rest, and the retreat continued. Uninterruptedly, night and day, they retreated. At night one of the men went before them with a lantern, and thus assisted in their course over these vast sand ridges, and through the unbroken solitude of the Stony Desert,

our explorers safely reached Cooper's Creek. Over these regions, the hot winds, so disagreeably felt even on the coast settlements, blow with unusual violence. On the morning of their arrival at Cooper's Creek, one of these hot winds began to blow, and towards midday raged with great fury. The leaves of the trees along the creek became crisp in a few moments, 'and fell like a snow shower around us.' The wastes of sand ridges, from which they had just escaped, seemed now a very ocean. The crests of the sand billows were cut off, and whirled on high in thick spray. Blinding torrents of fine sand, driven before the wind, were poured over the Cooper's Creek district, smarting and blistering the feverish skin. Towards the horizon, sea and sky were mingled in one red mass. Every living thing turned from the glow. An all-pervading relaxation seized man and beast. The horses were unable to bear the weight of their own heads. Propped against trees, and turned from the hot wind, they let their heads fall to the ground as if the muscles of the neck had been severed. A thermometer, graduated to 127°, burst from the excessive heat, though placed in the fork of a large tree. And, in all probability, had this tempest overtaken our party in the desert, they would have all perished. Passing through Cooper's Creek district, Captain Sturt with his men again joined the main expedition at Park Dépôt, greatly weakened by sickness, and scarcely capable of any further exertion. On the following day, he found himself unable to walk. In a day or two more, his muscles became rigid, and his limbs contracted. 'Gradually also my skin blackened. The least movement put me to torture, and I was reduced to a state of perfect prostration.'

But Park Dépôt was many hundreds of miles from Adelaide, and an immediate retreat was now necessary. Already another summer had come round, and the sun was drying up all the pools and watercourses on the way. It was doubtful, indeed, whether the way was still open. Mr. Brown proposed to go and ascertain, lest the expedition should be again caught in the desert. Unless Flood's Creek, about 150 miles nearer Adelaide, contained sufficient water, it would be dangerous to move the expedition, and Mr. Brown determined to learn the condition of Flood's Creek. The hide of a bullock was sewn together so as to form a water-tight bag. This, filled with water, was placed on the way some seventy miles in advance, and on the following morning Mr. Brown started with a light spring cart, containing about thirty gallons of water. By this contrivance he was enabled to supply himself and his horse with water half way on his journey, without encroaching on the store



which he carried with him. Anxiously the men watched for his return. On his report depended another six months' imprisonment in Rocky Glen Dépôt, and both officers and men recalled Rocky Glen Dépôt with horror. On the eighth day they came to Sturt's tent to tell him that Mr. Brown had appeared in sight, and in a few minutes he stood before him. "Well, Brown," said I, "what news?—is it to be good or bad?" "There is still water in the creek," said he; "but that is all I can say. What there is, is as black as ink; and we must make haste, for in a week it will be all gone." A bed of leaves was placed in one of the carts, into which Captain Sturt was lifted, and the whole expedition commenced its retreat from Central Australia. Flood's Creek was safely reached, and it enabled them to push on to the Murray. The news was carried down the Murray that Sturt, now nineteen months absent and supposed dead, was returning. The settlers along its banks hastened to place their carriages at the service of himself and his exhausted men. Under the light of an Australian moon, they again passed the clustering vines and golden wheat fields which surround Adelaide.

'I reached my home,' writes their commander, 'at midnight, on the 19th of January, and, on crossing its threshold, raised my wife from the floor, on which she had fallen, and heard the carriage of my considerate friends roll rapidly away.'

While the people of Adelaide were seeking an extension of settlement towards the north, the people of Sydney were also occupied by a project of their own. Between Sydney and India, China, and the rich islands of the Dutch in the Indian Archipelago, lay the whole continent of Australia. If their ships went to the south-west, there was more than half the continent to sail round. If they went to the north-east, there were the great Barrier Reef, 1200 miles long, and the dangerous Torres Strait, where the timbers of many a stout Sydney barque lay mouldering on the small islands which choke the passage. An overland route to the Gulf of Carpentaria would bring the Indian Archipelago almost to their door. With a practical route to the Gulf of Carpentaria, the whole commerce of Southern and Western Asia and its islands would be thrown open to the Australian colonies. What then appeared a golden dream is doubtless now on the eve of being accomplished. Burke and Wills have laid a way to the shores of the Gulf, and, but for the terrible mishap of a few hours, might have lived to see it occupied by the iron road and electric wire.

Sir Thomas Mitchell, who was then Surveyor-General of the colony of New South

Wales, warmly advocated this project. He invited Dr. Leichhardt, who was already known for some explorations he had conducted in the neighbourhood of Moreton Bay to the north of Sydney, and which eventually laid the foundations of the new colony of Queensland, to accompany him on an expedition to the shores of the gulf. As however there was no probability that Sir Thomas Mitchell could leave Sydney during that year, Dr. Leichhardt accepted the command of the expedition, and started on his way in 1844, the same year in which Captain Sturt had already started from Adelaide. Dr. Leichhardt's journey adds nothing to our knowledge of the interior. It was entirely a coast route, and though of enormous length—extending from Sydney to Port Essington, a distance, along the coast, of not less than 3000 miles—and leading the way to much excellent land afterwards occupied by the colonists of New South Wales, it would possess little interest for us now but for the impenetrable mystery which still enshrouds the fate of a succeeding expedition commanded by the same leader. Nor had it any influence whatever on the discovery of an available overland route to the Gulf of Carpentaria. An elevated coast range, we have already seen, extends from Sidney to the shores of the Gulf. The eastern slope of this range, overlooking the Pacific, is well watered by numerous coast streams, and possesses extensive terraces of fine pastoral land, though every now and again interrupted by broken and almost impassable districts. Along these slopes Dr. Leichhardt led his party, with abundance of water and pasture for the cattle; but its position, and the nature of the country, render it, for a commercial high road, as little useful as the north-west passage to India.

In the following year, Sir Thomas Mitchell started in his turn, with Mr. Kennedy,—a young surveyor, in the employment of the Government,—Dr. Stephenson, and a well-equipped party of twenty-six men. Dr. Leichhardt, we have seen, proceeded along the eastern slope of the Great Dividing Range. Sir Thomas Mitchell now decided on examining its summit and western slope, expecting to pick up some stream, at its source, which would lead him to the shores of the gulf. No such passage was found; but the discoverer of Australia Felix was, in a great measure, compensated by the magnificent country which now disclosed itself within tropical Australia,—in many spots, indeed, exceeding in luxuriance and beauty of scenery the Australia Felix of 1835. Advancing beyond the Darling, and making direct for the tropic, Sir Thomas Mitchell found himself within a network of streams, taking their rise in the

Dividing Range, and flowing through the broad rich table-lands which were now found to form its highest elevation. Here, at the very time Captain Sturt and his men, in the same latitude, and at the foot of the very same Dividing Range, were buffeting the red sand billows and inhaling the scorching blast of the desert, the expedition under Sir Thomas Mitchell was wandering through the most lovely Claude-like scenery, and following the course of such streams as prompted their discoverer to name them, the 'Claude,' the 'Lorraine,' the 'Salvator,' &c.

'Here,' he writes, 'the weather was most pleasant, temperate, and English-like, though we were still within the tropics. A sweet breeze blew from the south-west, and the degree of temperature was between 50 and 60 degrees of Fahrenheit,—the most agreeable of any, I believe, to the human frame. There was abundance of water, and the young grass was daily growing higher.'

But Sir Thomas Mitchell's chief discovery in this district was the river Victoria,—of course, wholly unconnected with Captain Stokes' Victoria, on the North-West Coast, at the opposite extremity of the continent. Here, at length, appeared to be the long-sought stream opening a passage to the Gulf of Carpentaria; and anxiously the expedition followed it down the western slopes and table-lands of the Great Dividing Range, along banks waving with perfumed lilies, through rich deep meadows, with splendid reaches of water, capable, as Sir Thomas Mitchell writes, of floating steamers of the largest tonnage. The Victoria was followed for about 200 miles, when the provisions of the expedition, reduced by their previous explorations, totally failed them, and the pursuit was abandoned, though the stream appeared still tending towards the north. Strangely enough, Sturt and Mitchell were then on the banks of the same stream,—for the Victoria and Cooper's Creek have been since ascertained to be the same river,—and could they then have compared notes, it would have been known that the hopes of a passage to the north, by the Victoria, were altogether delusive. That stream, shortly after Sir Thomas Mitchell's farthest point on it, takes a turn towards the south, and thenceforward maintains an entirely southern course. Mr. Gregory, who, at a subsequent period, followed the course of the Victoria through most inhospitable wastes,—'ridges of red drift sand, ten to fifty feet high, running parallel to each other, and in a nearly north and south direction,—boundless mud plains,—and tracts resembling the stony desert described by Captain Sturt,'—found it, at length, to form the western arm of Lake Torrens, which is separated from the head of Spencer

Gulf, near Adelaide, by a narrow isthmus, flooded only during a rainy season.

Of the Victoria, however, nothing was then known in Sydney, save what Sir Thomas Mitchell had just seen. A noble stream, through a garden of lilies, and making for the head of the Gulf of Carpentaria, seemed well worth following, and Mr. Kennedy, the second in command of Sir Thomas Mitchell's late expedition, was instructed to trace its further course. Taking it up where the late expedition had been forced to retreat on Sydney, this young officer proceeded along its banks. But, even in the comparatively short distance between Mitchell's furthest and the rich Cooper's Creek district, the Victoria traverses an absolute desert. Scarcely any water, and no food for the horses, could be found; the river-bed had taken a permanently southern direction, and, as a road to the north, was valueless. Having satisfied himself, therefore, that the Victoria was the Cooper's Creek of which Captain Sturt had just brought intelligence to Adelaide, Mr. Kennedy returned to Sydney.

We may here, almost without interruption to the order of events, follow the short career of this spirited young officer.

Though unable to discover a practical overland route to the head of the Gulf of Carpentaria, the people of Sydney were not inclined to abandon all hope of communication with its shores. York Peninsula is that enormous isosceles triangle which forms the eastern arm of the Gulf of Carpentaria. The base of this triangle is an imaginary line from Rockingham Bay to the head of the gulf. A land communication along this imaginary line would save a considerable distance of sea voyage, and would wholly escape Torres Strait. The Indian and Chinese traders, and the Dutch islanders, might then land their wares at the head of the gulf. A few coasters from Rockingham Bay to the colonies would complete the rest of the journey. But York Peninsula was a *terra incognita*, and Mr. Kennedy, some months after his return from the Victoria River, was sent to explore it. He was to examine the peninsula on its Pacific side, from Rockingham Bay to its vertex, Cape York. A colonial sloop was to lie off Cape York, to supply stores to the exploring party, on its arrival there, when the exploring party was to turn, and examine the gulf side, down to its head.

In 1848, Mr. Kennedy and his party of twelve men, including a native black, named Jacky Jacky, were landed at Rockingham Bay, and the colonial sloop 'Albion' took up its post off Cape York. The whole particulars of the terrible tragedy enacted on York Peninsula we shall probably never learn.

Month after month the 'Albion' lay off Cape York, but the man on the look-out reported no signal from the shore. At length, at the end of six months, the signal-man called the officers to witness a strange appearance on the sea-beach. A native—naked, emaciated, and apparently dying—was seen to crawl from the dense woods which overhang Cape York. He held a bough in his hand. Gaining the beach he waved the bough in the direction of the 'Albion.' A boat was immediately lowered, and the native brought on board. He proved to be Jacky Jacky, at death's-door, from wounds and hunger. For fourteen days, he said, he had tasted nothing but water. His clothes, which, as a member of the exploring expedition, he had received from the Government store at Sydney, he had used to bury Mr. Kennedy. While he greedily devoured the food placed before him, the officers and men of the 'Albion' listened to his tale. When the party landed at Rockingham Bay, they found the country covered with a dense and tall scrub. For four months, they literally cut their way towards Cape York, through this scrub, with saws and hatchets, and seldom making more than a mile or two a day. Their provisions became exhausted, and they ate their horses. When they had eaten their horses, they were still 200 miles from Cape York. The soil, excluded from sun and air by the dense scrub, was found most unhealthy. Most of the men, from sickness and insufficiency of food, were now too weak to proceed any further. In this strait, Mr. Kennedy placed eight of the men in camp, near the sea-shore, at Weymouth Bay, and taking Jacky Jacky and three of the strongest men with him, set forward to procure assistance from the 'Albion.' A savage tribe now appeared in their track. After some days' travelling, a dangerous accident happened to one of the men from the explosion of a gun, and he could not be moved. Leaving the other two men to protect him, Mr. Kennedy again hurried on with Jacky Jacky. The blacks now got ahead of them. At Escape River they showered their spears on them. Jacky was wounded in the face. Mr. Kennedy received several spears in the back, leg, and sides. He fell, but immediately stood up again; fired his gun, and then fell again. Jacky stood over him, with his gun cocked. It missed fire, but he still covered the savages. Mr. Kennedy's aim had been true—one savage was writhing in the agonies of death. The rest drew back, and peered from behind the trees. Jacky seized his master, and carried him down to the stream, through a belt of scrub.

"He said," continues the faithful fellow, "Don't carry me far." Then Mr. Kennedy

looked this way (imitating him), very bad. I said to him, 'Don't look far away,' as I thought he would be frightened. I asked him often, 'Are you well now?' and he said, 'I don't care for the spear wound in my leg, but for the other two spear wounds in my side and back;' and he said, 'I am bad inside, Jacky.' I told him, 'Black fellow always die, when he gets spear in there.' He said, 'I am out of wind, Jacky!' I asked him, 'Mr. Kennedy, are you going to leave me?' and he said, 'Yes, my boy, I am going to leave you.' He said, 'I am very bad, Jacky; you take the books to the Captain of the "Albion;" but not the big ones. The Governor (of New South Wales) will give anything for them.' I then tied up the papers. He then said, 'Jacky, give me paper, and I will write.' I gave him paper and pencil, and he tried to write; and he then fell back, and died. And I caught as he fell, and held him; and I then turned round myself, and cried. I was crying a good while, until I got well. That was about an hour, and then I buried him. I dugged up the ground with a tomahawk, and covered him over with logs, then grass, and my shirt and trousers."\*

Jacky kept watch until dark. Then he slipped silently into the stream, and waded up its channel, keeping his head only above water, until he was sufficiently far to escape detection. From Escape River he crept on through the silent woods, exhausted by wounds and hunger, and 'falling asleep,' as he said, for whole days beside ponds and waterholes, until at length he reached Cape York.

On hearing his story, the 'Albion' was immediately got under weigh, and all haste made to relieve the remainder of the party. Jacky pointed out where the wounded man and his two companions had been left, along the coast. Captain Dobson landed, but could find none of them. Nor has their fate been yet discovered; though portions of European clothing were found among the savages in the neighbourhood, which left little doubt but they had been murdered. From this the 'Albion' crowded all sail to Weymouth Bay, where the remainder of the men had been left in camp. On landing, the ship's officers discovered a European at a well's side, sitting on his pitcher. They hastened to him, but he was quite dead. They proceeded to the camp. A horrible smell caused them almost to faint. Few had the nerve to enter. Five bodies were lying in their beds, and had lain for some weeks. Two beds showed signs of having been occupied within some hours. Their owners were looking for shell-fish on the beach. They had seen the 'Albion,' and now staggered back to camp—mere skin

\* Examination of the black, Jacky Jacky. Investigation of York Peninsula Exploring Expedition—Sydney 'Morning Herald,' 1849.

and bone, and so weak that they had been unable to drag their dead companions out of their beds to bury them. Search was next made for the body of Mr. Kennedy, but his grave had been opened, and the body removed. No trace of it, or of his papers, has been yet discovered. Jacky says he hid the papers in the hollow of a tree, but they could not be found.

The Victoria River was yet again to be associated with disaster. Dr. Leichhardt had been for some time making preparations for an expedition, even more important than his great overland Expedition to Port Essington. He proposed to bisect the whole continent by taking the greatest diameter possible as a base route. Moreton Bay and Perth are the two extremities of such a diameter, and Dr. Leichhardt was preparing to cross from the Moreton Bay district to the capital of Western Australia, by a line passing through the centre of the continent. Mr. Kennedy had just brought the news from Sydney that the Victoria had abandoned its northern course, and was coming round to the west. It seemed, therefore, to offer a passage into Central Australia, and Dr. Leichhardt determined to avail himself of it. Early in 1848, a month or so before Mr. Kennedy started for York Peninsula, he left Sydney with a large and well-equipped party under his command. Of the fate of himself and his whole party, no trace has ever been discovered up to the present moment. A horse, said to belong to the expedition, did arrive at Adelaide some years ago, but this affords little clue. Horses abandoned by Captain Sturt in Central Australia, as dying, have arrived after many years in Adelaide. The little that we do know of the proceedings of the lost expedition may be told in a very few words indeed. It will be recollected that nothing was then known of the Victoria beyond Cooper's Creek district, nor that the Victoria was the Cooper's Creek of Captain Stuart, except from Mr. Kennedy's conjectures. No one then imagined that the Victoria, after its wanderings in Central Australia, would bring the traveller back again to settled districts. It is, at least, certain that Dr. Leichhardt made direct for the banks of the Victoria. It is also certain that Dr. Leichhardt abandoned the Victoria when he found it leading him too much to the south. Mr. Kennedy, in his excursion down the Victoria, had discovered a large and imposing tributary joining it on the right-hand bank. This he called the Thomson. It then possessed a considerable body of water—indeed, was as large as the Victoria itself. In spring time it would doubtless hold out a tempting offer to an expedition seeking to penetrate

the interior. Dr. Leichhardt left Sydney in April, and would arrive at this portion of the Victoria about the beginning of the Australian Spring. Mr. Gregory some ten years after, in 1857, shortly after his return from his explorations on the North-West Coast, started from Sydney, under instructions from the New South Wales Government, to discover, if possible, some traces of the lost expedition. Their marks were not yet obliterated on the banks of the Victoria. So far into the interior as the 146th meridian, Mr. Gregory found a tree marked 'L,' after which no further trace could be discovered on the Victoria. The 146th meridian is, however, higher up the stream than the junction of the Thomson. Mr. Gregory accordingly arrived at the conclusion that the expedition had, at this point, abandoned the Victoria and passed up the Thomson. Under this conjecture he himself passed up the Thomson almost to the tropic. It was then summer, and the river at that point presented merely a dry and baked channel, without water or grass. It was evidently leading out into Sturt's great desert, but offered no inducement to proceed. There can scarcely be a doubt but that Dr. Leichhardt, passing up the Thomson at a more promising season of the year, launched out on that terrible country which had so nearly entombed Captain Sturt and his men. Whether the impending summer cut off retreat, or a hostile tribe attacked them on the western borders—for it is almost certain that no tribes, unless perhaps a few isolated families mutually afraid of each other, inhabit Central Australia—is left to mere conjecture. Yet it is impossible but that traces of so large an expedition are still extant. If they died within Central Australia, their remains are still there, probably undisturbed. If they were murdered by a border tribe, it is certain that their arms and implements are still preserved by them. Now that secure halting places have been discovered within Central Australia, and that its explorer is no longer driven to a series of forced marches for life or death, it might be yet possible, without risk, to clear up the mysterious fate of Dr. Leichhardt and his men.

With the lost expedition of Dr. Leichhardt we have come down to a period so fresh in the memory of our readers that there is little left for our narrative to supply. Indeed, with the unpromising account brought by Captain Sturt from Central Australia, the tragic fate of Mr. Kennedy's expedition, and the disappearance of Dr. Leichhardt's whole party, enterprise in Australian exploration received a considerable check. Nothing of importance was attempted until Mr. Gregory's Victoria

River Expedition landed on the North-West Coast in 1855, for the purpose of carrying out, under the instructions of the British Government and the Royal Geographical Society, the recommendations of Captain Stokes. It will be sufficient to give a very rapid sketch of the progress of that expedition—premising that the loss of the 'Tom Tough' in the river, and the mismanagement of the *dépôt* of stores for the overland party at the head of the Gulf of Carpentaria, very much weakened its resources. Following up the Victoria of Captain Stokes to lat.  $18^{\circ} 12'$  and long.  $130^{\circ} 39'$ , where it appears to take its rise, Mr. Gregory found himself on the summit of a dividing range, similar to the Dividing Range of the East Coast. Descending the slope of this range towards the interior, he penetrated, by help of a small creek, so low as lat.  $18^{\circ} 31'$ , long.  $131^{\circ} 44'$ . Turning thence eastward, he proceeded along the borders of a very inhospitable tract of country, in hope of meeting some fresh inlet, until at length another creek was discovered making for the interior, to which the name of Sturt's Creek was given. Sturt's Creek led the exploring party as low south as lat.  $20^{\circ} 16'$ , long.  $127^{\circ} 35'$ , or five degrees below the mouth of the Victoria, and wanting about two and a half degrees of the centre. For the first 100 miles traversed by it, the land along its right bank 'consisted of vast plains of rich soil covered with beautiful grass.\*' As they followed it, however, the country gradually deteriorated, and Sturt's Creek at length terminated in a chain of dry salt lakes, for which no outlet could be found. Unable to penetrate any further towards the south, Mr. Gregory proceeded to the head of the Gulf of Carpentaria, but, finding no stores to meet him there, he was forced to retreat on Sydney by Dr. Leichhardt's old route.

Nothing further remains to be noticed until we come to the late explorations of Mr. Stuart from Adelaide, and of the expedition under the command of Messrs. Burke and Wills from Melbourne. Nor have we anything to add to the accounts of these so recently published, save to endeavour to award to each of these travellers his fair share in the solution of the two problems which had so long resisted the efforts of Australian explorers—to reach the centre, and to cross the continent. It is quite true that Mr. Stuart solved the one, and Messrs. Burke and Wills the other. Yet this is a judgment scarcely fair to Mr. Stuart. He has certainly done something more. If to cross the continent

means to cross from known to known, then Mr. Stuart had solved both problems before the expeditions under Messrs. Burke and Wills had left Melbourne. If to cross the continent means to cross from sea-beach to sea-beach, then had Mr. Stuart been repulsed from almost every point of the compass, in no less than seventeen attempts, and been twice driven back on Adelaide before Messrs. Burke and Wills gazed on the waters of the Gulf. A rapid sketch of the results of Mr. Stuart's explorations may not be uninteresting, more especially as it will afford a view of the relative position of the two expeditions in the field.

Since the return of Captain Sturt from Central Australia, the people of Adelaide had sought in vain for an extension of territory. They always kept explorers in the field, and Messrs. Hack, Swindon, Freeling, Warburton, and lastly Mr. Babbage, had cleared up a good deal that was vague and uncertain in and around the Torrens Basin. The large flock-owners, too, were not idle, and many of them had eaten their way into the surrounding country as far as safety allowed. Yet the colony of South Australia was still little more than the Adelaide district in an immense and unknown wilderness. At length, in 1858, Mr. Stuart made some discoveries of great importance to the colonists. Penetrating to the west of Lake Torrens with one white man, and a native—who treacherously deserted them—he came upon an extensive district of country abounding in natural springs, and clothed with the Kangaroo grass so highly prized by the Australian flockowners. For this discovery the Colonial Government presented him with a large tract of land within the district.

Towards the close of 1860, news arrived in Adelaide that Mr. Stuart and two men had reached the centre and crossed over to the north coast, and, in a few days, Mr. Stuart himself arrived in Adelaide, and lodged his maps and papers in the hands of the Government. As these documents alter all preconceived opinions of the character of the interior, we make an extract here and there. Mr. Stuart and his two men commenced their exploration on March 1, 1860, from Chambers' Creek, in the district discovered by him in 1858, and journeyed in the direction of the centre:—

'*March 29.*—The country travelled over to-day is the best I have ever seen.

'*March 30.*—Struck another large gum creek [a creek fringed by the gum tree, or *eucalyptus*], coming from the south of west, and running to the south-east. It is a fine creek: its courses of water spread over a grassy plain a mile wide. The water holes are long and deep, with im-

\* Report of Mr. Gregory to the Secretary of State for the Colonies—Proceedings of Royal Geographical Society, 1858.

maense plants growing on its banks, indicating permanent water. The wild oats on its banks are four feet high. The country gone over to-day, although stony, is completely covered with grass, and even better than that passed over yesterday.

'April 3.—We passed over a plain of as fine country as any man could wish to see—a beautiful red soil, covered with grass a foot high. . . . I have not passed such splendid country since I have been in the colony.

'April 12.—Again struck the creek coming from the west, and several other gum creeks coming from the range. We have now entered the lower hills of the range, and have travelled through a splendid country for grass.

'April 15.—The country in the ranges is as fine a pastoral country as a man could wish to possess, having grass to the tops of the hills, and an abundance of water through the ranges.

'April 22.—I find from my observations of the sun, that I am now encamped in the CENTRE of AUSTRALIA. About two and a half miles to the N.N.E. is a high mount. I wish it had been in the centre. I shall go to it to-morrow, and build a cone of stones, plant the British flag, and name it, Central Mount Stuart. . . . Splendid grass all around.

'April 23.—Centre. Took Keckwick and the flag and went to the top of the mount, which I find to be much higher and more difficult than I supposed; but, after numerous slips and knocks, we reached the top. It is as high as Mount Serle, if not higher. The view to the north is over a large plain of gum, mulga, and spinifex, with watercourses running through. The large gum creek that we crossed winds round this hill, in a north-east direction; at ten miles, it is joined by another. . . . Built the cone of stones, in the centre of which I placed a pole, with the British flag nailed to it. On the top of the cone I placed a small bottle, in which is a slip of paper, stating by whom it was raised. We then gave three hearty cheers for the flag.'

We have extracted sufficient to show that Central Australia is very far from being the worthless country which it was so long supposed to be. Our extracts are from the rough notes of Mr. Stuart taken down at the end of each day's journey, and placed in the care of the Colonial Government without any further revision. Beyond the centre, their great difficulties commenced. Mr. Stuart made three efforts to reach the coast by a north-west course, and each time was driven back on the centre by dense belts of scrub and scarcity of water, both men and horses suffering severely from illness and fatigue. A north-west course to the sea was at length abandoned, and Mr. Stuart attempted to reach the coast by a north-east course from the centre. On this course, as our readers are aware, Mr. Stuart and his small party were attacked by savages, and obliged to retire. His extreme northern point, in this year, was lat.  $18^{\circ} 47'$ , long.  $134^{\circ} 0'$ . Mr. Gregory, we have seen, descended from the

north, along his Sturt's Creek, to lat.  $20^{\circ} 16'$ . Mr. Stuart, therefore, even on this occasion, overlapped the explorations of Mr. Gregory by close on  $1\frac{1}{2}$  degrees of latitude. In fact, Mr. Stuart had arrived within a district already marked by the routes of Mr. Gregory, Captain Stokes, and Dr. Leichhardt. This attack of natives occurred in June, 1860, when the exploring expedition under Messrs. Burke and Wills was still in Melbourne. With the first day of the new year, 1861, Mr. Stuart again started from Adelaide, with a party of twelve men under his command, for the purpose of actually reaching the sea-coast. And now the two expeditions were in the field. Mr. Burke's expedition had left Melbourne in August, 1860; but Messrs. Burke and Wills did not start from Cooper's Creek on their journey to the Gulf of Carpentaria until December 14, just a fortnight before Mr. Stuart left Chamber's Creek. The two routes through Central Australia are pretty parallel, the distance of Cooper's Creek from Chamber's Creek, about 300 miles, being mainly adhered to. On this occasion, Mr. Stuart found no difficulty in making good his former route, and was able to advance nearly two degrees beyond its extremity—his extreme northern point now being lat.  $17^{\circ} 0'$ , long.  $133^{\circ} 0'$ . The continuation of his former route, also, opened some fine country—wide grassy plains 'consisting of black alluvial soil from 16 ft. to 20 ft. deep, and covered with luxuriant grasses, 4 feet and 5 feet 6 inches high,' chains of lakas, some of them 10 and 12 miles long, abounding with fish, and lined along their banks with troops of 'pelicans, white cranes, ibises, and native companions'—and, as Mr. Stuart confidently states, accessible to cattle from Adelaide at all seasons of the year. This fine country, however, towards the north was backed by belts of dense scrub, and from it attempts were made, in no less than fourteen different directions, to force a passage to the coast. In June, 1861, the task was abandoned; while in February, Messrs. Burke and Wills had actually visited the shores of the Gulf of Carpentaria by a more easterly, and entirely independent, route. With the few particulars of this route, found among the rough notes and charts of Messrs. Burke and Wills, the public are acquainted from the papers recently laid before Parliament. Their solution of the last problem of Australian Exploration is perfect. From the shores of Port Philip Bay to the shores of the Gulf of Carpentaria, they laid down a direct and practicable route for their fellow-colonists, and returned to their *Dépôt* on Cooper's Creek—to find it abandoned. How bitter their disappointment—how protracted their

sufferings—how nobly they died, when thus forsaken in the desert, we may spare ourselves to recount. When Australian settlements shall have spread into the interior, and occupied the shores of the great Gulf, it will still be remembered that Burke and Wills were the first to overcome all obstacles, and to force a passage from shore to shore. Still will be remembered the tribute paid to them by the Governor of their colony\* :—‘So fell two as gallant spirits as ever sacrificed life for the extension of science, or the cause of mankind. Both were in their prime; both resigned comfort and competency to embark in an enterprise by which they hoped to render their name glorious; both died without a murmur, evincing their loyalty and devotion to their country to the last.’ To the representatives of Richard O’Hara Burke the Royal Geographical Society has most deservedly awarded its great Gold Medal—perhaps the highest honour a scientific body can bestow.

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ART. II.—*Supplementary Despatches, Correspondence, and Memoranda of Field-Marshal Arthur Duke of Wellington, K.G.* Edited by his Son, the Duke of Wellington, K.G. Vols. VI., VII., VIII. London: 1860, 1861.

WE respect the filial pride which induces the Duke of Wellington to complete the records of his father's correspondence. The *Supplementary Despatches* of the great Duke throw light on several parts of his career which the *Gurwood* series had left untouched, and, bringing us more closely in contact with the man at all points of his memorable life, convey a still more perfect notion of his individual genius and character. In the three volumes we are about to examine we see, for the first time, the views of the Duke in reference to the Copenhagen expedition, and to the projected attack on New Spain, which possibly contributed to the Peninsular War; and we gather from them much valuable information respecting the military and political events which marked our continental struggle with Napoleon. No other work contains so full and accurate an account of the difficulties thrown in Wellington's path by the incapacity of the feeble governments which ruled England from 1808 to 1814; and we doubt if even the ‘*Gurwood Despatches*’ disclose more clearly the arduous tasks which were cast on

him as a general and a statesman. Independently too of its positive worth, this book possesses a negative value which induces us to commend its publication. Exhausting, as it does, the correspondence of the Duke, and revealing to us his public life from the inner side in all its details, it brings his character to the strictest test; and Englishmen must rejoice to learn that in no respect will it really detract from their estimate of their great fellow-countryman. If it shows that Wellington was not omniscient on all questions of speculative politics, it fully attests his marvellous sagacity and commanding genius as a general and an administrator; and it adds, if possible, to the list of the proofs we already possess of his sterling patriotism and his single-minded devotion to duty.

In a former article we followed the career of Sir Arthur Wellesley as Chief Secretary of Ireland. In this capacity he simply carried out the policy of quieting the Orange oligarchy by gorging it with corrupt patronage, of steadily upholding Protestant ascendancy, and of meeting the claims of the Catholic nation by open force and acts of oppression. A subordinate as yet, he characteristically accepted the system as he found it, and worked it out with vigorous assiduity—distributing among the Protestant gentry the spoils of office with cool indifference, and laying down an admirable plan for holding the country in military subjection. But unlike the contemporary statesmen of his party, he was fully alive to the manifold perils of this mode of misgoverning Ireland; and in the following remarkable letter, composed when Massena was in his front, and the fate of Portugal appeared desperate, he thus refers to the evil consequences of unmitigated repression :—

‘I concur entirely in opinion with you upon the state of Ireland. The Ministers in England are not aware of the great and general detestation of the Union, and the indifference, even of their friends, respecting the British connexion. You will find even among these last a very prevalent opinion that Ireland could stand alone as an independent nation. . . . I would recommend you to prevent Foster's laying on any new taxes. It is a favourite notion with the Treasury politicians that the income of Ireland ought to be made more equal to the war expenditure; and they allege what is true—that Ireland is taxed neither in proportion to her means or her expenses, nor to the taxation of the other parts of the empire; but they forget the political situation of Ireland—the detestation of the whole people of the connexion, and particularly of the Union and all the measures which have been the consequence of it, and the indifference even of friends which has grown out of it; and they can't see that in the present temper of that

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\* Despatch of Sir Henry Barkly, Governor of Victoria, 20th November, 1861.



country an unpopular tax might lead to the greatest excesses, and even to general resistance of the measures of the legislature. What I would recommend, therefore, is that you should confine your exertions, till the war is over, to measures for improving the collection and produce of the old taxes, and that nothing should induce you to consent to lay on new. *So much for Ireland, where I think matters are in a much more dangerous state than they are even here.*' (Vol. vi. p. 587.)

When we add that 47,000 bayonets, entirely lost to the cause of Europe, were detained in Ireland to uphold this policy, it may be conceded that Lords Grey and Grenville were not in the wrong when, in 1807, they urged the claims of the Irish nation, although Lord Liverpool characterised this resolve 'as an unwarrantable attempt to surprise the King's conscience on a subject on which he was known to have the strongest scruples.'

In 1807 the expedition to Copenhagen removed Sir Arthur Wellesley from Irish politics to a sphere more fitted to his military talents. In the sixth volume of these Despatches we have several details about this enterprise which hitherto have not been made public, and we wish we could quote a memorandum (p. 30) which gives an account of the operations. As is well known, he negotiated the capitulation, commanded the troops which covered the attack, and, at Kioeg, completely defeated a superior force of the Danish army. It will always, perhaps, be a moot point whether, looking at the various circumstances of the time, this expedition admits of justification on any grounds of right or of policy. In any case, it appears certain that we might have attained the object we sought, and have got possession of the Danish fleet, without resorting to the extremity of bombarding the capital city of a neutral nation. The opinion of the Duke on this point is decisive; and probably of the officers employed, he alone perceived the difficulty of the subject:—

'We have it in our power to place ourselves much nearer the town than we are at present; and I think it probable that an advance to this position, the occupation of Amag, and the storming of the Crown Battery, will produce an effect on the minds of the inhabitants which will lead to a capitulation without obliging us to resort to bombardment. . . . I acknowledge that I would prefer an establishment upon Amag as a more certain mode of forcing a capitulation than a bombardment. . . . I think it *behoves us to do as little mischief to the town as possible, and to adopt any mode of reducing it rather than bombardment.*' (Vol. vi. pp. 5. 9.)

Between 1806 and 1808 Sir Arthur Wellesley was in communication with the Grenville

and Portland Governments, in reference to the best method of attacking the Spanish colonies in America. The objects of this projected expedition, which has been very unwisely ridiculed, were to weaken the power of Old Spain, then in complete submission to France, and to open a market for British manufactures, shut out from Europe by the Continental system. In the sixth of these volumes we find the papers which Sir Arthur Wellesley wrote on this subject, detailing with great minuteness the means of invading New Spain with European troops—a question which has recently acquired great interest since military operations in Mexico have been undertaken by France. The proposed attack was to take place from England, India, and the West Indies, from which points considerable forces were to meet upon the coasts of Mexico; and the mode of promoting the junction of the troops, of guarding them from the effects of the climate, and of providing for their subsistence, is calculated with extreme nicety. It was fortunate, however, for the cause of the world that the only result of this project was to form the nucleus of the expeditionary army which first bore our standards to Portugal. However advisable it might have been to have weakened the strength of Charles IV. while holding Spain as Napoleon's satrap, the case was different when the events of 1808 had disclosed the character of the Spanish insurrection, and given England a battle-field in the Peninsula. It is well known with what timid hesitation the English Government adopted the course of embarking in this momentous struggle, although it is certain that at this juncture they had 60,000 bayonets at their disposal, which probably would have proved irresistible, if brought to bear on the proper point immediately after the rout of Baylen. It is evident from the following minute, that Sir Arthur Wellesley saw from the first the importance of the outbreak in Spain; and it is not improbable that his opinion may have led to the resolution of the Cabinet:—

'The events which have lately occurred in Spain, and the intelligence received from Gibraltar, appear to deserve the serious attention of the King's Ministers. . . . That which I recommend is to send to Gibraltar all the disposable force that can immediately be found from England, there to join General Spencer's corps, to be prepared to act as circumstances would point out. Arms and ammunition in large quantities ought to be sent with this corps, and its commander to be instructed to encourage the insurrection to the utmost of his power. If it should be found impracticable to make any impression upon the French authority in Spain by the means of the insurrection, he should be then instructed to encourage the principal people of

the kingdom to emigrate to America, under the engagement of establishing there an independent government. As the troops are not at present wanted in England, and the transports are already in the service, no inconvenience can result from this measure.' (Vol. vi. p. 80.)

From this period the Duke's career pursues the course of that great contest which struck down the power of France in the Peninsula, and more than any single event, except the expedition to Moscow, contributed to the fall of Napoleon. Independently of its stirring incidents, that struggle possesses a moral interest, and affords memorable political lessons, which have not even yet been sufficiently elucidated. It shows what a great commander can accomplish against very superior forces, if certain conditions concur in his favour. It attests signally the success in war which attends the union of forethought and perseverance with skill in strategy and military combination. It gauges in a remarkable way the strength and the weakness of a patriotic resistance to regular armies, well organised, but wanting in certain elements of power, and operating in a difficult country. It teaches a terrible lesson of the disgrace which divided counsels, disunited generals, commanders subject to autocratic power, and a vicious and licentious military system, may inflict on troops of the highest character. In the base servility of the notables of Madrid, in the senseless arrogance of the Spanish generals, in the noisy factions of the Cortes at Cadiz, it testifies to the moral decline of the upper orders of Spain and Portugal, while it equally shows the latent energy, the capacity for war, and the love of country which have ever distinguished the people of the Peninsula. But above all, it affords a proof how, in carrying on a protracted contest, a settled and constitutional Power, even under very unfavourable conditions, may have elements of strength and of ultimate success, which may overthrow a military despotism, though guided by the highest individual genius. If at this period the governments of England displayed frequently great incapacity, and committed many administrative blunders,—if they lost several occasions of success, and wasted the military resources of the empire,—if they did not appreciate the nature of the struggle, or the skill and wisdom of their commander,—they did not arm two nations against their troops by reducing plunder and rapine to a system, they did not exact compliance with schemes of sieges and battles planned at a distance, nor were their efforts paralysed or crossed by ruinous jealousies among their generals. By thus avoiding the fatal errors which marked Napoleon's Peninsular rule, made all his brilliant victories use-

less, and deprived his armies of half their influence, they managed—notwithstanding their shortcomings—to emerge at length victorious from the struggle, though it must be allowed that Wellington's genius was the principal agent in their triumph.

These cardinal truths, as may be supposed, appear plainly in the volumes before us. We shall not trace them the less clearly if we follow the course of Wellington's campaigns, and add to our illustrations of them a few other incidental observations. When, in 1808, the Tory Cabinet resolved to send a force to the Peninsula, it had the means and the opportunity to strike a terrible blow at Napoleon. Our fleets were dominant in every sea, our transport service of enormous extent, and our land forces, independent of volunteers, were nearly two hundred thousand strong, in a high state of discipline and efficiency. Had even one-fourth of this formidable array been disembarked in Portugal or Andalusia, it must have destroyed either Junot or Dupont, who were isolated from their main supports by the impenetrable masses of the Spanish insurrection. Such a blow, however, was beyond the Administration; and in the measures which were actually taken, Lord Castlereagh evinced a curious felicity in paralysing and checking the strength of the empire. To attack Lisbon, and to enter Cadiz with a force not equal to 30,000 men, was the plan of campaign he set down on paper; and this was to be accomplished by isolated corps, detached from England at different times, proceeding on different lines of operation, and subject to a happy arrangement that brought three generals-in-chief together to thwart each other at the decisive moment. From the following letter it would now appear that even this plan had not been matured when Sir Arthur Wellesley, with 10,000 men, had been sent to make an attack on Portugal, where Junot had nearly 20,000 and was in possession of all the fortresses.

'Spencer has sent me a paper of information, stating that the French force in Portugal amounts to 20,000 men; and although he knows I have only 10,000 and that he was not employed on any service to the south, he had determined to remain on shore at Xeres, near Cadiz; but I have ordered him to join me, and I expect him in a day or two; and as I don't believe the French have so many as 20,000 men, I shall commence my operations as soon as he with his 5,000, or a reinforcement expected from England of 5,000 men, shall join me. He sent this same account to England, where they took the alarm, and ordered out 5,000 men and Moore's corps of 10,000 men with several general officers, senior to me, and Sir Hew Dalrymple to command the whole army. I hope that I shall have beat Junot

before any of them shall arrive, and then they will do as they please with me.' (Vol. vi. p. 95.)

Sir Arthur Wellesley, having been joined by these two corps, of 5,000 each, and hearing that Moore's 10,000 men were about to land on the coast of Portugal, resolved to march against Junot at once, to cut him off from Lisbon if possible, and with the auxiliary force of Moore, which he wished to be placed on the line of the Tagus, to intercept the retreat of the French, and thus to complete the ruin of their army. This combination was worthy of his genius; but it was foiled by his senior officer, Sir Harry Burrard, who superseded him at the crisis of the campaign, and ordered this corps to another direction. We now know the results of this movement:—

'I send you my letters to General Burrard (which I request you to return to me when you have perused them). They contain my opinion of the line of operations which ought to have been followed by Sir John Moore's corps; and as the troops under his command were nearly all landed by the 21st, it is almost certain that if this plan had been persevered in, and the troops had not been re-embarked, we should have been some days ago in a situation to have refused to the French any capitulation excepting on the terms of their laying down their arms.' (Vol. vi. p. 128.)

Though thwarted in the plan of this campaign, Sir Arthur Wellesley at the battle of Vimiero would probably have cut Junot off from Lisbon, had it not been for Burrard's interference. At the Court of Inquiry held subsequently, Sir Arthur expressed himself cautiously on this point, but we see his real opinion in these words:—

'And I doubt much whether Sir Harry Burrard ever reported what he did on that evening, which I consider to have been fatal to the campaign. . . . I never saw such desperate fighting as we had on the 17th August, or troops receive such a beating as the French did on the 21st; and it is unfortunate that I was not allowed to carry my own measures into execution after the action of that day. If I had, we should have destroyed them entirely. As usual, I had an unanimous army, who would have undertaken anything for me; and I took care that the troops should be well provided with everything they wanted.' (Vol. vi. pp. 162, 176.)

The Convention of Cintra, and the inquiry on the conduct of its authors, were the only results of this campaign, which, although not entirely unsuccessful, fell far short of what might have been accomplished. So far as regarded the principle of the Convention, Sir Arthur Wellesley was in favour of it, on the ground that, after the blunders committed, the French might retain their hold on Portugal, and this too was Napoleon's opinion.

For the part Sir Arthur took in this negotiation he was exposed to a storm of ignorant obloquy. It is characteristic of his nature that when thus assailed, and ungenerously dealt with, he should have steadily refused to publish a single line in his own vindication:—

'I shall adopt no illegitimate means of setting them right, and shall neither publish anything myself, nor authorise a publication by anybody else; nor shall I, in order to raise myself in the public opinion, state circumstances respecting the difference of opinion between Sir H. Burrard and myself on the 20th and 21st August, although those circumstances led to the expediency of allowing the French to evacuate Portugal.' (Vol. vi. p. 168.)

In the next campaign, from which we should date the real commencement of the Peninsular war, the strength and weakness of the rival powers were displayed in the clearest manner. In the winter of 1808, Napoleon had crossed the Somosierra, had entered Madrid at the head of his armies, and had set in motion a formidable force 'to chase the leopard into the ocean.' He was summoned away by the attack of Austria, yet left in Spain such a military power as seemed to set opposition at defiance. At first the progress of the marshals was irresistible; Sir John Moore retreated to his ships; the Spanish levies were repeatedly overthrown and swept behind the Sierra Morena; and the French arms advanced in triumph to the foot of the ranges bordering on Portugal. The only visible elements of opposition were the garrisons of Saragossa and Gerona; the numerous bands of partisans who gathered around the track of the invader, and a feeble remnant of the British army which still held the rocks around Lisbon. The French emperor confidently expected that Soult from Oporto and Victor from the Tagus would soon meet in the capital of Portugal, and though the Cabinet was forming plans of rescuing Spain with a few divisions, and was squandering millions on Spanish subsidies, Sir Arthur Wellesley did not fail to comprehend the nature of the danger:—

'The plan of operations for the French will be to move Victor's corps from Badajoz to Abrantes; then cross the Tagus; and as soon as that corps is ready to move on towards Lisbon, to bring on the other two weaker corps from Oporto and Salamanca; and the whole to join in the neighbourhood of Santarem; unless, indeed, they should be certain that Oradock cannot move, in which case they will move down according as they may find it convenient.

'As soon as the junction and co-operation of the three French corps shall be secure, they will detach from 5,000 to 10,000 across the Tagus to

the southern bank, where we have not a man, either British or Portuguese. They will post this corps upon the heights of Almada, which, you will recollect, are opposite Lisbon, and in their continuation command the harbour. As soon as they will have possession of this ground, the Admiral will find out that he cannot remain there with his ships of war; and the General, that he cannot embark his troops; and by this manœuvre alone the French will obtain possession of Lisbon most probably before I shall arrive there.' (Vol. vi. p. 227.)

And yet at this time we see from these volumes that the French armies were wholly unable to complete their conquests. There is little justice in Napoleon's complaints that the inactivity of Soult and Victor in the early part of 1809 was the cause that they did not advance to Lisbon. The following passage from an intercepted despatch of Soult shows how the system of military exactions had aroused an insurrection in Galicia, and trebled the peril of a movement on Portugal :—

'Cette province est toujours en état de fermentation. Les menaces de mort et d'incendie qu'emploie La Romana; les nombreux agents qui agissent en son nom; les exécutions qu'il fait; les dévastations qui ont inévitablement lieu par les fréquents mouvements des troupes; la ruine de la plupart des habitants; l'absence de toute autorité qui représente Votre Majesté; l'influence des prêtres, qui sont très-nombreux, et la grande majorité opposante; l'argent que les Anglais répandent; la détresse de généraux Français, qui, faute de moyens, ne peuvent souvent payer les émissaires qu'ils emploient; toutes ces causes contribuent à augmenter de jour en jour le nombre des ennemis, et à rendre la guerre qu'on fait dans ce pays très-meurtrière, infiniment désagréable et d'un résultat fort éloigné.' (Vol. vi. p. 312.)

In consequence of the same system, which made the subsistence of the French armies depend entirely on the resources of the districts in which they happened to be quartered, the force of Victor was also paralysed, as we see from the following significant letter from that marshal to King Joseph :—

'Je peindrai difficilement la peine que j'éprouve. Ma position est affreuse. Je touche au moment de voir la dissolution du 1er Corps d'armée. Les soldats tombent d'inanition. Je n'ai rien, absolument rien à leur faire donner. Ils sont au désespoir. Je ne vois pas sans effroi les effets de cette détresse; ils seront funestes à notre gloire. Ils le seront à Votre Majesté. Je n'y vois aucun remède que celui que j'ai eu l'honneur de lui proposer par ma lettre d'hier. Encore en l'adoptant sera-t-il trop tardif. Je suis forcé par cette circonstance de me replier sur Talavera la Reyna, où il n'y a pas plus de ressources qu'ici. Que devenir au milieu d'une telle calamité? Des secours prompts nous

seront indispensables, mais où sont ils? Qui peut nous les fournir? Si Votre Majesté m'abandonne dans le cas malheureux où je me trouve, honneur, service, tout est perdu pour moi. Je ne serai pas la cause du désastre qui menace mes troupes, néanmoins j'en porterai la peine. Je serai demain à Talavera de la Reine, où j'attendrai les ordres de Votre Majesté.' (Vol. vi. p. 298.)

In this state of things we now know what England might have accomplished in 1809, had her real powers been employed in the Peninsula. General Napier maintains that 90,000 men might have been easily spared for this service; and had this force, well found and equipped, supported by a national insurrection, and with the impregnable base of the sea, been landed either at Lisbon or Cadiz, it is not improbable that it might have driven the French armies behind the Ebro, and thus anticipated the triumphs of Vittoria. Yet, although the time was singularly propitious, for the great bulk of Napoleon's force was held in check on the plains of Germany, no effort of the kind was even contemplated; and the strength of the empire was idly wasted in a series of isolated and disconnected operations which, in one instance, ended in disaster, and in none were productive of real advantages. Twelve thousand troops were employed in Italy, and withdrawn completely from the theatre of war, in an expedition evidently useless. A magnificent army perished at Walcheren in an enterprise both ill-timed and ill-managed. And, although in Portugal, and even in Spain, Sir Arthur Wellesley, with an insignificant force, under 30,000 British soldiers, contributed much to the honour of our arms, his efforts were baffled at the close of the campaign, and, after the battle of Talavera, he was wellnigh crushed by superior numbers. Instead of achieving positive success, the only results of the campaign of 1809 were to leave us Portugal as a base of operations, to prove the excellent character of our soldiers, to make our great commander acquainted with the real state of affairs in the Peninsula, and to give him an opportunity of maturing those deep-laid plans of strategy and policy which at length crowned our standards with victory. These results in the long run were important, but fell far short of what might have been accomplished by the great strength and resources of the empire at a much earlier period.

It has been said that the Walcheren expedition, which withdrew our force from the Peninsula at this juncture, was well conceived though ill executed. This was not the opinion of the Duke at the time, as we gather from the following sentence :—

'I find by a letter from Lord Castlereagh of the 4th that they did not expect to be able to do more than take the island of Walcheren, which I think they can't hold, and, at all events, they will not get the fleet.' (Vol. vi. p. 337.)

General Napier has shown with his usual clearness the peril which menaced the British army when, after the battle of Talavera, three French corps appeared on its flank, while Cuesta exposed its front to Victor. The Gurwood Despatches hardly disclose the extent of the danger, although it is plain that Sir Arthur Wellesley was well aware of it.

'The day before yesterday General Cuesta abandoned Talavera, and arrived on the morning of the 4th at Oropesa, on the ground that Soult and Ney, joined, had come through Plasencia, that I was not strong enough for them, and, moreover, that he was threatened on his left flank and in his front. Soult was then at Navalmoral, and the bridge at Almaraz was taken up. In my opinion there remained for us, but one line to adopt, General Cuesta's intelligence being correct, and that was to withdraw across the bridge of Arzobispoa, re-establish as soon as possible our communication with Seville and with Lisbon.' (Vol. vi. p. 325.)

The real use of the campaign of 1809 consisted in the experience which it gave the English general of the character of the contest. He had been made aware of the strength and the weakness of the French armies in the Peninsula; and this had led him to the conclusion that, however formidable they were in the field, they might, nevertheless, be kept out of Portugal, from whence, as from an impregnable outwork, disastrous blows might be levelled at them. In this trying campaign he had also been disabused with respect to the character of the Spanish juntas and of the regular armies of Spain, while he fully appreciated the powerful aid which might be derived from the national insurrection.

'Their government is a miserable one, deficient in every quality which a government ought to possess in these days. Their military establishment is very defective, and they have neither general nor inferior officers of any talents, nor sufficient numbers of troops; and these last appear to me to be worse as soldiers than their general officers are as generals. The troops have neither arms, clothing, accoutrements, discipline, nor efficiency: there are no magazines, and no means of collecting from the country the supplies which all armies require. There is no plan of a campaign, either for carrying on the war, or for continuing the contest; and the efforts of the rulers appear to be directed, in the first instance, to keeping their own situations, and, in the second, to exciting and keeping up in the country a kind of false enthusiasm by which it is supposed that everything can be effected; and they endeavour to effect both

these objects by the undertaking of little operations with little means, by the circulation of false intelligence, by the exaggerations of little successes and the concealment of great disasters. In this consists the secret of the government. . . . At the same time they are cordial haters of the French, and I think, whatever may be the result of the military contest in the Peninsula, much time will elapse before the French can establish a government in Spain, and still more time before they will derive such advantage from their influence in that country as they did before they invaded it.' (Vol. vi. p. 388.)

A new direction in accordance with these views was given to the contest from this period; and Wellington—he received a peerage in consequence of the battle of Talavera—though often thwarted and ill supported, was allowed to mature the elements of success by keeping to his own course of action. The whole of Portugal was organised for defence; the militia of the ordenanzas were called out; the inhabitants were instructed so to waste the country as to cut off supplies from the invader; and the impregnable lines of Torres Vedras were made 'as a last refuge of the independence of the Peninsula.' The British armies were withdrawn from Spain, not to enter it for a considerable time; but every encouragement was given to the insurrections which smouldered or blazed in all parts of the country. By these means an impenetrable barrier was raised against the aggressions of the French; they were harassed by a consuming warfare; and the greatest possible advantage was taken of the weakest point of their military system, their inability to support their armies except by a method of organised rapine. Meanwhile, though ill understood at home, the diplomacy of England at Lisbon and Cadiz was admirably conducted by the British general with Sir Charles Stuart and Sir Henry Wellesley; and great as were the difficulties in their way, in consequence of corruption or faction, and of false views and niggardliness in England, they happily managed to overcome them. So deep and sagacious a scheme of war against such an enemy as Napoleon is without any parallel in history; and had it been seconded as it deserved, its success could never have been doubtful. The governments of the day did much, however, to thwart it, by their vacillation and parsimony; and though they shared in the glory of the triumph, they are only entitled to the negative praise of not having mischievously interfered with the operations connected with the war, and of having permitted their great general to carry out his own views of strategy. Yet, even as it was, the arms of England emerged victorious from the contest; and though, after 1809, the French added to

their conquests in Spain, the safety of Portugal and ultimately of the Peninsula, was assured by Wellington at Torres Vedras.

The campaigns of 1810–11, when Massena, having invaded Portugal, was driven out of it with enormous loss, are the well-known proofs of the wisdom of this strategy. On these there are numerous details in these volumes which confirm our general observations, and contain passages of much interest. We wish we had space to transcribe the correspondence between Wellington and Sir Richard Fletcher relating to the lines of Torres Vedras; for it gives perhaps the fullest account which has yet appeared of these memorable constructions. The operations of 1810 commenced with the capture of Ciudad Rodrigo; and though Wellington was strictly on the defensive, he was subjected to much criticism at home for not having advanced to relieve it. The following is his vindication of his conduct:—

‘I see that the French papers have lately begun to abuse me, and the English newspapers will soon follow their example, and the opposition will follow theirs, because I did not strike a blow against the French before their force was collected for the siege of Ciudad Rodrigo.

‘First, it must be observed that I had not 32,000 men, nor even 25,000, in this quarter, till the beginning of summer. The Portuguese troops were not clothed or equipped, and the British troops had not recovered their sickness, till late in the spring; and there was always in my front, since January last, the sixth corps, consisting of 31,000 men. There would have been many difficulties—some, in that season, amounting to impossibilities—in attacking them; and, if I had attacked them, I could not have gained any important success before they would have been joined by the eighth corps, which were never further from them than Leon. There would then have been 57,000 men against 25,000; and whatever might have been my first success, I must have retired with loss, and the army, which would have been exposed to the bad weather early in spring, would not now have been half so efficient as it is.’ (Vol. vi. p. 562.)

Though ill-supplied with men and money, and with an army considerably weaker than that which he had been led to expect, he did not, even at this critical juncture, believe the cause of the Peninsula to be hopeless.

‘The enemy are woefully strong—I should think not less than 80,000 men, whom they can bring into Portugal; but I don’t give the game up as lost, and I think it will be gained if Government will only lend me some infantry to fight the battle near Lisbon. . . . I see more, and must know more, of what is going on here than others, and I certainly have no prejudice in favour of the continuance of our exertions here, founded upon any partiality for the business of guiding them; but I sincerely feel what I write—that, if the resources of Great Britain were

fairly applied to this contest as they have been to any other in which the country has been engaged, the French would yet repent the invasion of Spain.’ (Vol. vi. p. 564.)

The hostile armies met at Busaco, where Massena suffered a severe repulse, but afterwards turned the position by Coimbra. M. Thiers takes an opportunity of sneering at English slowness on this occasion: from the following brief remark of Wellington we may estimate the value of the criticism:—

‘The croakers about useless battles will attack me again on that of Busaco, notwithstanding that our loss was really trifling. But I should have been inexcusable if, knowing what I did, I had not endeavoured to stop the enemy there; and I should have stopped him entirely if it had not been for the blunders of the Portuguese general commanding in the north, who was prevented by a small French patrol from sending Trant by the road by which he was ordered to march. If he had come by that road, the French could not have turned our position, and they must have attacked us again; they could not have carried it, and they must have retired. The question is, whether, having it in my power to take such a position, it was right to incur the risk of a general engagement in it? That which has since happened shows that, if not turned, I could have maintained it without loss of importance, and that, if turned, I could retire from it without inconvenience.’ (Vol. vi. p. 606.)

The following passage from an intercepted despatch shows how keenly Massena felt the efficacy of the plan adopted by Wellington for cutting off their supplies from the French, and their absolute ignorance of the Lines of Torres Vedras, although within a few marches of them:—

‘Lord Wellington avec l’armée Anglo-Portugaise est en pleine retraite sur Lisbonne. Il annonce le projet de vouloir nous disputer toutes positions. Je marche réuni, et je ferai tout ce que je pourrai pour le décider à livrer bataille, seul moyen de le détruire, ou de le forcer à se rembarquer. On porte le nombre des deux armées Anglais et Portugaise à 60,000 ou à 70,000 hommes; parmi lesquels 25,000 Anglais. L’ennemi brûle et détruit tout en évacuant le pays. Il force tous les habitants à abandonner leurs foyers. Coimbra, ville de 20,000 âmes, est désertée. Nous ne trouvons aucunes subsistances. L’armée vit avec le bled de Turquie et les légumineuses que nous trouvons encore sur plante. Lord Wellington, n’osant nous attendre en rase campagne, cherche à nous détruire en ruinant tout ce qui pourrait nous alimenter. Les habitants des villes et des villages sont très malheureux. Il les contraint à servir sous peine de la vie; enfin aucune époque de l’histoire n’offre d’exemple d’une aussi grande barbarie.’ (Vol. vi. p. 609.)

The following notice of the effect produced in Europe by Massena’s retreat is from an interesting paper in these volumes compiled by an agent of Lord Wellesley:—

'Secret information arrived daily from Prussia, Austria, and Russia, of the extraordinary effect produced in those countries by the success of the Spanish cause, and of the British arms in the Peninsula.

'Prussia was then foremost in zeal. Gneisenau was fortifying the lines at Spandau in imitation of Torres Vedras. I have seen many letters from thence, stating the sanguine hope of Gneisenau and Blücher to rival the efforts in the Peninsula. The Hanoverians showed the same spirit. The joy betrayed at Vienna on the retreat of Massena showed that a proper feeling was arising in Austria. And although Russia was not ready, yet from the details brought by Prince Lubomirski of the activity of the Emperor Alexander in recruiting and new-modelling his army, it was clear that she was sincere. These were the first fruits of our efforts in the Peninsula, and they filled Lord Wellesley's mind with hope; and though he still lamented his hands were not free, he was less impatient of his situation.' (Vol. vii. p. 267)

While Wellington was thus convincing Europe that Portugal could be successfully defended, the English Cabinet remained incredulous. It threw on him the entire responsibility of keeping the army within the lines, and warned him that a retreat to his ships was considered absolutely necessary in England. The following letter from Lord Liverpool is a fair specimen of this correspondence:—

'I should apprise you that a very considerable degree of alarm exists in this country respecting the safety of the British army in Portugal; and as it is always some advantage to know, on a question of doubtful policy, on which side it may be best to err, I have no difficulty in stating that, under all the circumstances, you would rather be excused for bringing away the army a little too soon than, by remaining in Portugal a little too long, exposing it to those risks from which no military operations can be wholly exempt.' (Vol. vi. p. 493.)

It is worth remarking that the only favour which Wellington's plans received at this time appears to have come from the old King, then on the point of disappearing from the scene. A letter, written in April 1810,—that is, some months before Massena's advance,—from Sir Herbert Taylor to Lord Liverpool, attests this in a striking manner, and is most creditable to George III.:—

'I have had the honour of submitting your Lordship's letter to the King, and of reading to him the private letter from Lord Wellington to which it refers; and His Majesty desires you will accept his thanks for this communication, which has proved in the highest degree interesting and satisfactory to him.

'I think it my duty to acquaint your lordship that, in the course of the reading, the King observed that the arguments and remarks which this letter contains, the general style and spirit in which it is written, and the clearness with

which the state of the question and of prospects in Portugal is exposed, have given His Majesty a very high opinion of Lord Wellington's sense, and of the resources of his mind as a soldier; and that, as he appears to have weighed the whole of his situation so coolly and maturely, and to have considered so fully every contingency under which he may be placed, not omitting any necessary preparation, His Majesty trusted that his Ministers would feel with him the advantage of suffering him to proceed according to his judgment and discretion in the adherence to the principles which he has laid down unfettered by any particular instructions, which might embarrass him in the execution of his general plan of operations.' (Vol. vi. p. 515.)

Nor were the obstacles cast in the way of Wellington at this time by his Government those only of vacillation and faintheartedness. At this very time, when the French armies were marching on Cadiz, through Andalusia, and Soult was ordered to co-operate with Massena, through Estremadura and Alentejo, the Cabinet gave a decided countenance to the revolt of the Spanish-American colonies. This step was calculated, beyond all others, to arouse the jealousy of the Spanish nation, and to open a path to the conquest of Portugal: it actually caused the greatest irritation; and the following letter of Sir A. Wellesley points out the consequences it was producing:—

'Thus are petty British objects of commerce suffered to interfere with the great and interesting work of releasing this country from the yoke of France; and unless the British Government takes the decided line of discouraging the spirit which has broken forth in the colonies, and that, too, in the most open manner, it will create such a jealousy here as never can be got under, and will probably be the ruin of the whole cause.

'It is wonderful that they cannot be satisfied in England with a commercial arrangement which would be attended with immense advantages to ourselves, and would likewise be greatly beneficial to Spain. I apprehend this to be the true spirit of all commercial treaties; and why are we to take advantage of the weakness of Spain to endeavour to impose terms upon her which would be ruinous and disgraceful?' (Vol. vi. p. 589.)

The inability to obtain specie for the military chest and other purposes, was another difficulty to which Wellington was exposed, at this and other periods of the contest. Beyond dispute, the main cause of this was the great depreciation of the currency at home, which, driving away the precious metals, made it no easy matter to recall them. Of course, however, supplies of specie could have been obtained in England and elsewhere by paying for it at the market price—and



Wellington actually procured a great deal by buying corn, and re-selling it for gold; but the Government, with peculiar shortsightedness, relied on the trade of Lisbon exclusively to attract gold and silver to Portugal, and this too, exactly at the time when any specie that entered Portugal was almost instantly exported from it, in consequence of the condition of the country. On several occasions Wellington's movements were paralysed by the want of money; and the army of the richest nation in Europe was generally in arrear of pay, and comparatively destitute. There are several remonstrances from Wellington on this point as early as 1810; we quote the following, though somewhat later:—

'The Commissary-in-Chief and the Treasury have disapproved of my sanctioning bargains for importing specie from Gibraltar, for which bills were to be granted by the Commissary-General at a more disadvantageous rate of exchange than the market rate of Lisbon. I have therefore been obliged, within these last three days, to refuse to give my sanction to an offer of 500,000 dollars upon a similar bargain. I can scarcely believe that the Treasury are aware of the distresses of this army. We owe not less than 5,000,000 dollars: the troops are two months in arrears of their pay; and I have been able to allot only 100,000 dollars to the payment of the Portuguese subsidy in this month. The Portuguese troops and establishments are likewise in the greatest distress; and it is my opinion, as well as that of Marshal Beresford, that we must disband part of the army unless I can increase the money payments of the subsidy. The Commissary-General has this day informed me that he is very apprehensive that he shall not be able to make good his engagements for the payment of meat for the troops; and if we are obliged to stop that payment, your Lordship will do well to prepare to recall the army, as it will be quite impossible to carry up salt meat, as well as bread, to the troops from the sea-coast. The Treasury cannot expect that I shall take upon myself to sanction measures of which they have expressed their positive disapprobation; and I hope that they will recall that disapprobation, or that they will adopt some efficient measures to supply this army with specie. From this statement your Lordship will observe that it is not improbable that we may not be able to take advantage of the enemy's comparative weakness in this campaign *for the want of money*. I think it most probable, however, as I have explained in my letter of the 11th to my brother, that a great effort will be made, by a concentration of the whole of the enemy's force, when the harvest will be on the ground, to weaken the impression which our early successes have made; and this is the reason why I am anxious for a diversion on the eastern coast.' (Vol. vii. p. 318.)

It is not surprising that the anger of Wellington should have been aroused at such

treatment as this, though at no time in the campaign of 1810 did his confidence in himself desert him. The following passage expresses the state of his feelings when, with Massena before him, he had vainly attempted to induce the Cabinet to carry on the war with energy and honour:—

'There is a despondency among some,—a want of confidence in their own exertions,—an extravagant notion of the power and resources of the French, and a distaste for the war in the Peninsula, which sentiments have been created and are kept up by correspondence with England, even with Ministers and those connected with them.

'All this is uncomfortable. With the exception of Beresford, I have really no assistance; I am left to myself, to my own exertions, to my own execution, the mode of execution, and even the superintendence of that mode; but still I don't despair. I am positively in no scrape; and if the country can be saved, we shall save it. Government have behaved with their usual weakness and folly about reinforcements, and I shall get none of those which have been promised me, but the Duke of Brunswick's infantry instead.' (Vol. vi. p. 589.)

Notwithstanding these discouragements, however, a great outwork of the Peninsula was wrested permanently from the invader in this immortal campaign of Wellington. From this time we incline to think that the absolute conquest of the Peninsula was beyond the strength of the French armies—at least, in the actual mode of their organization. It is true that their hold on Spain grew tighter, that no inconsiderable party in that country began to favour the rule of Joseph, and that Wellington failed in 1811 to penetrate beyond the Spanish frontier. But, vast as were their forces on paper, and formidable if for an instant united, the French commanders were paralysed in their efforts for the want of money and magazines; and although they occupied five-sixths of Spain, they had no means of crushing the enemy who, from his impregnable lair in Portugal, lay watching the opportunity to attack them. From the same cause, the French armies for the most part were isolated from each other, and were full of vices of insubordination and indiscipline; and the following letter, written in 1811, when their power in Spain appeared at the highest, and before one draft had been sent to Russia, gives a clear notion of the elements of weakness which sapped the strength of these proud legions and threatened the domination they were upholding:—

'I have had a good deal of information lately respecting the state of the French armies; and I have no doubt but that Napoleon is much distressed for money. Notwithstanding the swindling mode in which his armies are paid, the

troops are generally ten and eleven, and some of them twelve months in arrears of pay. Provisions are never paid for, and it is acknowledged by the French officers themselves that their system has turned into a desert the finest provinces of Spain. . . . It is impossible that this fraudulent tyranny can last. If Great Britain continues stout, we must see the destruction of it.' (Vol. vii. p. 233.)

But though Portugal had been saved in this campaign, the Government, in their relations with Wellington, continued their mean and timid policy. They complained of the vast cost of the war, insisting on charging sums to this account with which it really had nothing to do, exacted from their general a statement of the destination of all his reinforcements, and kept him under galling restrictions with respect to promotions and other arrangements. The failure at Badajoz and Ciudad Rodrigo—a failure due, in a great degree, to their own neglect to provide siege tools—increased their sense of the hopelessness of the contest; and this was aggravated by the doubtful issue of Fuentes de Onoro and Albuera. Throughout 1811 we find Wellington complaining bitterly of this vexatious and ruinous pusillanimity:—

'I agree entirely in opinion with you that it is desirable, nay necessary, to reinforce this army at an early period to a large amount, and of this opinion I have repeatedly apprised Lord Liverpool in some public despatches, and in many private letters: but after what has been stated to you, you will hardly believe that I have now scarcely the force which was originally promised me, which was to be 35,000 infantry. Then when the last reinforcements were sent out, not only was I told that I was to expect no more, but I was desired to send home some of the troops in case Massena should retire. I even begged to *borrow* 10,000 men from England or Ireland for a short period, which was refused; and then they tell you that I don't apply for specific numbers to perform specific operations.

'What I have already written will show you how the facts stand respecting my applications, and I will now state how they stand respecting objects. Before the siege of Almeida I urged in the strongest terms to be reinforced; I pointed out from whence I could be reinforced; and stated the probability that if I were reinforced, I could save everything.' (Vol. vii. p. 41.)

The following is Wellington's candid estimate of Albuera and Fuentes de Onoro:—

'The battle of Albuera was a strange concern. They were never determined to fight it; they did not occupy the ground as they ought; they were ready to run away at every moment from the time it commenced till the French retired; and if it had not been for me, who am now suffering from the loss and disorganisation occasioned by that battle, they would have written a whining report upon it, which would have

driven the people in England mad. However I prevented that.

'Lord Liverpool was quite right not to move thanks for the battle at Fuentes, though it was the most difficult one I was ever concerned in, and against the greatest odds. We had very nearly three to one against us engaged; above four to one of cavalry; and, moreover, our cavalry had not a gallop in them, while some of that of the enemy was fresh and in excellent order. If Boney had been there we should have been beaten.' (Vol. vii. p. 177.)

When war between France and Russia grew imminent, the Government, still incredulous of the importance or the real state of the Peninsular contest, desired to withdraw our army altogether, and to land it somewhere in the north of Europe, to act upon the flanks of Napoleon. This scheme, if carried into execution, would probably have been completely abortive; but fortunately Wellington's counsels prevailed; and the result signally vindicated his wisdom. Beyond dispute, in 1814, the diversion on the Pyrenean frontier powerfully aided the success of the allies; and the following letter, written in 1811, deserves notice for its deep sagacity:—

'But the principal point on which I wished to write to you is the disposal of this army, supposing that there should be a general breeze in Europe. I think that you have miscalculated the means and resources of France in men, and mistaken the objects of the French Government in imagining that, under those circumstances, Buonaparte will be obliged or inclined to withdraw his army from Spain. He will not even reduce it considerably, but he will only not reinforce it. If I am right, the British army cannot be so advantageously employed as in the Peninsula. Of that, I trust, there is no doubt. If the British army is not employed in the Peninsula, that part of the world would soon be conquered; and the army which would have achieved its conquest, reinforced by the levies in the Peninsula, would reduce to subjugation the rest of the world. But that is not exactly the view which you have taken of the subject. You appear to think it probable that Buonaparte would be inclined or obliged to withdraw from the Peninsula; and you ask, what would I do in that case? I answer, *attack the most vulnerable frontier of France, that of the Pyrenees. Oblige the French to maintain in that quarter 200,000 men for their defence; touch them vitally there, when it will certainly be impossible to touch them elsewhere, and form the nations of the Peninsula into soldiers, who would be allies of Great Britain for centuries.*' (Vol. vii. p. 245.)

Lord Wellesley resigned in January 1812, disgusted at the lukewarm support his brother was receiving from the Government, and perhaps instigated by personal resentment. From a very interesting paper in these volumes (vol. vii. pp. 257—288) it seems that some

at least of his colleagues had little scruple how they assailed him :—

'The friends of Ministers now had recourse to very unhandsome means of stemming this tide of popular feeling towards Lord Wellesley by depreciating his character, and circulating all possible reports to his disadvantage. . . . As soon as it was rumoured that Lord Wellesley had resigned, a variety of reports were circulated respecting the cause, and the partisans of Mr. Perceval's government did not scruple to state publicly that it was the failure of an intrigue to obtain the office of Prime Minister. Lord Wellesley was applied to by his parliamentary friends for information to enable them to answer the inquiries with which they were assailed, and to contradict the injurious reports they heard in every quarter. They urged him to give them a short statement of his motives for retiring in writing for the greater accuracy. Lord Wellesley refused to write any statement, saying that the only place in which a full explanation could be given with propriety was in his place in Parliament, and that in the meanwhile he wished them to confine themselves to a general answer, viz. that he had retired because his advice was not listened to respecting the Peninsula and other matters.' (Vol. vii. pp. 266, 277.)

The following is Wellington's commentary on the subject :—

'I have received your letters of the 4th and 7th. I had already written to you about your retirement from office. In truth the republic of a cabinet is but little suited to any man of taste or of large views. I believe that the Government are not aware of the difficulties in which I am constantly involved from defects and deficiencies of all descriptions; nor of the shifts to which I am obliged to have recourse to get on at all. I am not a competent judge of the resources of the British Empire, but I am convinced that if Great Britain had carried on the war in the Peninsula with the same generosity, not to say profusion of supply, with which other wars had been supported, matters would now have been in a very different state.' (Vol. vii. p. 807.)

In 1812, a new aspect was given to the Peninsular contest, and though retarded and even endangered, the final issue began to show itself. The French armies in Spain had been much weakened by heavy drafts for the Russian war, while they still retained their isolated positions; the long line of their communications from Bayonne absorbed considerable masses of their troops; and the Spanish frontier was ill guarded by the separated forces of Soult and Marmont, who disliked each other and had different objects. The English general issued from Portugal; attacked Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajoz, and took those fortresses in the face of the marshals; and having established a base in Spain, advanced against the army of Marmont and defeated him with much loss at Salamanca.

This blow struck at the vital point—the line of the French communications with Madrid—laid bare the real weakness of the invasion; and had Wellington been properly seconded by a strong diversion from the eastern coast, and received adequate reinforcements, he would probably have crushed the French armies of the north, and driven those of Valencia and Andalusia in hurried retreat behind the Ebro. Disappointed, however, in these respects, he was only able to penetrate to Madrid, and detach a part of his force to Burgos; and the army of Andalusia under Soult, having broken through the feeble barrier which Ballasteros had placed in its way, and joined those of the North and Centre, the English general was driven to a retreat which, but for the circumspection of his foes, had wellnigh terminated in a great disaster. The campaign proved in a striking manner how weak was the hold of France upon Spain, and caused the final evacuation of Andalusia; but, though brilliant, it was chequered with peril; and even its success was not nearly commensurate with what Wellington had hoped to accomplish.

From the following, written in March 1812, we see that Wellington was confident of success long before the battle of Salamanca :—

'It appears that the state of home politics is not very satisfactory, and that people in England are but little prepared for the great part they might act on the approaching scene. But it cannot be helped: we must do the best we can with the instruments which we have at command.

'I give you no news from hence. You are aware of the great operation which I have in hand. If I should succeed, which I certainly shall, unless those admirably useful institutions, the English newspapers, should have given Buonaparte the alarm, and should have induced him to order his marshals to assemble their troops to oppose me, Spain will have another chance of being saved.' (Vol. vii. p. 808.)

We quote this brief résumé of this campaign from an 'officer of rank,' dated Freñeda, 2nd December 1812, the rather as the extent of the danger incurred during the retreat from Burgos has hardly been sufficiently noticed :—

'Our failure at Burgos was unfortunate; but even if we had taken it, we could not possibly have kept so forward a position, particularly as the army of Portugal had received *considerable* reinforcements, and the armies of the South were concentrated and moving on our flank. We had nothing left for it but to raise the siege and retire, and form a junction with Sir Rowland Hill's corps, which we effected. We were in hopes that we should have been enabled to have held the line of the river Tormes, which nothing could have prevented us from doing; but, unfortunately, the river fell, and became fordable for both cavalry and infantry: we then

had nothing for it but to retire; and though I am persuaded that Lord Wellington would have given the enemy battle at the Arapiles, if they attacked, yet the enemy had profited by the error of Marmont. Their object was not to fight, but to manœuvre at some distance from us and turn our flank, which they accomplished. Upon the whole I am happy that the enemy did not attack, as he was so vastly superior in point of numbers, but particularly in cavalry. We had most dreadful weather during our retreat, from which our army has suffered a good deal; but I trust we shall soon be in order again, as the troops have now gone into winter quarters.' (Vol. vii. p. 486.)

In truth, the campaign of 1812 fell far short of Wellington's expectations, because the Government at home was unable to direct the resources of the empire, and to strike with vigour at the proper moment. The main strength of Napoleon's forces being on the Vistula or the Niemen, this was obviously the time to carry on the Peninsular war with redoubled energy, and at least to take care that Wellington's means should be adequate to accomplish his projects. Yet the reinforcements and supplies he had expected for his own army and those of the allies were insufficient or arrived too late; he was left after the battle of Salamanca in a dangerous position without support; and, above all, the diversion in the East, on which he had been induced to rely, was so retarded that it was utterly ineffectual. And yet, from a paper written by Lord Wellesley, we know that at this moment the Government had the means, not only of securing the attainment of the objects which Wellington had originally contemplated, but, after the extraordinary success at Salamanca, of striking a mortal blow at the invasion. After showing that, in 1812, our regular army exceeded 218,000 men, and our militia and volunteers 350,000, independently of 140,000 seamen, Lord Wellesley thus sums up his conclusions:—

'1st. You have 57,000 regular soldiers distributed into depôts, sixteen regiments of cavalry, and forty-five battalions of infantry; the Foot Guards at home alone amounting to upwards of 4,000 men.

'2nd. You have a recruiting service which produced in England, in 1812, about 7,000 men a quarter, subject to casualties "at home."

'3rd. You had the Cape of Good Hope and other foreign stations which might have been reduced with great safety, at this particular crisis, to a standard below the ordinary strength.

'And 4th. You had an armed force of militia and volunteers of 350,000 men, besides marines, artillery, garrison, and veteran battalions, for your home defence, in addition to your powerful navy, employing upwards of 140,000 seamen, at a time when France was engaged with Russia and Spain, and the navies of your enemies were afraid to appear on the ocean.

'I ask whether, under all these circumstances, it was an impracticable effort for Ministers to send those reinforcements in April, which they afterwards sent in September, or to have added a few thousand men to those reinforcements, and thus, before the battle of Salamanca, have sent 15,000 men to Lord Wellington, which would not only have replaced his casualties (not 5,000 men), but have given him an effectual augmentation of 10,000 men, which augmentation alone, even with the failure of the Sicilian expedition and the imperfect state of the Spanish and Portuguese armies, would have decided the fate of the campaign.' (Vol. viii. p. 13.)

Lord Liverpool seems to have thought it sufficient to answer charges of this character by showing that the efforts of Government were equal to those which England had made against France in the war of the Succession. The following reply, we should say, was hardly necessary:—

'But Lord Liverpool compares the effort of this day to that made in the time of King William. To this Sterling says; "The force employed by the Ministers of the present day might have fully accomplished our national purposes in the time of King William; but had the armies of Louis XIV. amounted to half the numbers brought into the field by Buonaparte, the exertions made by England in the beginning of the eighteenth century would have been recorded as ridiculous, inadequate, and contemptible. Godolphin would have been handed down to posterity as the weakest minister, and Marlborough himself as the least successful officer that ever mistook the proportion between his means and his objects." In order to give also any force to his allusion, Lord Liverpool ought to prove the equality between the population and resources of England in those days, and her faculties of the same nature at the present era. He ought also to prove that the necessity for extreme exertion was then equal to what it now appears, and that the success of our efforts at the present day does not fall short of its amount at the former period. According to every true principle of reasoning, the magnitude of the means employed, if they be not employed with wisdom, constitutes the guilt, not the merit of Ministers; and if these means have not been followed by success, they may be designated as the weakness, rather than the power of the empire.' (Vol. viii. p. 15.)

In the next year the liberation of the Peninsula was effected by the battle of Vittoria. The events of 1812–13 had again reduced the French armies in Spain; and, though still a formidable force, they were much isolated and disheartened. On the other hand, considerable efforts had been made to strengthen Wellington's army; he had been appointed Commander-in-chief by the Cortes; and he had obtained the guidance of the numerous insurrections which were breaking out with renewed intensity. With

200,000 men under his orders, although composed of the troops of three nations, with a large guerilla force supporting him, and with two British fleets co-operating on the northern and eastern coasts of Spain, he was now, for the first time, stronger than the French, and felt confident that in the approaching campaign he would bid 'a long farewell to Portugal.' Directing Murray with Elio and the fleet to operate against the eastern seaboard, and hold in check the forces of Suchet, he marched the mass of his veteran army upon the line of the French communications, and by a series of remarkable manœuvres having dislodged Joseph from the positions which might have been taken on the tributaries of the Douro, he forced him to fight under great disadvantages, and without his full strength, in the basin of Vittoria. Three-fourths of the beaten army were driven through the Pyrenees to the French frontier, while another fourth escaped to Saragossa; the standards of Wellington crowned the Pyrenees; Pampeluna and San Sebastian were invested; and the base of Portugal being abandoned, a new base was formed on the coast of Biscay.

At this juncture Wellington, however, became exposed to a sea of troubles. The operations in the East had failed; and it seemed probable that Suchet and Clausel would be free to menace his flank through Aragon, while Soult, lately appointed to this command, would attack him in front with Joseph's army. The regency at Lisbon, who had always chafed beneath his ascendancy and that of England, and were angry that the profits of the war had been finally withdrawn from Portugal, began to complain that their troops in Spain were being employed in operations in which their country had no interest. And, at the same time, the factions in the Cortes, having never been really cordial with England, gave numberless proofs of jealousy of Wellington, deprived Castanos and Giron of their commands, and threatened to close the ports of Spain against the troops of the British army. Had this notable expedient been tried, it is probable that the English general could not have established a base in Spain and must have fallen back to Portugal; and, as it was, he actually resigned the command he held of the Spanish forces, and advised his Government that it was not impossible that war with Spain would be the consequence. From a very interesting paper in these volumes, addressed to the Duke by Don A. A. de la Vega, we quote this account of the menacing state of Spanish opinion at this critical moment:—

'Among the *Serviles*, my Lord, they make converts under the pretence of religion and the

English constitution, which, as it limits in their opinion too much the authority of a king, they assure them is not compatible with the authority of a monarch, for whom this class of people are panting, but which, they added, is opposed by the English. The *Liberales*, on the contrary, they endeavour to persuade that the constitution of your country is defective, and that it gives too much latitude to the regal authority; and that the English, sensible of the defects of which ours has been purged, will set about reforming theirs if they find that ours lasts any length of time, and that there is a large party formed in its favour; that this not being agreeable to the Cabinet of St. James, nor the different ranks of people that enjoy the influence in the state and compose the Parliament, the British Government is determined to prevent our constitution from establishing itself solidly. All the actions of the English are consequently represented in this light. Those who merely wish for independence are told that you resist it because you do not assist and forward our expeditions to America, to encourage the European party in that country who desire the dependence of America and the monopoly of trade. You are represented as the fosterers and supporters of the ultramarine insurrection, because you do not unite your means with ours to extinguish these commotions by force of arms. And, finally, they talk to the patriots their language, by saying that in not reinforcing your armies, you give a death-blow to the national independence; that this is done in order to prolong the struggle, which will terminate only with the extermination of ourselves and our national independence. If you send troops to us, it is for the purpose of subjugating us and depriving us of our freedom. If the opening of the campaign is delayed, as it should be, they say it is for the purpose of giving time to the French to lay waste the country. If successful actions are fought, it is for giving us the law. If you neglect our armies, it is for the purpose of exposing them to be beat by the enemy. If you discipline them and provide for them, it is to alienate their affections from the nation and make us dependent on England, and thus we shall have been fighting to change masters.' (Vol. viii. p. 183.)

Nor, even in this, the hour of victory, did the Government at home do their general justice, or rise above their wonted incapacity. Although the enthusiasm of the country had reached such a pitch of excitement that, as was remarked, 'a conscription was possible,' and 20,000 men could have been sent in six weeks to Wellington's standards, the reinforcements he received were small, and so badly equipped and supplied, that desertions among them became frequent. The battering train for the siege of San Sebastian was delayed nearly three weeks on its passage,—the fault, as we see from the following letter, being laid upon the Ordnance Department:—

'Believe me, my dear Lord, that nothing connected with the executive government of the country requires reform more than this Ord-

nance Department. It is, as now constituted, the greatest clog about the state. It is a mélange of jealousy, intrigue, and stupid prejudice; and to nothing but the neglect of the *board* is the failure in your supplies to be attributed. There are two powers in the Ordnance Department, always acting in opposition and in contradiction to each other; the one is that of the Master-General himself and his secretary, and the other is the Board and their secretary. They are jealous of each other; and although the former is generally as efficient as the latter is the contrary, yet the Board, upon the subject of supply in particular, possess an independence at variance with the prompt control the chief *ought to exercise*. The constitution of the whole thing is radically bad.' (Vol. viii. p. 198.)

In addition to this the stores for the army were not seldom intercepted by French and American privateers; the aid of even a part of the fleet for the siege of San Sebastian was refused; and at a time when the English cruisers could have sealed up every mile of the coast, the communications between that fortress and Bayonne were left open, and considerable supplies for the garrison and the main French army were allowed to be smuggled along the seaboard. It was in vain that Wellington repeatedly remonstrated; the only answers Lord Melville vouchsafed were in this style of stolid impertinence:—

'There are some matters, however, which depend merely on naval opinions, and on which it is indispensably necessary that you should be apprised of our sentiments and intentions. I will take your opinion in preference to any other person's as to the most effectual mode of beating a French army, but I have no confidence in your seamanship or nautical skill. Neither will I defer to the opinions on such matters of the gentlemen under your command who are employed in the siege of St. Sebastian, and which happen to be at variance with those of every naval officer in His Majesty's service.

'In the first place, then, you are not to expect any effectual assistance in that operation from line-of-battle ships; because, from the situation of the place and the nature of the coast, they cannot anchor without extreme risk, and are exposed to almost certain destruction in a gale of wind, when, from the direction in which it blows, they can neither haul off nor run for shelter into any port. If you will ensure them a continuance of easterly wind, they may remain with you, but not otherwise. In the next place, all the small craft in the British navy could not prevent the occasional entrance of small boats at night into St. Sebastian, though it may be rendered difficult and very uncertain. The same observation applies to the communication along the coast between Bordeaux and Bayonne, where also the nature of that coast renders a perfect and complete interruption to the communication, at all times and in all weathers, scarcely practicable. In the third place, without at all entering into the question of whether your con-

voys have been as frequent and as securely protected as the nature of the service would admit, I wish you distinctly to be apprised that we will not be responsible for ships sailing singly, or without convoy, between this country and Spain or Portugal, or for any considerable distance along the coasts of those countries.' (Vol. viii. p. 224.)

These hindrances were the cause of delay, and of a great effusion of English blood; but at last their effects were overcome, and Wellington with his conquering legions was set free for active operations. We need not follow that tide of victory which, rolling from the heights of the Pyrenees, burst over the southern plains of France, and, notwithstanding the obstacles opposed to it by skill and valour, was only arrested on the banks of the Garonne by the peace which followed the fall of Napoleon. These volumes abound in interesting details respecting this glorious close of the struggle, and we wish we had space to quote the directions which Wellington gave for the passage of the Bidassoa, and the forcing of Soult's vast lines on the Nivelle, a rampart that seemed wellnigh impregnable. In this last campaign, it must be remembered that, though Wellington was stronger, on the whole, than Soult, who alone opposed him actively, he was much weaker than that marshal and Suchet, who might easily have joined his colleague; and, as General Napier justly observes, it was one of the strangest phases in that war that the great forces of those French leaders were never united against one army. Not that the Dukes of Dalmatia and Albufera were wanting in skill to effect this combination; on the contrary, Soult proposed a plan for effecting it on the grandest scale in a manner worthy of his reputation; but mutual jealousy prevented the attempt and betrayed the cause of France and the Emperor. To this, moreover, we should add the tenacity with which Napoleon, even to the last, insisted on keeping his hold on Spain, and isolating Suchet's army on its frontier,—a resolution which, whether it arose from ignorance of the true state of affairs, or, as Napier thinks, from deficient information, was fatal to the Duke of Dalmatia's efforts. Imperialism and Imperial commanders contrast badly in this campaign with constitutional government and its general; and the following pertinent remark of Wellington, in a commentary on Choumara's work, shows how fully he appreciated the contrast:—

'Here we find two Republican generals, with great titles and fortunes, and holding the greatest military rank and exercising the greatest authority, quarrelling, as did the sons, legitimate and illegitimate, and the Marshals in the service

of Louis XIV.; neither party ever thinking of the public interest, excepting as connected with his own personal objects of ambition and aggrandisement, and each appealing to Buonaparte, as the others did heretofore to Louis XIV., and Buonaparte following the example of Louis XIV. in giving no answer.' (Vol. viii. p. 752.)

A secondary cause of the splendid success achieved by Wellington in this campaign was the strict discipline which he enforced in preventing pillage and protecting the country after his army had crossed the French frontier. The effects of this were not only to deprive the French general of what he had hoped for, a patriotic resistance of the invader, but to aid powerfully the Bourbon cause, and so to invert the relations of the antagonists, with respect to the population of France, that Wellington was actually hailed as a deliverer, while Soult was hated as a systematic plunderer.

'We have found the French people exactly what we might expect—not from the lying accounts in the French newspapers, copied into all the others of the world, and believed by everybody, notwithstanding the internal sense of every man of their falsehood, but from what we knew of the government of Napoleon, and the oppression of all descriptions under which his subjects have laboured. It is not easy to describe the detestation of this man. What do you think of the French people running into our posts for protection from the French troops, with their bundles on their heads, and their *beds*, as you recollect to have seen the people of Portugal and Spain?' (Vol. viii. p. 510.)

From the following passage it would certainly appear that the excesses at San Sebastian had been exaggerated; and it must be remembered, they received publicity, in the first instance, through Spanish libels:—

'I am perfectly certain also that all the commanding officers exerted themselves to the utmost, not only to prevent outrages to the inhabitants, but to give them every assistance to secure and transport out of the town whatever property could be saved from the flames, notwithstanding in so doing they were fired on by the enemy. I myself sat with a Court martial in the Plaza Vieja, near to the gate, to listen to all complaints, with a gallows there erected, and a deputy Provost-Marshal (Williams)—now, I believe, at head-quarters—who can, I should suppose, report the exact number (I know there were a good many) of severe punishments, inflicted by my orders on soldiers and sailors found with plunder. The plunder was put in a heap for the inhabitants to claim, which they did, and were escorted out of the place with it, and every assistance given to secure their effects. I can with confidence appeal to every inhabitant then in San Sebastian, to state whether they were not furnished with safeguards and escorts whenever they ap-

plied for them to me or the other commanding officers, and whether any men they complained of were not examined, and generally punished on the spot.' (Vol. viii. p. 810.)

The battle of Toulouse, which closed this campaign, was gallantly contested and subsequently was claimed by M. Choumara as a French victory. General Napier has shown with his usual skill that this claim is without foundation, and that, once Mont Rave had been taken by the Allies, the whole position became untenable. The concurring testimony of Wellington is decisive:—

'M. Choumara pretends that the position of Toulouse was the whole position—that is to say, the town, the *tête de pont* on the Garonne, the canal, its fortified bridges, houses, the works on Mont Calvintet. The last only were taken. Marshal Soult remained during the night of the 10th and the day of the 11th, in possession of the remainder; therefore he won the battle. If Toulouse was to be considered as a fortress, of which possession was to be held till the body of the place should be entered, M. Choumara's idea would be correct. In that case, Marshal Soult must have been prepared with means of all descriptions to enable him to remain in the town. Even in that case the possession of Mont Calvintet would have given the Allies the means of a fire by enfilade upon the canal, very near to its junction with the Garonne. But Toulouse could not be considered as a fortress. It was a field of battle, of which the principal fortified position, most important in the view of those who attacked as well as of those who defended it, was taken by the Allied army after a desperate combat. The consequence of the battle was that the Allied army took possession of the passages of the Canal de Languedoc above the town. In his letter to the *Ministre de la Guerre* (p. 265), of the 12th April, Marshal Soult says that the Allied army occupied the heights of Bazièges, by which he was to retire. In his letter on the 11th, he had expressed to the same minister, and to Marshal Suchet, his apprehension that he should have to fight his way out of Toulouse, as he certainly would if he had not marched when he did.' (Vol. viii. p. 757.)

While Wellington was invading France, he was, of course, in constant communication with the Allies, in their long and doubtful struggle with Napoleon. These volumes are full of curious details respecting the operations of 1813–14; and several letters from Lords Cathcart and Burghersh, describing the shifting phases of the war, and a sketch of Leipzig by Sir Hudson Lowe, will repay a careful perusal. They also contain abundant proofs of the diplomatic relations of the Alliance, with their long train of disputes and uncertainties, and of the reluctance with which they resolved to throw down the gage of battle to Napoleon. The following letter from Lord Liverpool to Wellington shows how faint was the



hope of a general Coalition before the news of the battle of Vittoria had arrived to balance Lutzen and Bautzen.

'The information of your success, which will be transmitted to the north of Europe this night, will arrive there most opportunely, and cannot fail to produce the most important effects. If Austria would now declare, we might really hope to put an end to the tyranny which has been so long oppressing the world; but on this event no reliance can, I fear, be placed. The dispositions of Russia and Prussia are good, and Bernadotte is using every endeavour to persuade them not to make peace. . . .' (Vol. viii. p. 50.)

Vittoria, however, had a decisive effect, as Count Nugent thus wrote to Wellington:—

'The account of the state of affairs in Spain, and your plans,—in short, everything you desired me to say,—had the greatest effect, and contributed very much to the decision of the Austrian Government; and the battle of Vittoria, I think, finished the matter. Things are now so far advanced that I am authorised to inform your lordship that there is no doubt that hostilities will commence on the 16th of August.' (Vol. viii. p. 133.)

Still discord remained in the allied camp, and, even in July 1813, Napoleon spoke with perfect confidence of the certainty of the triumph of his arms. The following is from a Letter of Lord Cathcart:—

'Metternich's audiences with Buonaparte were *very* long: one lasted eight or nine hours. Buonaparte's temper changed very often, and he was in several violent passions. He said he knew Austria could not go to war, and that he would not forget her having proposed humiliating conditions. That he would be in Vienna early in September. That Austria was a fat country, and his army should pass the winter in it. That the Russian and Prussian troops were very fine, and fought well, but that they had no head, and he would always beat them; and that Austria should never forget the visit he would now make.' (Vol. viii. p. 135.)

The 10th of August, however, came; and after a long and terrible struggle, Napoleon was dislodged from the Elbe, and driven out of Germany at Leipsic. It may be doubted whether, in this campaign, he displayed his wonted genius and calculation, or whether he was seconded by his lieutenants with the zeal and energy of former years; but setting aside the defection of allies, unquestionably one of the causes of his overthrow was the physical weakness of his army of conscripts. 'They melted like snow,' was his pitiless remark, comparing them to the old Guard; and the following description, in September 1813, of

the dejected state of the French soldiers will account, perhaps, for the rout at Leipsic:—

'Vous ne croirez jamais que les Français jetaient armes et bagages, fuyant à la débâcle: un seul Cosaque en prit cent dans un village, s'empara de leur argent, et donna leurs hardes à quelques paysans Prussiens qui se trouvaient là. La grande nation n'est plus à reconnaître. Je peux vous en citer des traits qui vous surprendront, et qui je vous garantis sur ma parole d'honneur. D'abord c'est que lorsqu'ils se retirent, la cavalerie s'en va la première, et l'artillerie, mêlée à un peu d'infanterie, couvre la retraite.' (Vol. viii. p. 294.)

When the Coalition approached the Rhine, the well-known propositions of Frankfort were offered by the Allies to Napoleon, and, though reluctantly, Lord Aberdeen assented to them. A fair comparison of subsequent dates, and a just review of the Emperor's conduct, will acquit the Allies, in our judgment, for having afterwards evaded these conditions, when Caulaincourt struggled to claim their benefit; but the following letter from Sir Charles Stewart shows how heavily the obligation weighed as late even as January 1814:—

'I must, however, first premise that I shall ever deplore not only the manner, but the whole tenor of the Frankfort negotiations: we shall find them hang like a log round our neck, and we shall in vain try (now France is prostrate) to disembarass ourselves from those promises we have voluntarily shackled ourselves with in a moment of neither cause nor necessity. We find even in the last note of M. de Caulaincourt that he relies upon our own proposed basis. Can nations (like Buonaparte) depart from the line they themselves chalk out? A despot without character may do anything. The Powers of Europe, on the other hand, must in some degree uphold themselves by the great principles of faith, justice, and moderation.

'Where was the necessity, if the state of France as to her beaten forces was actually ascertained (and that the Austrian Minister could be ignorant of this, one can hardly imagine), of a furtive negotiation at Frankfort which every hour brings on its more baneful effects? Is it not clear that the manner in which we are committed, influences present ideas and future decisions on the most important points? This I shall hereafter more plainly elucidate.' (Vol. viii. p. 498.)

The sword, however, was thrown into the balance, and the invasion of France determined by the Allies. The fearful exhaustion of the country at this time has been vividly described by M. Thiers, and is thus portrayed by Lord Burghersh, a contemporary observer:—

'No single act of hostility has been committed against them, and in some places they have been received with acclamations. The people of the country express a most anxious hope of peace;

they accuse their government of the misfortunes which at present, as for years past, have weighed upon their country, and they seem desirous of any change which would open to them a prospect of better times. The conscription lately decreed by Buonaparte has in no place in this part of the country been attended to. The spirit of the people is broken; they seem destitute of the means of an exertion.' (Vol. viii. p. 542.)

It will always be a matter of astonishment that Napoleon, with a people in this mood, and an army which at no time in this campaign exceeded 60,000 combatants, should have long bade defiance to his foes, and even nearly destroyed the Coalition. The highest admiration is due to the genius and heroism which wrought these wonders; nor is it any detraction to point out that, but for the Allies' numerous blunders, the result could never have trembled in the balance. But the arms and counsels of the Coalition were paralysed by mistrust and division; and the following passage, which discloses the spirit in which they opened this memorable campaign, explains the opportunities they afforded to the great soldier who lay in their path, and accounts in part for his splendid exploits:—

'For the moment, all plans are at a standstill. The army, which has marched nearly to Basle, may have to come back again; in short, all is confusion. Schwarzenberg will write to you as soon as the plans are settled. God knows when that may be. His army is still moving, and in a very short time will be placed in *échelon* between Stockach and Basle. It is impossible for him, however, to enter France from thence, threatening the needle between the fortresses of Hunningen, New Brisach, and Strasburg on one side, and the doubtful neutrality of Switzerland on the other. I cannot write more at this moment; you shall hear from me by the first opportunity. You may guess how things are here by the contradictions in this letter. The Emperor Alexander three weeks ago was the most anxious for the occupation of Switzerland. The plan was formed upon that basis: the army was moved. He has now tacked about, and God knows what will be undertaken.' (Vol. viii. p. 409.)

Such facts as these confirm our belief that the independent command of Wellington, and his occupation of the South of France, were amongst the main causes of the success of the Allies. Had he been merely a general of the Coalition, placed somewhere in Belgium or Lorraine—a subordinate of Frederic William or Alexander—his army might have been idly wasted in false manœuvres and disastrous operations, while Soult and Suchet must have been set free to act on the flank or rear of the Austrians. What would have been the probable result, had both these marshals been disengaged, and thrown upon the army of Schwarzenberg, while Napoleon was crushing

Blucher on the Marne, in a series of overwhelming victories?

Before we close these interesting volumes we would say a word of the evidence they afford of the Duke's capacity as a military administrator. When the British army came under his command, it was ill-organised for extensive operations, and antiquated in its structure and equipments; its commissariat arrangements were bad, a cumbrous material retarded its movements, and its general officers, though personally brave, were not habituated to active service. The following passage describes one of the chief of these deficiencies:—

'I declare that I do not understand the principles on which our military establishments are formed, if, when large corps of troops are sent out to perform important and difficult services, they are not to have with them those means of equipment which they require, and which the establishment can afford, such as horses to draw artillery, and drivers attached to the commissariat, when these means are not wanted at home; and what is more, considering that the number of horses and drivers in England, all of whom the public could command in case of emergency, never can be wanted excepting for foreign service.

'ARTHUR WELLESLEY.'

(Vol. vi. p. 87.)

And this is a somewhat humorous account of the value of some of the general officers who were to encounter Ney and Massena:—

'Really when I reflect upon the characters and attainments of some of the general officers of this army, and consider that these are the persons on whom I am to rely to lead columns against the French generals, and who are to carry my instructions into execution, I tremble; and, as Lord Chesterfield said of the generals of his day, "I only hope that when the enemy reads the list of their names he trembles as I do." — and — will be a very nice addition to this list! However, I pray God and the Horse Guards to deliver me from General — and Colonel —.' (Vol. vi. p. 482.)

By degrees, however, these ill-ordered elements were moulded into a structure, beyond comparison, for its size, the finest and most efficient in Europe. This great change was due, in part, to the general experience acquired by all, in part to the confidence derived from success, in part to the habit of perfect subordination which has always distinguished the British service, and in part to the stringent rules against pillage, which are a feature of our military system; but the main causes, beyond all dispute, were the ascendancy gained by Wellington over his troops and the active attention with which he regulated the numerous details of military administration. A full third of these volumes is taken up by orders and directions providing for the wants

and improvement of the soldier, inculcating discipline and exercise in drill, and giving hints for the better arrangement of the various departments connected with the army. No just idea can be formed of the greatness of Wellington as a commander without consulting such records as these; and in this respect, as well as in judgment and forethought, he was not surpassed by any general of ancient or modern times. It would not, however, be possible to convey a notion of these great qualities by quoting extracts; and for full information upon the subject, our readers must search these important volumes.

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- ART. III.—1. *An Historical Survey of the Astronomy of the Ancients*. By the Right Honourable Sir GEORGE CORNEWALL LEWIS. London: 1862.
2. *Egypt's Place in Universal History*. An Historical Investigation, in five books. By CHRISTIAN C. J. BUNSEN, D.Ph. & D.C.L. Translated from the German by CHARLES H. COTTRELL, Esq., M.A. Vols. III. and IV. London: 1859.

THE attempt to construct a Science of Astronomy appeared to Socrates both impious and absurd. It involved an intrusion into things which the gods had veiled in impenetrable mystery; and the curiosity of man was rightly recompensed by a Babel of conflicting theories worthy only of a society of madmen. For every problem each man had his own solution; and the utter want of agreement was itself the evidence that the end proposed was beyond the reach of human intellect. In the field of ethics it was possible to trace the connexion of cause and effect. Men might learn to know something of themselves and of others, and so to determine, in some degree, the principles of human action: to look for similar results in astronomy was a sign of the extremest folly. Time has curiously changed the terms of controversy. Metaphysical schools, which hold that a knowledge of motives would enable us to foretell the acts of men, yet admit that this knowledge is scarcely greater now than it was in the days of Socrates. The movements of the heavenly bodies are predicted with an exactness which has not been attained in any other branch of science; and the very completeness of the result has awakened in some a feeling not altogether unlike that of the Greek philosopher. Sir Cornwall Lewis does not look upon astronomical research as impious; but he regards the science as one 'of pure curiosity,

directed exclusively to the extension of knowledge in a field which human interests can never enter.'

The objection is partly answered in his own pages. It may be possible, on the Ptolemaean theory of the universe, to demonstrate a certain order in the outward world, and so to counteract those superstitious fears, the extinction of which he holds to be one of the chief uses or ends of all the physical sciences. But as long as the scientific hypothesis rested on a foundation which might fairly be regarded with some suspicion, even this end was not sufficiently attained. In accomplishing this, the Copernican system, as completed by Newton's theory of gravitation, would not have been without practical influence on the affairs of mankind, even if it had done no more; but the science which is the mother of the art of Navigation, and on which, consequently, the intercourse of man with man may be said to depend, cannot be dismissed with so curt a sentence of condemnation. The defence of modern astronomy is not, however, confined to its bearing on material interests. The direct education of the mind and spirit is a practical end well worth all the toil which can be bestowed upon it.\* Whatever may be its future results, the past history of the science is connected with questions which, important at all times, have in our own day become questions of paramount interest. The history of almost every ancient people or nation professes to explain the origin and application of astronomical science. Roman tradition has its stories on the growth and changes of the calendar. With similar traditions, the history of Greece brings before us the theories of successive philosophers, and points to foreign lands as the sources of their scientific knowledge. We find the admission eagerly welcomed by the Egyptian priests, who boasted of observations extended over more than six hundred thousand years, and claimed to have unlocked the secrets of heaven to the star-gazers of Chaldaea. We find these in their turn vaunting the possession of observations taken during nearly fifteen thousand centuries; and, both in Egypt and in Syria, we have a history based upon these computations, running back to a time compared with which the remoteness of the Homeric or the Vedic age would be but as yesterday. The different versions of these chronicles, agreeing in little else, agree in extending the past existence of man over myriads of years. Their assertions may be inconsistent, but they are undeniably distinct. The life-

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\* For the method and results of modern practical Astronomy see an Article in a previous number of this Journal, vol. xci., on National Observatories.

time of Menes may be dated three, or four, or five thousand years before the Christian era; but the unqualified assertion remains, that he was the first human king of Egypt, and that his successors can be severally named. Lists of these Egyptian and Assyrian dynasties have come down to us in the pages of old chroniclers or historians; and it has been reserved for the scholars of the last and the present century to compare these notices with national records and monuments long buried or forgotten. Their language was dead; the tradition of them had been lost for ages; but, in spite of overwhelming difficulties, the patience of modern research has recovered materials for reconstructing the old Egyptian history. By their aid the errors of foreign writers and the deficiencies of their priestly teachers have been satisfactorily corrected; and scarcely a gap remains to be filled up between the Macedonian Ptolemies and the founder of the first Egyptian dynasty. Nay, the same data which have enabled French and German scholars to determine the course of history up to the time of Menes, have led Baron Bunsen back to a period preceding that of Menes by more than 5000 years, and have revealed to him the duration, not merely of the Egyptian people, but of the whole human race. The first place of human sojourn, the physical causes which drove men from their first abode, the origin of language and mythology, of religion and civil government, are among the discoveries which have solved for him the great problem of human existence, and furnished the reasons for which alone history is worth studying.

The field is vast, and, doubtless, it has great attractions. It is something to be able to connect the dim traditions of distant ages with the conclusions of geology and the results of philological research. It is something to show how long man has lived upon the earth, what he has done during the several stages of his sojourn, and to what goal the human family is tending. Still, it is perfectly clear that no one thing can be proved on evidence which applies only to another. The building, which Baron Bunsen has ingeniously raised on the foundations laid by Champollion and his followers, is astonishing enough. We gaze with wonder, if not with awe, at the colossal walls for which Menes and Sesostrius furnish bricks not less sound and solid than Amasis or Psammenitus. It is hard to withhold some admiration from a philosophy of history in which Semempsis and Miebæes become as real as Themistocles or Cleon, and in which the date of Nimrod, some ten thousand years before our era, can be fixed with scarcely less certainty than that of the Peloponnesian war. But the doubt

yet remains whether history is really a fit subject for the happy exercise of divination and combination,\* and whether we are justified in accepting the necessity of throwing ourselves without reserve into the mind and feelings of others on so slight a chain of evidence. If, in place of all other convictions and all other facts, we can substitute Bunsen's ideas on history generally and on Egypt's place in that history,—if we can accept a method which from several dates assigned to a king selects one, and then, finding the name of that king on a monument, assigns the latter to the date so obtained, then we may resign ourselves to Bunsen's guidance, and meekly believe that the Egyptians migrated into the land of the Nile thirteen thousand years ago, and that 'in the formation and deposit of Sinim (20,000—15,000 B.C.)' we discern 'the earliest polarisation of religious consciousness.'† Baron Bunsen avows himself the disciple of Niebuhr, and naturally claims all Niebuhr's license in the treatment of history. But Niebuhr was dealing, at the most, with but three or four centuries of traditional tales; and these were concerned with a state of things of which the results were strictly historical. Apart from all legends of the Seven Kings, the commonwealth of Rome points to an earlier monarchy; but, if we object to Niebuhr that he treats Romulus and Numa sometimes as fictitious, sometimes as real persons,—that he assumes the existence sometimes of yearly chronicles, sometimes of national epics,—that he draws historical inferences in one place from statements which he had treated as doubtful in another, we shall see that his transgressions, when compared with Baron Bunsen's, are but as a mote to a beam. It may be satisfactory to think that the Herodotean Sesostrius is the result of a confusion between Sesosis, Sesorchæes, and Tsoorthus; but the clearness of the conclusion will not explain why the history of the second millennium B.C. should be judged by a different canon from the history of our own or any other day. When a writer, taking the conflicting accounts of Sesostrius, Sethos, and Rameses,‡ can gravely state that the question for critical inquiry is to determine what part of the Sesostrius-Sethosis tradition belongs to Rameses and what to his father Sethos, and how much again is to be abstracted from both of them and given to the two great rulers of the third and twelfth dynasties, it is time to insist on some definite rule by which we may distinguish fact from fiction. When scholars, however learned or estimable, claim to pass off as his-

\* *Egypt's Place*, vol. i. p. 264; vol. iii. p. 155.

† *Ibid.*, vol. iv. p. 485.

‡ *Ib.*, vol. iii. p. 171.

tory a patchwork from inconsistent or contradictory chronicles, we owe a debt of no common gratitude to those who maintain boldly and plainly that there is but one law of historical criticism, and that we dare not apply it more loosely or leniently to one age than to another. History has its own difficulties; but they do not lie in doubts whether we are to receive as evidence for one time what for another we should at once reject. From known facts we may, if we can, draw a new inference. We may rehabilitate Themistocles, or Henry VIII., or Frederic the Great; or we may bring forward new evidence to prove that the verdict of a former age is wrong, so long as we can submit that evidence to as stringent a test as the facts already acknowledged. But, after all, the difficulties of history, whatever they may be, are confined within the narrow bounds of three or four generations. In the absence of written records, oral tradition may preserve a tolerably faithful account of events for about a century. Beyond that limit, we cannot assert the most probable event to be wholly historical; within it, we may reasonably accept statements which in themselves may be very questionable. The whole matter turns on the credibility of witnesses; and the history of nations must therefore be measured, not only by the standard of contemporary testimony, but by the degree in which they exhibit the historic faculty. We should not believe on the authority of Homer that Aphroditë rescued Æneas from the battlefield, or on that of Herodotus, that deified heroes fought against the Persian hosts at Delphi, because, on points like these, the poet and the historian are not competent witnesses. We take the tale of the Feast of Attaginus, and we believe at once that Herodotus so heard it from Thersander; but we cannot tell how far Thersander's imagination may have pointed its moral during nearly half a century. On the stories of Democedes and Histæus we look with suspicion, not merely because they contain some improbabilities, but because they come in great part from a source on which we can place no reliance. Yet here we are dealing with persons whose historical character we can as little doubt as we doubt our own. From these we have to turn to a people who at no time exhibited any critical faculty; a people inured to all the monotony of Oriental despotism, and filled with a strong sense of their own importance, which had been grievously mortified by some incidents in their history. We have to take into account the paramount influence of a sacerdotal caste, who kept in their own hands every record, whether civil or astronomical. We have to remember further that these records

were written in a character almost incredibly complicated, that they were preserved partly in picture-writing, partly in a symbolical and phonetic alphabet, and that the priests who professed to read them gave different accounts at different times to the foreigners who came to them for information. And then, remembering this, we are asked to believe that the records which they claimed to keep were really historical, that, in addition to these, they had a historical literature, now lost, and that their ruling desire was to preserve the history of the kingdom from its first beginnings in uncorrupt integrity; and, finally, we have to acquiesce in a method which will cut up one name into two or more persons, or reduce two or more persons to one, while it treats kings or dynasties sometimes as successive, sometimes as contemporaneous, as may best suit a foregone conclusion.

At the outset, therefore, we should welcome any protest against a system which would make history an inextricable labyrinth. Against a method which reconciles contradictory accounts by extracting some of their differences, we are prejudiced not by any love for theories of our own, not because we are unwilling to believe that men have lived on earth for ten, or fifteen, or twenty thousand years, or that language, religion, and government may have required millenniums for their development, but simply because, if we yield to it, we must be guided by rules, or rather arbitrary dogmas, which may be made to yield any result at pleasure. We are willing to accept any suppositions on the antediluvian history of man or the consolidation of Egyptian polity, as conclusions more or less probable. We may admit that calculations drawn from variations of the earth's orbit may explain some phenomena of the ancient world; but it is absurd to infer that such grounds are a warrant for framing an exact chronology, and even more absurd to think that a chronology can be manufactured without history, and that in some mysterious way the two may not only exist, but ought to be treated separately.

The vast fabric of Egyptology will not have been reared in vain, if its only result is to call forth such a protest as that of Sir Cornewall Lewis. The errors of a generation are well compensated by a clearer apprehension of the laws of historical credibility. When all that is worthless has been swept away, there will yet remain in Baron Bunsen's pages much that is profitable; but that residuum will be chiefly speculation rather than history; and it is well that his chronological arithmetic, if not his hieroglyphical interpretations, should be met by

such an antagonist. No protest has ever come more opportunely. From Thebes and Memphis, from Nineveh and Babylon, a flood of discovery threatens, by the bulk of the records borne in upon us, to overlay the earlier history of the Western world. The work of Herodotus, whose object was to relate the struggle of European freedom with Eastern despotism, has been buried beneath an obscure mass of Persian and Assyrian lore; while the discordant lists of old chroniclers, by the aid of hieroglyphic inscriptions, have furnished matter for the still more ponderous learning of the Egyptologists. How much more there may be yet to come we cannot tell; but unless future researches on the banks of the Nile or in the mounds of Kouyunjek reveal something different in kind from what has been laid bare already, we are fairly justified in forming a judgment on the value of the treasures spread before us. The perfect deciphering of the hieroglyphics (beset although it appears with almost hopeless difficulties), the unquestioning acceptance of all that has been read as a true interpretation, will not in the least degree affect the conditions of the controversy. The monuments have but added one more version to those which we had before; they have supplied no criterion whereby we may measure the credibility of the latter. We have still, as we had before, to deal with statements some of which may be facts and some of which are undoubtedly fictions. The attempt to disentangle the one from the other, and so to accept what is true and reject what is false, is as much or as little justified here as in the chronicles of the Trojan dynasty of England. They who do not choose to mix up history with speculation, will receive as golden words the remark of Sir Cornewall Lewis:—

‘In history, as in philosophy, it is important to fix the boundaries within which knowledge can be attained, and not to waste the time of writers and readers in vain endeavours to determine facts of which no credible testimony exists, and of which the memory has perished. Researches into ancient history, which lead to merely negative results, are important and useful, as well as similar researches which lead to positive results. They distinguish between fiction which, however diverting, instructive, or elevating, can never be historical, and reality which is a necessary attribute of a historical narrative.’ (*Astronomy*, p. 433.)

The task undertaken by Sir G. C. Lewis was not to controvert the conclusions of Egyptologists, or to throw suspicion on interpretations of hieroglyphic or cuneiform inscriptions, but to trace the history of astronomy among the nations of the old world,

and to determine the amount of scientific knowledge possessed by each. His searching and elaborate inquiry has brought down the vaunted wisdom of Egypt and Assyria. It has proved that astronomy, with the latter, resolved itself into astrology, while by the former it was used more for religious than civil purposes. Rome claimed neither the reality nor the reputation of knowledge. In Greece, the history of the science exhibits speculation issuing perpetually in theories based not on inductions from experience, but (with scarcely more than a single exception) on some arbitrary hypothesis. This succession of speculative systems Sir Cornewall Lewis has examined with great keenness and fulness of research. Yet the thought that his work could not end here, may well have come in to lighten the task of tracing out assumption after assumption and fallacy after fallacy, and of describing cosmical systems, many of them differing only in degrees of absurdity. He has proved, indeed, the natural superiority of the Greek intellect over every other. He has shown that their astronomy was as much their own as the rest of their philosophy; but the special importance of his work lies in the criticism which has struck at the roots of the newly-discovered or reconstructed history of Egypt and Assyria. The direction of this attack may well strike Egyptologists with dismay; for unless Sir Cornewall Lewis's position can be overthrown, all pretence to a real knowledge of Egyptian history before the Dodecarchy must be abandoned. To minds in which the critical faculty is weak there is much to impart to these constructive accounts the semblance of real history. The dates are precise; the notices circumstantial; and the names of kings in the lists of Herodotus or later writers are found in tombs and palaces. For many readers there is much authority in a printed book; for many more there is still greater authority in a carved inscription: and the legitimate inference that, if in a pyramid be found the name of one to whom that pyramid is ascribed, it must have been built by him and no other, is held to determine also that he lived at the time assigned to him. If in the absence of conflicting accounts this might perhaps be admitted, it is otherwise when the same name is assigned in various lists to different generations, or centuries, or millenniums. A building cannot assert its own date; an inscription is worth nothing more than a manuscript. The inscriber may have been either deficient in his knowledge of the event recorded, or under some temptation to misrepresent it. In most cases, therefore, it becomes necessary to test monu-

ments by the statements of contemporary historians rather than to give weight to the latter because they agree with the former. If the Egyptian name equivalent to Cheops is found in the pyramid ascribed to Cheops by Herodotus, it is a reason for thinking that Cheops built it; but if we find that Cheops is assigned to three several dynasties, we cannot determine the time of its erection unless the pyramid attests its era.

If the criticism of Sir Cornwall Lewis appears to the advocates of constructive history to sweep away much available knowledge or block up a mine rich with materials for future discovery, to the critical historian the confusion introduced by Egyptologists into the first principles of evidence may reasonably be a cause of much greater anxiety. That mind must, in truth, be weak which can complain that its knowledge is circumscribed by excluding that which cannot be really ascertained. It is a question not of feeling, but of fact,—not of speculation, but of truth. To suppose that the migration of the people of Menes into Egypt took place in the eleventh millennium, B.C., and that the sojourn of the Israelites in that country extended over more than a thousand years, may add symmetry to the history of mankind; but to assert either as a fact is to substitute the pretence of knowledge for the reality, and, by fettering all honest thought, to check all genuine progress. The course of recent criticism has stripped of historical certainty many events which by the scholars of a former age were never called in question. It has not merely swept away legends such as those of Brute the Trojan, which Milton could not bring himself altogether to sacrifice. It has not merely put aside a fiction so plausible as the Servian constitution at Rome. It has also placed a strong line of demarcation between those ages for which we have no contemporary testimony, and others for which we can produce it. It has rejected unsparingly events or narratives, even in a historical age, for which adequate proof is wanting. The accounts of the battle of Bull Run are utterly contradictory; but the fact of the battle it is impossible to dispute. We accept the fact—we reject the details; and the lovers of myths charge us with analysing history into vacancy. If the legend of Thermopylæ be untrue as a whole, it is the very height of absurdity to make up our own version and cling to it. If the mere fact of the battles in Thermopylæ be true, and all the details uncertain, common sense would lead us to confine our belief to the former. Neither history nor religion has anything to fear from a real criticism. If Egyptology really sets aside the Rabbinical chronology

of the Old Testament, all that is of authority for us stands as it stood before. If the sojourn of the Israelites in Egypt is by it extended from four to fourteen centuries, we have only to remember that the Rabbinical and Septuagint chronologies are widely divergent.\* We may be pardoned for thinking the Rabbinical computation to be the more probable, if we are prepared to give it up on the production of weightier evidence against it. But, as compared with the theories of Egyptologists, the work of demolition accomplished by Sir Cornwall Lewis is really a work of construction. A positive benefit is gained by the clearness of proof which reveals the unsubstantial texture of oral tradition. The conflicting accounts of the early astronomy of the Greeks and Romans are but a link in the evidence which proves how little to be depended upon is any tradition before the dawn of contemporary history.

When he commenced his great task of reconstruction, Niebuhr sought to throw an air of reality over the early annals of Rome by pointing out the existence of an accurate chronological system. Forgetful here, as elsewhere, that plausible fiction may palm itself off as real history, he concluded that the Romans had a year of twelve months before they used the decemestrial year of Romulus. The latter, he thought, was employed in connexion with the secle of 132 years, which, with the eight-day division of time called Nundinæ, they received from the profound astronomical science of the Etruscans. Then, inasmuch as the intercalation of a month of three Tuscan weeks twice in the cyclical period of twenty-two lustræ gave at the end of that period 'a surprisingly close approximation to the true time,' he assumed that such an intercalation was in fact made. But on the year of Romulus and Numa, on the method and principle of intercalation, on the origin of the months and of the nundinæ, the ancient writers, taken as a whole, are full of contradictions. No means of determining uncertain points are open to us which were not equally accessible to them; and the statements of men living two or three centuries from a time which had no written literature can carry no more weight than those of writers of any later age. The *Fasti* of Ovid alone present a bewildering abundance of derivations for the names of the months, and other writers were not more agreed even as to the time when intercalation was first used in the calendar:—

'Licinius Macer, who held the primitive Roman year to consist of twelve months, stated

\* See *Edinburgh Review*, vol. lxxxiii.



that Romulus was the author of intercalation. Junius Gracchanus, who assumed a primitive decemestrial year, supposed this correction to have been introduced by Servius Tullius. Cassius Hemina, and Sempronius Tuditanus, two historians who lived in the second century B. C., stated it to have been first established by the Decemvirs in 451-49 B. C.; while Fulvius Nobilior placed its introduction even as late as the consulship of Manius Acilius Glabrio, 191 B. C., only two years before his own consulship.' (*Astronomy*, p. 43.)

The discordance is not less on the subject of the *nundinæ* :—

'Dionysius describes Romulus as the author of the *nundinæ*, which was a market held at Rome every eighth, or as the Romans expressed it, every ninth day. . . . Cassius Sempronius Tuditanus, a well-informed historian of his country, who flourished in the second century before Christ, referred the origin of this institution to the arrangement, made by Romulus when he formed the joint kingdom with Tatius; and did not therefore include it among his original institutions at the foundation of the city. Cassius Hemina, a historian of the second century before Christ, and Varro, assigned its establishment to Servius Tullius. Other writers considered the observation of the *nundinæ* as a market day to be subsequent to the expulsion of the kings, and to have originated in the honours paid by the plebs to the manes of Servius, the plebeian king, on the eighth day.' (*Astronomy*, p. 57.)

It is clear, as Sir Cornewall Lewis remarks, that those who attributed the *nundinæ* to Servius could not possibly have connected them with the year of Romulus. Of Etruscan science nothing more can be said than that it seems to have been confined to a system of divination from lightning. On the whole, the same uncertainty rests on the early astronomy of the Romans as on their constitutional history.

The mythology of the Homeric and Hesiodic poems has a negative value, as showing that the Greeks, in what is called the Heroic Age, had no complete astronomical system. In Hesiod the earth is a flat sphere, surmounted by a solid vault in which are fixed the sun, moon, and stars. It was a more recent myth which explained the passage of the sun from his place of setting to the East, by the golden cup given to him by Hephæstus. But while the Greek mythology exhibits no approach to any systematic astronomy, it is only in one sense true that it had little connexion with the heavenly bodies. Sir Cornewall Lewis has curiously inverted the case when he asserts that the personification of the sun led to his being regarded as a universal witness (p. 7.), and that only at a comparatively late period was Apollo identified with Helios, or Artemis with the moon

(p. 63). His general argument would have been strengthened by a closer examination of the growth of Greek mythology. In the Hesiodic poems we have an account of a lunation, and of the occupations to which each stage of it was held to be favourable. But with this knowledge of a recurring measure of time Sir Cornewall Lewis remarks that the poet still appears ignorant of any calendar of months, by which the time of year can be described. If the later poets identify Apollo with Helios, they revert in fact to an earlier notion; but that notion tells of the sun not as supplying a measure of time, but as a being endued with a life not less conscious and personal than that of man.

But from the mists of the mythical ages there emerges in Greece (and, as Sir Cornewall Lewis rightly insists, in Greece alone), an astronomical science which is really historical and always progressive. While the names of Chaldean, Babylonian, and Egyptian astronomers remain wholly unknown, with Thales begins a long line of philosophers who contributed to the advance of practical astronomy as much as they failed to improve it in theory. For the traditions concerning Thales no positive evidence can be adduced. Among other tenets he is said to have held that the fire of the sun and stars was fed by watery exhalations; his practical science was shown in his prediction of an eclipse which broke off a battle between the armies of Cyaxares and Alyattes. But the statement will not bear criticism. The darkness caused by a solar eclipse does not bear out the story in Herodotus: and if it is strange that Thales should predict it to Ionians who had no direct interest in the event, it is still more strange that he could not foretell it within narrower limits than a year. But the tale is only a sample of many which extol the scientific knowledge of the earlier Greek astronomers. To his disciple Anaximander is ascribed the discovery of a gnomon or sun-dial, showing the time, the seasons, solstices, and equinoxes. By Anaximenes the chain of wild and arbitrary hypotheses was extended. With him the sun was a body of fire and in shape flat like a leaf, while the moon, being fiery, shone with her own light, and the form of the earth as a flat trapezium prevented it from sinking in space. Improving upon him, Heraclitus taught that the stars were fed by exhalations from the earth, that the sun was shaped like a bowl, and that its width was not greater than that of a man's foot. To Xenophanes, the founder of the Eleatic School, is ascribed the opinion that the stars were fiery clouds, lit at night like coals, and put out in the morning,

and that the sun, resembling these in substance, was likewise renewed every day. Parmenides spoke of the universe as consisting of three circular bands surrounded by a solid firmament like a wall, and first taught, it is said, that the earth was spherical and situated at the centre of the universe. According to Empedocles, as also in the doctrine of Philolaus, there were two suns, one in the invisible sphere below the earth, the other in the upper hemisphere, sharing the motion of the invisible sun. The distance of the moon from the sun he judged to be twice as great as its distance from the earth. His guess was followed up by later philosophers, sometimes on grounds which were strictly astronomical, sometimes (as by the Pythagoreans) on mysterious ideas of the essential power and virtues of numbers. Like Anaximenes, Anaxagoras, the teacher and friend of Pericles, held that the earth was a plane, and believed the sun to be a mass of ignited stone larger than the Peloponnesus. From him probably Thucydides derived his knowledge that an eclipse of the sun takes place at the new moon, and an eclipse of the moon when it is full. But in explaining the movements of the heavenly bodies, he substituted the action of mechanical forces in place of the direct agency of the gods; and the influence of Pericles hardly sufficed to free him from the charge of impiety.

It was at this stage in the history of astronomy that Socrates interposed his protest and attempted to define the boundaries of human knowledge. The protest appears, at first sight, an unwarranted attempt to arrest the progress of the human mind. It was, in reality, the result of that clearness of mental vision which identifies his method with that of Bacon's new philosophy. With a zeal which no one before him had ever exhibited, he devoted himself to the uprooting of all opinions received simply because they were traditional. Rigorously carrying out in himself that purification of the intellect without which any real advance was hopeless, he proclaimed a crusade against all pretence of knowledge without the reality, and entered on the warfare with an earnestness which became a passion. It was not possible that truth could be reached by guess-work; it was equally impossible that men could know things, the knowledge of which lay beyond the reach of their faculties. That among these unattainable things we must place the science of astronomy, was in him no strange or inexplicable assumption. A long series of philosophers had gone before him. Each one had propounded his theory; and in none of their many schemes was any scientific basis discernible. There was enough, in the

long array of short-lived conjectures and in the pertinacity with which they were maintained, to induce the conclusion that men were herein meddling with what they had no right to touch. How far the intellect of Socrates resembled that of Bacon, or whether it was equal to it, we need not now determine, but Bacon himself, in the days of Anaxagoras, would probably have propounded doctrines not unlike those of Socrates. With a very scanty store of scientific observations, with no solid ground for extensive generalisations, he must at the least have maintained that any attempt to frame a theory of the universe was absurdly premature. The protest of Socrates virtually affirmed no more; but he rightly interpreted the jealous rivalry of the physical philosophers as a sign of weakness and of lack of knowledge, while their discordant theories strengthened a religious conviction, that if they could not learn or teach astronomy without squabbling like madmen, it must be because the gods did not choose to have their own domain invaded. We cannot doubt that Socrates would have abandoned this notion, if astronomers could have shown him that their scientific method was sound. As it was, he admitted that a practical knowledge of astronomy ought to be acquired, and so left the door open for the more accurate research of after ages. He may perhaps have shared, as Sir Cornewall Lewis thinks, the prejudices of his time; but his assaults on groundless theories directed the intellect of later philosophers into a better channel, and gave the earnest of that scientific harvest which we are reaping. The portrait of Socrates as exhibited in the plays of Aristophanes was a ludicrous and malignant caricature. The injustice, if not so great, is scarcely less strange, which has led modern writers to identify his philosophy with that of Seneca. The issue of his trial must mainly be laid to his own charge; but he certainly never attempted to divert men from all that may render life useful and happy into the regions of a transcendental philosophy. The theories of later astronomers were certainly not more arbitrary than those which had been propounded before, while a new impulse was given to accurate and methodical observation. Even in his own time a great reform of the Athenian calendar was effected by the cycle of Meton.

If the groundwork of Greek astronomy was strong, still (with the exception of the Epicureans, who never took the trouble to reason at all,) the conclusions drawn by astronomers from their premises were strictly logical. They were all of them efforts to explain the phenomena of the heavens; and if they succeeded in explaining any, it was

a positive benefit, which modern historians of science are too much disposed to undervalue. The philosopher who held the sun to be no wider than his foot, did good service if, even on an erroneous hypothesis, he put into clearer light any motions of the celestial bodies. The Epicurean alone stood aloof from real progress, when he clung to the tenets of Anaximenes or Heracleitus, because he chose to substitute what he called common sense for the 'low-minded technicalities of the philosophers.' If the Pythagoreans arranged the universe from ideas of the mystical properties of numbers and sounds, yet from their arbitrary starting point they displayed a force of reasoning, of which at the least we have no evidence among the astronomers of Asia or of Egypt.

On the subject of astronomy, the opinions of Plato were not in advance of the generally received theories. If, as Sir Cornewall Lewis thinks, Plato asserts nothing more in the *Timæus* than that the stationary earth is wound or twined like a ball of thread round the immaterial axis of the universe, it seems equally probable that his subsequent change of mind, if true in fact, was owing to the adoption not of any heliocentric system but of the Pythagorean hypothesis of a central fire, round which the earth with the sun and the whole starry heaven revolves. But with Eudoxus of Cnidos the scientific astronomy of the Greeks began to move in a path more in accordance with the method of Socrates. If it did not altogether abstain from theorising, it founded its theories on wider and more careful observations. With him originated the first systematic explanation of the periodic motions of the planets, which, as he asserted, were made in solid revolving spheres. This hypothesis of revolving spheres, while confined to the movement of the fixed stars, was simple and intelligible enough. When it came to be extended to the sun, moon, and planets, the multiplication of these spheres became a necessity; and in the loss of simplicity, as Sir Cornewall Lewis remarks, the system lost its chief recommendation. The intricacy was further increased by Callippus, who added seven spheres to the twenty-six of Eudoxus. The astronomy of Aristotle is remarkable not so much for the additions which it made to scientific knowledge, as because it formed one portion only of a philosophy which sought to embrace all human learning. With him, as with Plato, the earth was fixed at the centre of the universe, which, like Eudoxus, he held to be composed of revolving spheres. The motion of the bodies placed in these spheres was measured by their distance from the centre—that of the outermost spheres

being the most rapid and the most simple. But Aristotle saw that the motions of some of the planets were more intricate than those of the sun and moon, which he believed to be more distant from the external sphere. The solution of this difficulty he found in the conscious life of the stars, owing to which 'each orb accomplishes its circuit according to the best means at its command.' From the gravitation of matter to a centre he inferred the sphericity of the earth; and the comparative smallness of its size he gathered from the fact that a slight change of distance to north or south changes the position of the fixed stars in those directions. His system was in fact substantially that which under the name of Ptolemy maintained its ground till it was finally set aside by that of Copernicus. It was supported by the close and powerful logic of Euclid; and in Galen's day the demonstration was as thoroughly believed as that two and two make four. Against this system one remarkable protest was raised by Aristarchus of Samos. Unlike the Pythagoreans, who made earth, sun, and stars revolve round the central fire, Aristarchus propounded a theory which needed only Newton's hypothesis of gravitation to complete the system of modern astronomy. From Archimedes, who himself rejected it, we learn that Aristarchus believed the earth to revolve in a circle of which the sun was the immovable centre, the fixed stars being also motionless—that he assigned to the earth a rotation on its own axis, and that he explained the apparent annual motion of the sun in the ecliptic by supposing the orbit of the earth to be inclined to its axis. Like Anaxagoras, Aristarchus was held by his opponents to be guilty of impiety; but men were more tolerant then than in the days of Pericles or Galileo; and Cleanthes could only vent in words his indignation at the boldness which dared to set the hearth of the universe in motion.

The Alexandrian school of astronomy is preeminently distinguished by the names of Eratosthenes, Apollonius, Hipparchus, and Ptolemy. Between the two latter there intervened a period of nearly 300 years, during which the practical astronomy of the Greeks made little progress. But, in the words of Sir Cornewall Lewis, it had already achieved some signal triumphs over the superficial impressions of the senses; and, lacking many modern inventions (more especially the clock and the telescope), it accomplished fully as much as could be expected from it. The doctrine of epicycles, which Apollonius substituted for that of revolving spheres as applied by Hipparchus, had explained in detail the motions of the sun and moon; and the

Greeks had learned to regard the earth as a solid sphere, and the heavenly bodies as moving uniformly in circular orbits. To measure fairly the value of the results so gained, we have to remember that the doctrine of the earth's figure is now a matter of physical geography. The problem has been solved by the experience of the eye :—

‘With the ancients it was otherwise. This doctrine with them rested almost exclusively on astronomical grounds, and it was only reached by a gradual advance of astronomical reasoning. The conception of the fixed stars as revolving in a solid sphere round the earth was perhaps not difficult of attainment; but the reduction of the motions of the sun, moon, and five planets to circular orbits, was far removed from ordinary ideas, and implied deep concentrated thought and scientific abstraction. The theory of composite spheres devised by Eudoxus, and developed by Callippus and Aristotle, was ingenious, and required much geometrical resource; but it was intricate, and it failed in the essential point of explaining all the phenomena. The Apollonian and Hipparchian theory of eccentrics and epicycles proceeded on the same astronomical basis; it was more intricate, but it exhibited more geometrical subtlety, and it accomplished the important end of explaining all the known phenomena.’ (*Astronomy*, p. 210.)

If we are inclined to wonder that the simpler scheme of Aristarchus failed to supplant a system so complicated, Sir Cornewall Lewis bids us remember that his hypothesis, like that of Copernicus, appeared to contradict both our reason and the evidence of our senses. It is natural to conceive that a revolving body is influenced by that round which it turns and must always be directed to it as to a centre. Copernicus himself ‘supposed the axis of the earth to be always turned towards the sun. It was reserved to Kepler to propound the hypothesis of the constant parallelism of the earth's axis to itself.’

The origin of the Greek science of astronomy, which, with all its strained and groundless guess-work, exhibits the real efforts of men to discern the laws of the universe, involves questions connected directly with the history of the great empires of the Eastern world. Was it from the first as completely their own as their art, their poetry, and their freedom? or had the keen intellect and quick imagination, which clothed in its garb of exquisite beauty a mythology shared in common with the Roman and the Teuton, simply moulded into system scientific ideas which it had received elsewhere? The Egyptian in this case claimed to be the teacher; and the later Greeks made no resistance to the claim. It remains to be seen whether it had any foundation in fact.

By Thales, who is stated to have gained his knowledge in Egypt, the Egyptians are also said to have been taught how to measure the pyramids. The assertion is not more likely than that he discovered the seasons; and his speculations on the risings of the Nile would not prove that he had even seen it. Sir Cornewall Lewis remarks that Herodotus speaks of the opinion that it was caused by the Etesian winds without mentioning Thales; and the phenomenon was one which attracted the attention of Greek observers in general. The reports of the sojourn of Anaxagoras in Egypt Sir Cornewall Lewis affirms to be a mere figment of later writers. The words of Marcellinus would equally authenticate the golden thigh of Pythagoras. The Egyptian origin of the Metonic cycle rests on the authority of the Scholiast on a passage of the astronomical poet Aratus. Democritus of Abdera unquestionably visited Egypt as well as other countries; but he affirms his own superiority, whether to Egyptians or others, in geometrical demonstrations. Plato, who speaks of some of the planets as being first named by Egyptians, yet calls them by names which are distinctively Greek. The accounts given of the visit of Eudoxus are inconsistent; and it is at least clear that he could not have been in Egypt in company with Plato; but Sir Cornewall Lewis admits that the fact of the visit is well attested, ‘that the Egyptians preceded the Greeks as practical observers of the celestial bodies, and that they had, at the beginning of the fourth century before Christ, accumulated a larger stock of astronomical facts than their more intelligent and more scientific neighbours’ (p. 157). He adds, however, that Aristotle makes no mention of Egyptian astronomical treatises, or indeed of anything received from them in writing. It is not pretended that Aristotle or later writers derived their knowledge from Egypt; and the plea that they revealed to Hipparchus, the precession of the equinoxes discovered by that illustrious astronomer, Sir Cornewall Lewis pronounces to be a purely gratuitous assumption. On the visit of Pythagoras he remarks that, like the mediæval chroniclers, each successive writer seems to know more than his predecessors. But if Egypt was not the parent of Greek astronomy, it cannot claim with greater truth to have originated that of Rome. It is said that Cæsar, who wrote a learned treatise on the motions of the stars, received instruction in Egypt; but he received it not at the hands of the Egyptian priests, but in the Greek school of Alexandria.

If the relative precedence of Egyptian and Asiatic astronomers were to be determined by their own assertions, we should have sim-

ply to reject a mass of claims and counter-claims, all equally incredible and absurd. The wildest legends may have some foundation in fact. The tale of Troy may conceivably have arisen from some historical war; but no test is at hand by which we may sever the facts from the fable. We can make nothing out of statements which tell us that Zeus Belus taught the Syrians astronomy, or that the Egyptian and Chaldean observations extended over three or four or five hundred thousand years. The legend that Belus, son of Libya, led a colony from Egypt to Babylon, may mean that the people and the science of the latter country are older than the former; but we cannot affirm or deny it. The debt due from Greece to Egypt was expressly repudiated by Hipparchus; but, if taken in their widest meaning, the statements of Greek writers come to no more than this,—that in their time the Egyptians had amassed a store of astronomical observations,—that they had a calendar scarcely so accurate as the Greek,—and that they used sundials for the notation of time. The accounts of Herodotus, Diodorus, and Strabo do not agree as to the length of the Egyptian year, or the number of its days. If there is nothing to contradict Herodotus, when he says that the Egyptians were careful in recording the occurrence of unusual phenomena, there are yet the more significant facts, that no single Egyptian astronomer is known to us by name, and that even Ptolemy never mentions any observation made by a native Egyptian.\* They had laid up materials for scientific induction; and of these the Greeks may doubtless have availed themselves. Of an Egyptian astronomy which attempted to explain the movements of the heavens, there is not the faintest trace. With the records of phenomena they began; and, in accordance with all the characteristics of Eastern intellect, with these they ended. The most that can be said for Egypt is that, if its science was meagre and its influence weak, they seem both to have been at the least harmless.

It was otherwise with the Babylonians.

'If the East could not give science to the West, it could give superstition. If it could not give astronomy, it could give astrology. Though it could not guide, it could pervert the human intellect. Its soil, though incapable of producing plants fit for the food of man, could generate poisons.' (*Astronomy*, p. 291.)

The great gift of Syrian science was the boon of genethliac astrology. The Egyptians drew from the day of birth omens of the life which was to follow; but these signs were not connected with the stars. The Greeks

observed the heavenly bodies, but they went no further than to associate them with the recurrence of certain seasons, and to see in them tokens of atmospheric changes. The divination of the Greeks and Romans lay in the interpretation of oracles and dreams, in augury and meteoric signs, as well as prodigies of every kind. It was the special work of Chaldean astronomers to link the fortunes of man with the position of planets at his birth, and to draw out into elaborate system a superstition which more than almost any other dwarfs and cripples the human intellect. Against this system the Greek astronomers raised their voice; the laws of Rome forbade its practice. But the superstition of Sulla was a type of the temper of his countrymen; and the Greeks, instead of regarding the rising of stars as accompanying signs, had only to look on them as the causes of atmospheric change, to open the door for the astrological system of Assyria. In Egypt, then, that system was an exotic, not less than at Athens or Rome; but Egyptian vanity, or the weakness of Egyptian intellect, was dazzled by the mysterious art; and forged treatises sprang up in abundance to prove that it was of ancient and indigenous growth.

But, whether harmless or hurtful, the science of Egypt and Syria is inseparably linked with their civil history. The scientific literature of those countries has perished, if it ever existed; and the record of events, whether drawn from written lists or monumental inscriptions, ceases to be of positive value, unless they can be ranged in true chronological order. The poets of the Greek heroic age had some acquaintance with the land of the Nile; but it was not before the days of Psammetichus that the country was really opened to Greek commerce, nor much before those of Amasis that we can be said to approach a contemporary history. How far beyond that time their astronomical observations extended, can be determined only on some real knowledge of the political history of the country.

That history has been recovered or reconstructed by modern Egyptologists, and the results, it would seem, are these. In a paradise, whose southern boundary was the 40th degree of northern latitude, but in which, nevertheless, flowed the Tigris and Euphrates, man (or at least that stock from which the Aryan, Semitic, and Turanian races alike are sprung) came into being.\* But Virgil tells us that the world was born in the genial days of spring; and it would be monstrous to suppose that man would be created in a temperature which could not fail to stunt his

\* *Astronomy*, p. 287.

\* *Egypt's Place*, vol. iv. p. 557.

growth and dwarf his intellect. Now astronomers say that the greatest deviations of the earth's axis fall in cycles of 21,000 years; and 'the consequence of these deviations is a change of the proportions of cold and heat at the poles, the greatest of which gives eight days more cold or heat.\* The year 1248 of our era marked the end of one of these periods. By calculating backwards 5250 years from 1248 we arrive at a time when the seasons in the northern hemisphere were *in equilibrio*. So again in B.C. 9252 the cold had attained its maximum, and B.C. 19752 marks therefore the most favourable time next preceding. This then was the birth year of mankind. In those days all beyond 53° N.L. was an open sea, in which the Ural stood out as an island; and in the country which lay to the south of it, between the 60th and 100th meridians of longitude, the foundations of human society were laid. Here language was evolved from that consciousness of a personal God and of a living law of causation, which alone rendered either language or religion possible.† Here, at the end of the first 5000 years, 'the earliest polarisation of religious consciousness issued in that formation of pure agglutinative speech which was the Eastern polarisation of Sinism;' and the germs of mythology became visible 'in the substantiation of inanimate things and properties.‡ But the unfavourable time was drawing nigh; and the eight days more of cold in the middle of the eleventh millennium sufficed to bring about a convulsion of nature which expelled man from his first home, and froze while it drove back the open northern sea. The great stream of migration began to flow westwards; but Egypt had been already peopled by settlers, who had therefore no traditions of a flood. In the millennium preceding that catastrophe, Egyptian nationality began in the foundation of Nomes or independent tribes, and in Osirism, or the psychical element of religion. The year 9086 B.C. closed the republican period; and a dynasty of sacerdotal kings, who reigned down to 7231, was followed by a series of elective monarchs, and these by a double contemporaneous line of hereditary princes, whose rule ended in 3624, when under Menes all Egypt was united under a single government. This period marks the introduction of animal worship and the beginning of Egyptian literature. The dynasty of Menes ended with the fifth king, Pemphos, in B.C. 3434. To the second or third dynasty belongs Gosormies or Sesostosis, the great lawgiver, the Sesostis of Herodotus, B.C.

3319, and Mares Sesorcheres, the builder of the oldest pyramid of Dashur. In the fourth are found Saophis II., the builder of the largest pyramid, and Menkeres' I., who built the third pyramid.\* To the sixth dynasty (B.C. 2953—2948) belongs Nitocris, the rosy-cheeked queen, whom Herodotus confounded with the Greed Hetæra of an age not much preceding his own. The second king of the twelfth dynasty is Sesortosis Ammenemes (2755—2733), in whose reign the regal power, with that of the priests, was consolidated by his viceroy Joseph,—the arrival of Jacob in Egypt taking place B.C. 2743. He was

\* The Egyptologists affirm that the names Suphis and Menkeres have been deciphered in the pyramids, of which Herodotus mentions Cheops and Mykerinus as the builders. If it may therefore be held that kings so named raised these structures, the pyramids tell us nothing to fix their date. A comparison of them with other Egyptian buildings may assign them to a particular age on architectural evidence; and if it can be proved on such evidence that the pyramids belong to the earliest period of Egyptian architecture, we should have some approximate notion of the time at which these kings lived. Sir Cornewall Lewis has examined minutely the reasons for assuming the great antiquity of buildings in Egypt, and comes to the conclusion that there is no sufficient ground for placing any of them at a date anterior to that of the building of the Temple of Solomon, 1012 B.C. (*Astronomy*, p. 440.) This conclusion has been received by some with 'profound astonishment.' Yet it is obvious that Sir Cornewall Lewis does not fix their date. His assertion is simply that we have no historical warrant for assigning to them any greater age. Architectural evidence will only give the order of styles. Supposing that English history were a blank, we might, by a diligent comparison of Romanesque and Gothic buildings, assert that the nave of Durham was older than that of Westminster, and the latter than the chapel of Henry VII. But unless we could further compare them with similar buildings in other lands, of which the date was historically ascertained, we could not assign them to any particular century, still less to any particular part of a century. According to Herodotus, the pyramid kings reigned from about 913 to 813 B.C. Other writers assign to them an earlier date. Astronomers, who tell us that 8970 years ago, the star  $\gamma$  Draconis fulfilled the office of a pole-star, accept that date for the pyramids (B.C. 2128 for the Great Pyramid), because they have openings on the north side, 'leading to straight passages which descend at an inclination varying from 26° to 27°, the direction of these passages being in all cases parallel to the meridian; now if we suppose a person to be stationed at the bottom of any one of these passages and to look up it, as he would through the tube of a telescope, his eye will be directed to a point in the meridian 26° or 27° above the plane of the horizon; and this is precisely the altitude at which the star  $\gamma$  Draconis must have passed the lower meridian at the place in question 8970 years before the present time.' (*Chambers' Hand-book of Astronomy*, p. 270.) It might have been thought that the astronomical argument would be especially acceptable to Baron Bunsen; but it did not fit in with his scheme, and the pyramids are therefore thrown further back by more than a thousand years.

\* Egypt's Place, vol. iv. p. 53.

† *Ib.* vol. iv. p. 534.

‡ *Ib.* vol. iv. p. 546.

followed by Sesortosis, the author of the Canal system\* and the land-tax. The year 2547 marks the conquest of Egypt by the Amalika or Amalekites, assisted by the Philistæans. The Hycsos dynasties, then established, held the native princes as their tributaries for about 900 years.† The rise of the eighteenth dynasty, in 1625 B.C., was accompanied by the expulsion or withdrawal of the Hycsos, and the bondage of the Israelites. To the nineteenth belong Sethos I., the Great,—the mighty conqueror who subjugates Cyprus, Phœnicia, Assyria, and Media (1403—1391 B.C.)—and his son, Rameses II., who, unworthily bearing the same title, was the builder of the great temple of Karnak and the oppressor of the Hebrews. His son Menophthah, on the departure of the Jews after a sojourn in Egypt of more than a thousand years, was compelled to retire into Ethiopia, with his son Sethos, then five years old. The conquests of Rameses III. in Canaan, Phœnicia, and Ethiopia, fell about 1280 B.C. The twenty-third dynasty began with Petorbates, 813 B.C., and closed with Zet, 725 B.C. The twenty-fourth consists of a single king, Bocchoris, who attempts internal reforms and is defeated by the Ethiopians. The next dynasty is followed by the dodecarchy; and the reign of Psamtik, the fourth king of the twenty-sixth dynasty, began 664 B.C. The names of his successors, closing with Psammekheres, are given in the order of Herodotus.

All this may have happened after the manner arranged by Baron Bunsen. But the intrinsic possibility of a history is no measure of its credibility. No narrative of the civil wars of England could appear more credible than the account of the war at Troy by Thucydides. Yet it is the account of a strife in which Aphrodite appeared to do battle for Æneas, and in which Sleep and Death bore away the dead Sarpedon on their noiseless wings. The version of Thucydides falls to the ground, because we have no means of proving its truth; but the marvels, and still more the contradictions, in the

Trojan legend are as nothing compared with those which beset the thorny paths of Egyptology. Four writers at different times have left us an outline of the whole or of portions of Egyptian history. All four profess to have derived their knowledge from the same source, and, except in the period which succeeds the dodecarchy, these accounts seem to be utterly irreconcilable. If we are confined altogether to a comparison of these, there would indeed be no alternative but to reject them all. But the Egyptologists have found a refuge in the hieroglyphical records; and the old monuments of the people are said to furnish the groundwork for the verification of their history. Every Egyptian building is full of such inscriptions; and it is asserted that the key has been found, not only for deciphering them, but for constructing the whole grammar and dictionary of the language to which they belong. Sir Cornewall Lewis has stated with singular force and clearness the difficulties which stand in the way of such an achievement, and the enormous demands which it makes on our faith or our credulity.\* The language is dead; its tradition has been broken for centuries; and the accounts which the old writers give of the Egyptian system of writing are not more consistent than their lists of successive or contemporary dynasties. The modern Coptic first made its appearance in the third century of our era. Its alphabet is almost wholly Greek; the relics of its literature almost entirely liturgical. Yet, however much we may doubt its applicability to hieroglyphical interpretation, the affinity of the Coptic with the old language of Egypt does not therefore fall to the ground. The modern Italian is sprung not from the old Latin, but from the dialects which formed the speech of the people while Latin was the literary language of Rome. It seems, at the least, equally probable that the modern Coptic may stand in a somewhat similar relation to the

\* Herodotus ascribes the Egyptian canals to the warrior Sesostris, who according to his scheme reigned in the eleventh century B.C. Bunsen (*Egypt's Place*, vol. ii. p. 300,) asserts that these canals must have been dug at the commencement of Egyptian civilisation, and that they must therefore be transferred from Sesostris the warrior to Sesostris the lawgiver, whom he states to have reigned in the fourth millennium B.C.

† It has been well urged that history furnishes no parallel to the hostile occupation of a country for so many centuries without either bringing about a successful rebellion, or the amalgamation of the conquering with the conquered race. Not more than one inscription is said to be the work of these invaders.

\* In reference to hieroglyphical interpretation, Sir Cornewall Lewis speaks only of the discoveries of Champollion. The omission of Young's name may cause some surprise; but while it is admitted on all sides that Champollion drew out a system where Young at most had only thrown out hints, it was unnecessary to determine the precise degree of merit attaching to either. According to Bunsen, Young's mistakes were greater than his successes. In 1815, we are told, that he went so far as to deny the existence of an alphabetic element in either the hieroglyphic or hieratic character; and his latest inquiries 'led him in many points still farther from the truth.' (*Egypt's Place*, vol. i. p. 319, &c.) Sir G. Lewis remarks that the sudden illumination of Champollion in interpreting these monuments wears a suspicious appearance; and it is clear that his method has not been found altogether sufficient by his successors.



old sacerdotal language. That affinity might perhaps have been at once determined, if the old writing had been easily legible. But here lay the great mystery. The system was clearly a highly complicated one; how complicated, it was impossible to judge. To apply the analogy of cipher-writing was useless; because a cipher 'is a contrivance for disguising the alphabetical writing of a known language by a conventional change of characters.\* There remained no hope but in the discovery of some record with its translation affixed; and this was supplied by the celebrated Rosetta Stone, and by the identification of the proper names which occur in it. The name of one of the Ptolemies was found also in an inscription on the small obelisk of Philæ; and the ring containing it was found to correspond with the one previously deciphered by Young. The occurrence of the name Cleopatra in the latter inscription supplied further the signs for *l, o, p, a, t, t*; and a more extended examination revealed the fact that, both in the hieroglyphic, hieratic, and enchorial writing, symbolical and alphabetical characters were intermingled, and that there were *homophone* signs, or different figures representing one and the same sound.† This latter hypothesis was rendered necessary by the fact that the language had only fifteen sounds, while the sounds discovered amounted to 200. A pure alphabet of such a kind would be, as Baron Bunsen admits, not easy to comprehend; and the further discovery was made, that by far the greater part of the characters in Champollion's alphabet were not purely phonetic, i. e. not capable of universal application. The existence of the remaining thirty-four signs (on an average two for each sound), was explained by the necessity of employing sometimes a horizontal, sometimes a perpendicular sign, sometimes a long, sometimes a broad figure, in order to give an artistic shape and finish to each group of words.‡

With this apparatus and with these assumptions, Champollion and his disciples proceeded to reconstruct the old language of the Egyptian priests. The venture was perilous, yet it would be rash to deny that the proper names have been rightly deciphered, or to assert that the more modern Coptic can furnish no analogy or guidance in the process of interpretation. A review of Baron Bunsen's Egyptian dictionary will show that these analogies are frequently wanting, and sometimes very far-fetched. But the greatest trial of our faith comes in the meanings attached to the five or six hundred words

which make up the Egyptian lexicon. Several hundreds or thousands more have, it is said, been now discovered; but if their meanings are equally varied, it is not easy to see what purpose they can answer, except to render more perplexing a task already next to impossible. Not only may different signs stand for the same sounds; but the same sounds may signify a dozen things which have not the slightest apparent connexion with each other, while the same thing, to heighten the wonder, may have several names. It is true that there are 164 determinatives; but, inasmuch as a 'club' is determinative of 'names of foreigners,' 'to create,' and 'wicked,' and an 'eye' of 'to adorn,' 'to see,' 'to raise up,' 'to suspend,' 'to consent,' 'to conceive,' 'to imagine,' &c., the limitation would yet appear to leave a large margin for conjecture. Still any help must be welcome to the students of a language in which the word *ama* may mean 'a lark,' 'to be flogged,' 'sunbeams,' and 'to place,' while the word *ha* may have any of the following meanings, 'a cow,' 'to begin,' 'to go before,' 'a husband,' 'a duck,' 'a substance,' 'O hail,' 'a day,' 'to set up,' 'duration,' 'an elegant kind of boat,' 'field clay,' 'to rejoice,' 'joy,' 'the head,' 'a limb,' 'self,' 'also.' It is surprising that in this labyrinth, to which that of Mæris or Dædalus would be simplicity itself, recent Egyptologists are inclined to reject the slender aid which may be furnished by the analogy of Coptic, and to believe that it was used by Champollion 'rather as a justification to the world of the truth of his statements than as the means of his interpretations.\* Yet perhaps not much is lost by casting aside a reed which may pierce the hand that leans on it.†

But if the system of the Egyptologists be the true one, then over, the hieroglyphic writing rests the same mystery which makes the political history of the country a bewildering enigma. We start with the fact (which Sir Cornewall Lewis rightly terms utterly incredible), that this writing was not confined to the priests, but common to all educated classes, and that this system 'of so much intricacy, consisting of idiographic, syllabic, phonetic, and determinative symbols, with a large class of homophones, or alternative signs for the same sound, should have remained in common use by a whole nation for twenty-two centuries without alteration.‡

\* Astronomy, p. 390.

† Sir Cornewall Lewis has selected some good examples from the many which show how impossible it is in all cases to determine the etymology of a word from a knowledge of its meaning. Many more may be found scattered throughout Professor Max Müller's *Lectures on the Science of Language*.

‡ Astronomy, p. 393.

\* Astronomy, p. 379.

† Egypt's Place, vol. i. p. 327.

‡ Ib. vol. i. p. 326.

§ Ib., vol. i. p. 333.

And then, knowing that for hundreds of years the country was accessible to Greeks and Romans, we are startled by finding not only that they did not believe those inscriptions to contain history, or, believing it, made not the least effort to preserve it, but that the accounts left to us of the Egyptian system of writing differ altogether from the explanation given by modern Egyptologists. The latter represent it as a system which, in its several forms, exhibits a combination of ideographic and alphabetical signs, the former having a phonetic power not less than the latter. The accounts of Chæremon, Horapollo, and Ammianus Marcellinus describe it as idiographic, and not alphabetical, and exclude the idea of phonetic power. Clement of Alexandria speaks of three characters, the epistolographic, the hieratic, and hieroglyphic. This last he divides into phonetic and symbolical; the latter again into tropical, allegorical, and enigmatical; implying, it would seem, that all were kept distinct. As it stands, the text of Clement does not suit Bunsen's theory in all respects; but a slight freedom of interpretation brings it into harmony. 'Clemens might have expressed himself better and more clearly; but it is sufficient to establish any sense for words which otherwise can have none at all.\*'

Finally, on the supposition that the hieroglyphics have been rightly deciphered and the language at once rightly restored and rightly interpreted, comes the fatal conclusion that no greater certainty has been attained by aid of these monumental records than had been reached without them. Inscriptions have been found in which courtiers flatter kings and kings glorify themselves; lists of dynasties with names of rulers, some with a scanty notice, many more with none. Buildings have been examined, and the titles of those who raised them deciphered on their walls. Here and there have been found some astronomical records, but with nothing on which to raise up a chronology. All the researches of Egyptologists have failed to discover an era. There is nothing to surprise us in this failure. No trace of such an era is found in Herodotus or Thucydides, and they who do not adopt Baron Bunsen's estimate of Egyptian intellect, will not expect to find one among the subjects of Cheops or Sesostrius. The disappointment was keenly felt; and M. Bunsen mourns over lost books of Manetho, lost chronicles of the priests, lost historical songs, the existence of which he assumes, just as Niebuhr mourned over the lost epic of regal Rome, and the lost annals of the Pontiffs. Like Niebuhr, M. Bunsen

struggles hard to invest with a historical character books which were either legendary or liturgical. The volumes carried by the Chanter, the Horoscopes and the Hierogrammateus are exalted to a dignity which they merit far less than the mythical chronicles of Hecateus and Hellanicus. With a less pardonable license he assumes the existence of a key, lost to us, which might have unlocked the mysteries of the lists preserved by the Egyptian priests, and which was actually used for that purpose. For lack of this he is thrown back on what the profane might term speculation, but what in Egyptology is a happy power of divination; and the right understanding of the lists is made to depend on a special faculty which answers to the converted state in the theology of the Puritan. But some misgiving still lurks in his mind. Although the national records were in the sacred guardianship of the priests, and although the predominant passion of the Egyptians was to preserve the history of their country in uncorrupted integrity, he admits that they exaggerated the dates of their history (i. 6.), that their chronology was not free from artificial elements (i. 68.), and that the priests were not altogether guiltless of imposture (i. 102.). He allows that the inscriptions on public buildings were not intended to convey any historical information (vol. iii. p. 101.), and that by adopting 'a delusive pivot as the basis of his researches, Champollion was led astray in his dates to the extent of several centuries.' (i. 222.) It is needless to cite further confessions that the ground on which he treads is not altogether sound, and that none can hope to follow him who are not prepared to readjust dynastic lists, to take a king from the place assigned to him by Herodotus and transfer him to that which is given to him by Manetho, or to put him in one which is allotted to him by neither, or to cut him into two or three kings whose lifetime was separated by hundreds or thousands of years. It may well excite indignation in those who do not choose wilfully to blind themselves, when they are invited to accept M. Bunsen's solution of the contradictions in Herodotus and later writers. We are told that the priests really had historical records. We are told that this hieroglyphical writing was intelligible to all educated men; and then we find that these priests were in the habit of giving to foreigners different accounts at different times. It is impossible to insist too strongly on the fact that Herodotus and Diodorus rest their narrative on the authority of the Egyptian priests. Manetho himself enjoyed, it is said, a high position among the priestly caste; and the favour with which Baron Bunsen regards Era-

\* *Egypt's Place*, vol. i. p. 341.

toethenes is perhaps a sufficient proof that the source of his information was a good one. Yet after all his efforts, the attempt to reconcile these several statements is a complete and hopeless failure. In Herodotus Sesostrius comes next after Mœris, 1046 B.C. In Manetho he is the third king of the twelfth dynasty, 3404 B.C. In Diodorus he is separated from Mœris by seven generations, and appears under the name of Sesosis; but the notices appended agree precisely with those of Herodotus. Egyptology makes short work of all.

'Bunsen first takes a portion of him, and identifies it with Tosorthrus (written Sesorthus by Eusebius), the second king of the third dynasty, whose date is 5119 B.C., being a difference in the dates of 1799 years—about the same interval as between Augustus Cæsar and Napoleon. He then takes another portion, and identifies it with Sesonchosis, a king of the twelfth dynasty; a third portion of Sesostrius is finally assigned to himself. It seems that these fragments make up the entire Sesostrius, who in his plural unity belongs to the Ancient Empire; but it is added that the Greeks confounded him with Ramesses or Rameses of the New Empire, a king of the nineteenth dynasty, whose date is 1255 B.C.; who again was confounded with his father Sethos, which name again was transmuted into Sethosis and Sesosis.' (*Astronomy*, p. 369.)

Sir Cornewall Lewis is perhaps too rigid in his remarks on changes of Egyptian proper names. The language was doubtless hard to pronounce. Diabæa may be the same name as Miebaes, Mempsis as Semempsis, Sesostrius as Sesorcheres; but the transpositions and transformations to which Bunsen resorts whenever they are needed are a mere juggle. Bunsen raised Sesostrius to the third dynasty; Lepsius brings him down to the nineteenth. Sir Cornewall Lewis may well ask what we should think

'If a new school of writers on the history of France, entitling themselves Francologists, were to arise, in which one of the leading critics were to deny that Louis XIV. lived in the seventeenth century, and were to identify him with Hercules, or Romulus, or Cyrus, or Alexander the Great, or Cæsar, or Charlemagne; while another leading critic of the same school, agreeing in the rejection of the received hypothesis as to his being the successor of Louis XIII., were to identify him with Napoleon I. or Louis Napoleon.' (*Astronomy*, p. 370.)

After all, the eagles are fighting over dry bones.

'The Egyptian dynasties of Manetho are a mere bead-roll or string of names, accompanied, at rare intervals, with a notice of some fabulous event. Such naked lists, even if they were founded on contemporary registration, would be valueless for historical purposes. We should gain nothing from a list of victors at the Olym-

pic Games, if nothing else was preserved to us of Greek antiquity. To be told that Saïtes, Bnon, Pachnan, Staan, Archles, and Aphobis were the six kings of the fifteenth dynasty, and reigned over Egypt from 2607 to 2324 B.C., conveys no available information. We should learn as much from an authentic account of the succession of a breed of crocodiles or hippopotami in the Nile, or of a series of sacred apes in a temple, for the same period.' (*Astronomy*, p. 358.)

With some astonishment and a sincere pity for great powers wasted and labour thrown away, we survey the huge and ill-cemented fabric which the Egyptologists have raised with so much ingenuity and so much patience.\* The question resolves itself

\* The method in which the recent interpreters of cuneiform writing have treated the early history of Assyria differs in no material respects from that of Egyptologists. The system of cuneiform writing is less intricate than that of the hieroglyphics. The tradition of the old Persian language stands on a very different footing from that of the literary dialect of the old Egyptians, and a marked distinction must be drawn between the Persian and Assyrian inscriptions. But even if it be granted that all the cuneiform inscriptions hitherto found have been rightly deciphered, the discovery has not been followed by any substantial results. Professor Rawlinson affirms, indeed, that each fresh discovery has tended to authenticate the chronology of Berosus (Herodotus, vol. i. p. 433.); but the narrative of Berosus is only one of many versions which might just as reasonably be thought to relate to different times and countries; and his historical method is stamped by the fact that he assigned 432,000 years to the antediluvian kings. Sir Cornewall Lewis has also remarked, that even the scientific doctrines of Berosus were founded on a fabulous basis, for his astronomical writings are given in the form of a translation from a work of the primitive king Belus. Like the Egyptologists, then, the readers of inscribed bricks are thrown back on the accounts of Herodotus, Ctesias, and the other writers who treated of Assyrian history. Their contradictions are quite as great as those which are encountered by Bunsen; and the same machinery is employed to reconcile them. Here also we have no right to assume the existence of any authentic materials at the time when Herodotus or Ctesias drew up their history in the absence of any positive evidence from the inscriptions. Sir Cornewall Lewis has shown that there are no grounds whatever for thinking that Babylon and Nineveh were the capitals of independent contemporary kingdoms. 'The only trace of a distinction between the two is to be found in Herodotus, who describes Cyaxares as taking Nineveh, and reducing all the Assyrians with the exception of Babylon and its district, in 606 B.C. He seems to have supposed that Babylon retained its independence, as head of a fragment of the Assyrian Empire, until 538 B.C., when it was taken by Cyrus. His narrative, however, excludes the idea that Nineveh and Babylon were ever at the same time the seats of independent kingdoms.' (*Astronomy*, p. 424.) The celebrated inscription of Behistun has been invested with a greater historical authority than at the most it can be proved to possess. It is a document belonging undoubtedly to a time closely bordering on contemporary history. We

into first principles; the controversy hinges on the very nature of historical truth. To reject, or at least to suspend our judgment on, the most plausible narrative, unless it comes before us with a sufficient attestation, is a plain and homely rule, the observance of which would be fatal to all reconstructions of history. To treat as certainties things which at the most can be but probable, still more to draw out a detailed chronology for events which are described with infinite contradictions, is to inflict a wound on our sense of truth from which it cannot easily recover. The task of decomposing and recombining narratives for which we can have no contemporary evidence, may give room for a display of learning; but the process is essentially unsound. Sir Cornewall Lewis has shown its worthlessness as applied by Niebuhr to the early history of Rome; but Bunsen's method is unsound in his treatment not only of history but of mythology and language. His process is one not of experimental analysis but of induction from arbitrary assumptions. In his eyes the statements of an inscription assume an authority which must not be questioned; and a building declares its own date, because it reveals its builder's name. No amount of inconsistency or contradiction can convince him that he is dealing with that which may be a fair subject for speculation, but is certainly no part of authentic history. Sir Cornewall Lewis holds that insoluble difficulties must present themselves when chronology 'is dissociated from history, handed down by conflicting authorities and reduced to an arithmetical puzzle.\*' In Bunsen's eyes a chronological

may made use of it to correct or to reject some passages in Herodotus; but we have no means of testing its accuracy as a general narrative of events during the earlier years of the reign of Darius. To the Herodotean account of the conspiracy which overthrew the Magian usurper, it gives a summary contradiction. But that the subsequent wars and conquests are accurately represented, is at best a presumption. Revolts rapidly succeeding each other are enumerated with apparent candour, and the energy of Darius seems to have been as severely taxed as that of a man who has fallen into a nest of hornets; but, while we have no means of testing his assertions, it would be an extreme rashness to place any absolute trust in a long catalogue of victories couched in the usual strain of Oriental self-laudation. It is possible, however, that for these statements further confirmation may be discovered; and the statements themselves are not intrinsically improbable. But when Sir H. Rawlinson settles a date in Berosus by one which Clinton assigns to Phoroneus, he resorts to the chronological arithmetic of Bunsen. (*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. xv. p. 222.) Phoroneus is as historical as the god whom Hecateus claimed as his progenitor in the sixteenth generation.

\* *Astronomy*, p. 374.

inquiry 'becomes simply confusing when mixed up with historical discussions.\*' In his hands it is converted into a machine, which to one skilled in its use will readily yield any result required. He fearlessly begins the reconstruction of the chronology between Menes and Alexander with the question whether, if we had the lists of the Roman emperors from Severus to Theodosius, unaccompanied by historical illustrations, we should be justified in making the sum of their reigns tally with the real time which elapsed between the two emperors. (vol. i. p. 84.) This, he sees, would involve serious error; but, instead of admitting that the lists would then be useless, he takes refuge in the poor assumptions that some reigns may have been reckoned conjointly, and a historical key annexed by which the real duration of each reign might be ascertained. The assumption that Egypt was for many centuries split up into independent nomes leads him to the belief that Menes created in the Egyptians a sense of their national unity. A similar argument would invest with a historical personality the shadowy forms of Theseus and of Nuina. Menes, again, we are told drained the site of Memphis by means of a dyke, and so was enabled to lay the foundations of the city. (vol. ii. p. 49.) There would be but little boldness, by comparison with this, in fixing the day on which the Etruscan Tarquin laid the first stone of the great cloaca at Rome.

It is the same with his speculations on the origin of language, mythology, and theogony. When, after a minute analysis of language, Professor Max Müller finds that the primary predicative roots are all the expression of general ideas, and from this infers that the power of framing such ideas is the essential distinction between man and brute and the explanation of the faculty of speech, he arrives at a conclusion which may be wrong, but which at least is based on the evidence before him. When from the fact that the Homeric Zeus appears in the Vedic poems as the impersonal Dyaus or Heaven, that Leto is still the night, and Procris still the morning dew, he infers that mythology is the petrification of primæval language, and that all theogonies are the later results of this petrifying process, his reasoning is strictly in unison with his premisses. Professor Max Müller's view represents the original condition of man as exhibiting a strict analogy to childhood; and the evidence of language and comparative mythology fully bears him out in so doing. But it is either unintelligible or untrue to say that 'the coining of a word into a noun must

\* *Egypt's Place*, vol. iii. p. 98.

from its nature be considered as the act implying a personal God, and the expression of the copula connecting subject and predicate, the formation of the verb substantive especially, is an unconscious assertion of the existence of God.' (vol. iv. p. 460.) The root of *cave*, we are told is *ku* or *sku*, and this root expresses the general idea of hiding or shelter; but how does it express the knowledge of God or a consciousness of causation? What Baron Bunsen may mean by saying that 'a noun of an intellectual kind, such as the lightning or the thundering, is a mythological art in the garb of language,' we do not profess to understand.

Beyond the confines of contemporary history there yet lies a wide field for legitimate research and patient thought. But that field can never be surveyed or examined to good purpose, unless we remember that we cannot convert probable conclusions into historical certainties. We can no more doubt the existence of the civilisation of which the Homeric poems are a picture, than we can doubt the existence of our own. We cannot bring ourselves to think that the mythical tales of patrician and plebeian struggles at Rome, or of Hycsos invasions in Egypt, have no reference to actual facts. We do not hesitate to believe that before the construction of a systematic theogony, human thought expressed itself in simple phrases which were afterwards hardened into mythical language. Doubtless all these things had their eras. Doubtless there was a real time when men thought and spoke like Agamemnon and Odysseus, and a real society in which women like Nausicaa and Andromache rose high above the degradation of Athenian women in the days of Pericles. These things tell us of a past which was really present; but we do not presume to map it out with the exactness of the Annual Register. Sir Cornwall Lewis has well remarked that exaggeration in numbers is the sign of a barren and inactive rather than of a lively and inventive imagination. In an equal degree, the wish to assign dates to events on grounds of mere probability betrays a historical sense which is dangerously weak. It may be hard to abandon the house which we have built on sand, but the sum of human knowledge is increased by the confession of ignorance or uncertainty, where these are unavoidable. The development of language may be traced in successive stages, and each of these stages must have had its period; but the time which appears needed for them in the judgment of some, seems either too long or too short in that of others. In the misty and conflicting traditions of ancient Egypt we may discern the outlines of events which must have taken place in a

certain order; but we have no means of determining what that order was, and we gain nothing by fixing the polarisation of Sinism in the eleventh millennium before the Christian era. We add nothing to our knowledge by distinguishing Sesostris the Lawgiver from Sesostris the Conqueror, or by attributing to Egyptian priests a learning which they never possessed. It would end a needless strife of words to confess that their history is as uncertain as their science was worthless.

ART. IV.—*The Life of the Right Hon. William Pitt.* By EARL STANHOPE. 4 vols. 8vo. London: 1861–2.

2. *The Miscellaneous Writings of Lord Macaulay. (Biography of William Pitt.)* 2 vols. London: 1860.

3. *The Journal and Correspondence of William, Lord Auckland, with a Preface and Introduction.* By the Right Hon. and Right Rev. the Bishop of Bath and Wells. Vols. III. and IV. London: 1862.

THE lapse of more than half a century since the death of Mr. Pitt may justly be assumed to have wrought that prescription which extinguishes the passions of contemporary politicians and vindicates the truth of history. With two or three illustrious exceptions, the generation of statesmen who entered public life before the career of Pitt was prematurely closed, is no longer represented amongst us; and the generation of statesmen who immediately succeeded him is also nearly extinct, although their influence may be said to have extended to the present day in the administrations of Mr. Canuing, of Sir Robert Peel, and of Lord Palmerston. But the old Tory toasts of the Pitt clubs are as little remembered as the toasts of the Jacobites. The vast citadel of bigotry, intolerance, commercial protection, agricultural monopoly, and repressive government, in which the nation had fortified itself against the ravages and the terrors of the French Revolution, has successively lost its outworks and finally thrown open its gates. The spirit of the last years of the administration of Mr. Pitt, which rendered that period so dangerous to the liberties of the country, is forgotten; the intemperate Toryism of the first quarter of the present century has been purged and expiated by thirty years of uninterrupted progress and reform. The ascendancy of liberal principles over the minds of the whole community is now even more complete than the ascendancy of the politi-

cal party, which in those dark and evil days was the only champion of the liberal cause. Party predilections may now be dismissed from our estimate of a statesman, who was once the type of party in our modern history, but who now belongs less to party than to the nation. Above the feverish contests of his hour the imposing figure of William Pitt has risen into permanent greatness; showing how far he stood above the narrow policy which was ignorantly and unjustly connected with his name, and how largely he anticipated the great measures of reform which it was not his fate to realise and accomplish.

The biography of Mr. Pitt has therefore within the last few years been conceived and attempted by several of our most eminent writers, in a spirit equally remote from the wretched adulation of Tomline and Gifford, as from the attacks and calumnies of his political antagonists. It adds lustre even to the fame of Lord Macaulay that one of the last productions of his pen was the biographical essay, now included in his miscellaneous works, where he exposed, with his usual vivacity, the absurdities long current with the public, under the name of Pitt-principles, and paid a candid and dignified tribute to those qualities which are the true basis of Mr. Pitt's fame.

Amongst the historical writers who have in our time addressed themselves to this great subject, none, however, unites the qualifications which we desire in the biographer of Mr. Pitt, to so high a degree as Lord Stanhope. His earlier labours in the field of our annals, which have given us the best existing history of England from the Peace of Utrecht to the peace of 1783, terminated precisely at the moment when Mr. Pitt entered Lord Shelburne's administration. In one sense, therefore, the present biography may be regarded as a continuation of those 'seven decades' of the history of England which bear the name of Lord Mahon. From the date of the appearance of Mr. Pitt upon the stage of public affairs, Lord Stanhope appears to have thought that the interest of his narrative would be more effectually sustained by grouping the series of events around one central figure, and the history of the country becomes for eighteen years the life of its Minister. To the execution of this task Lord Stanhope brought, in addition to his eminent talents and his high sense of historical justice, peculiar advantages. He was born in Mr. Pitt's house, and bred in affectionate reverence for his name. Since the extinction of all the male lines of the Pitt family, which can boast of consanguinity with Chatham and the son of Chatham, the

heir of the Stanhopes may fairly be regarded as one of the nearest representatives of that illustrious house to which his own was allied by more than one marriage. The traditions of these families, and many of the papers and pictures which denote their long and confidential intercourse, are in his own hands: other manuscripts found at Arncliffe, at Belvoir, and elsewhere, were readily confided to so discreet and judicious an investigator. Hence the materials collected for these volumes are copious and original. But the highest merit which Lord Stanhope displays in this work is that dispassionate love of truth and fairness which is so creditable to his writings. It is no exception to this remark that he avows his predilection for the statesman whose character he has undertaken to delineate, and endeavours to vindicate him from the strictures which have been passed upon many passages of his life. He clearly and calmly states the grounds which appear to him to refute a calumny, to explain an error, or to extenuate a fault. And, although we cannot always arrive at the same conclusions as his lordship, we are always assisted by the candour and liberality he brings to the discussion of these events. Since it has become the practice to open the archives of State and the correspondence of past generations to historical research, biographical writing has lost that terse and vigorous personality which characterise such inimitable productions of the art as the 'Life of Agricola' by Tacitus, or the 'Life of Nelson' by Southey. There we have a finished statue of the man—here we have a series of bas-reliefs of his actions; and the materials of history somewhat choke the course of the stream. In this respect Lord Macaulay's sketch still remains the boldest delineation of Pitt. Like a drawing from the crayon of a great master it speaks to the imagination and strikes the memory even more powerfully than a highly finished performance. But Lord Stanhope has supplied, with great care and fidelity, the background and the foreground of the picture, and his work will be universally read with interest and advantage.

Of the other work which has been placed at the head of these pages, it is not our intention to speak at equal length; though it has an important bearing on the subject of Mr. Pitt's administration. The third and fourth volumes of the 'Auckland Correspondence' complete the publication reviewed by us in a recent number; and they contain numerous letters from Mr. Pitt, or relating to him, to which we shall presently have occasion to refer. In one or two instances the Editor has endeavoured to refute, by evi-

dence from the Auckland Papers, statements previously published by Lord Stanhope, who had not the advantage of access to these documents before the publication of his own work. But we cannot think these arguments are sound and judicious, and in some places the inference we draw from Lord Auckland's letters is precisely the reverse of that suggested by the Editor of these volumes. They are, however, a curious contribution to the materials for the history of these times.

It may be inferred from what we have already said, and from the failure of several previous attempts to write the Life of Pitt, that he cannot be regarded as a very favourable subject for biography. The statesman almost entirely absorbs the individual—the history of the man becomes the history of a government. Lord Macaulay had already rendered us familiar with the characteristic anecdotes of his boyhood—with that astonishing precocity which marked him from his cradle for an orator, a ruler, and a 'thorn in Charles side'—and with the somewhat niggardly culture bestowed on his prodigious faculties. Seven years at Cambridge, which gave him a full command of classical literature and a remarkable proficiency in mathematical reasoning, are the history of Pitt's education. He passed at once from the University to the House of Commons, and with an interval of only two years to the head of affairs. How he acquired by these means, and in that time, the knowledge of men and of things which never seemed wanting to him in his parliamentary career, is one of the mysteries of genius. This much, however, is apparent at the outset—Mr. Pitt owed everything to the *concentration* of his character. Whatever he did, he did with his might; never allowing anything to interfere with his main design, and seldom caring to step aside, even to attain any collateral object within his reach; hence it was that when he stood confronted by the matchless intellect of Burke, by the eloquence of Fox, by the wit of Sheridan, by an array of men who excelled him in most of the arts and accomplishments of life, his single power was more than a match for the varied splendour of their genius. There was at the bottom no want of human kindness in that proud nature and beneath that surface of bronze. His letters to his mother are stiff, partly after the fashion of the time, but they indicate a deep-rooted affection and veneration for Lady Chatham; and they not unfrequently contain indications of that most pleasing and graceful of the attributes of power—the wish to confer a benefit on a humble friend, of whom nothing is to be

expected in return. He was strong and steadfast, we had almost said warm, in his friendships. His early letters to the Duke of Rutland, that gifted and amiable young nobleman, not much older than himself, who held the Lord-Lieutenancy of Ireland in 1784, and died in 1787, at thirty-three, are singularly cordial and unreserved; more so, indeed, than any other known specimen of his correspondence. His firm friendship for Henry Dundas, his unvarying confidence in George Rose, his deference to Bishop Tomline, his attachment to Canning, and his kindness to some of the junior branches of the Stanhope family, prove that the customary signature of 'affectionately yours,' which he addressed to his nearest friends, was not a mere form of words. Yet even these had occasion in later years to complain of the outward appearance at least of indifference, and of confidence too often or too long withheld. Self-reliant, self-complete, from first to last, he asked, and indeed he endured, no divided authority and no auxiliary power. It would be difficult to name another example of a man who lived and laboured in equal solitariness of purpose. Those who surrounded him were satellites. Not even with a woman could he share the burden and the glory of empire. Careless of money to a fault, for he rejected all occasions of enriching himself, and allowed his large official income to be squandered by his servants—exempt from vanity, for he cared not even to rescue from oblivion the most memorable of his own orations, after they had served their political purpose—devoid of prejudices to a remarkable degree—and enslaved by no passions second to that noble passion of political power which absorbed his existence—Mr. Pitt owed his greatness to the singleness of aim which marked his life. Yet this austere Minister was no ascetic. He drank hard, after the fashion of the times; he rode hard, and we think it is Lady Hester Stanhope who relates that three or four grooms died successively in his service from the pace at which he travelled; he was a keen, though not a very successful shot; and during the only interval of his life when he was out of office, he applied himself with great energy to drill the Cinque Port Volunteers. Although by no means destitute of high literary culture, he was absolutely insensible to the personal claims of literary men; and although strongly attached to the established Church, and to the religion of his country, he appears in his last moments to have acknowledged with regret that he had been too unmindful of its rites.



On these points, Lord Auckland ventured, on one occasion, to address him in the following curious language:—

‘It is not sufficient for the most eminent person of the eighteenth and nineteenth century to possess the learning, and a true taste for learning: it is not only wise in a worldly sense, but wise and right in every sense, that he should be the patron and encourager of the learned. From an impression analogous to this, I have also thought that it is not sufficient for such an individual as I have alluded to, to possess all the purity of mind, and all the strictness of morality, that genuine goodness and right religion can give:—it is essential, not merely to his own character (for that is a secondary point), but to the welfare and well-being of others, that appearances should correspond with internal sentiments, and that he should not be supposed to be indifferent to the discharge of religious observances.’—(*Auckland Papers*, vol. iv. p. 108.)

Lord Stanhope says, from his father's personal reminiscences of this great Minister, that Mr. Pitt ‘was a most agreeable and amiable, as well as a most interesting companion, and had a vast fund of anecdotes which he narrated admirably, and with much power of mimicry.’ Lord Wellesley even went so far as to assert, that ‘in all places, and at all times, his constant delight was society. There he shone with a degree of calm and steady lustre more astonishing than his most splendid efforts in Parliament. He was endowed beyond any man of his time whom I knew with a gay heart and a social spirit.’ But great as the authority of Lord Wellesley is, his enthusiasm seems to have tinged this description of his friend. Whatever Mr. Pitt's social talents may have been, they were certainly confined within a narrow circle, and he appears to have been indifferent through life to the amusements and distinctions of general society. Men duller than most of his intimate friends were scarcely to be found in Britain.

One solitary incident in his life appears to bear a more romantic character, and as this passage has been made the subject of contradictory statements, we shall here advert to it. Lord Stanhope relates the occurrence in the following terms:—

‘Busy and anxious as was the year 1796, Mr. Pitt had found opportunities to pass some short intervals of leisure at Holwood. There his nearest neighbour was now Lord Auckland at Beckenham. A close intimacy sprang up between them.\* Lord Auckland would often pass

\* The intimacy between Mr. Pitt and Lord Auckland may be said to have commenced fully ten years before, when he quitted the Whigs and was employed in the negotiation of the French Treaty. Miss Eden was not eight, but eighteen years younger than Mr. Pitt, she being at this time nineteen, and he thirty-seven.

a day or two at Holwood, and Mr. Pitt a day or two at Beckenham.

‘It was not only the conversation of Lord Auckland in which Mr. Pitt took pleasure. He was much attracted by the grace and beauty as well as the superior mind of Lord Auckland's eldest daughter, the Hon. Eleanor Eden. She was born in July, 1777, and therefore only eight years younger than Pitt. It would have been a very suitable marriage; and a report of it was not long in arising.

‘This strong attachment—for such on Pitt's side it certainly was—did not, as many persons hoped, proceed to a proposal and a marriage. Shortly afterwards, however, some correspondence did take place between Mr. Pitt and Lord Auckland. The letters remain in the possession of Lord Auckland's family, and there are neither copies nor originals among the manuscripts of Pitt. But I have heard them described by a person entirely to be relied on who has more than once perused them. Mr. Pitt began the subject. In his letter to Lord Auckland he avows in the warmest terms his affection for Miss Eden, but explains that in his circumstances he feels that he cannot presume to make her an offer of marriage. He further says that he finds each of his succeeding visits add so much to his unhappiness, that he thinks it will be best to remit them for the present.

‘The reply of Lord Auckland, as I am informed, acknowledges as adequate the explanation of Mr. Pitt. He was already, he says, aware in general of the circumstances of pecuniary debt and difficulty in which Mr. Pitt had become involved. He does not deny that the attachment of Mr. Pitt may have been fully appreciated; but he cannot wish any more than Mr. Pitt that his daughter, who, as one of many children, had a very small fortune of her own, should, under some contingencies of office or of life, be left wholly unprovided.

‘There were yet two further letters as to the manner in which the notes of congratulation which had already begun to arrive at Beckenham might best be answered. Pitt answered that the blame, if any, should be borne wholly by himself.

‘Thus most honourably, and without any breach of friendship on either side, ended this “love-passage”—the only one, as I believe, in the life of Pitt. More than two years afterwards in June, 1799, Miss Eden became the second wife of Lord Hobart, who succeeded in 1804 as Earl of Buckinghamshire. She had no children, and she died in 1851.’—(*Stanhope*, vol. iii. p. 1.)

This statement is, however, impugned by the Editor of the ‘Auckland Correspondence’ in a postscript to his fourth volume, in which he states that ‘a long and painful discussion took place on that occasion, which terminated honourably to all parties concerned.’ The Editor denies that ‘Lord Auckland was in the slightest degree averse to the marriage on account of Mr. Pitt's pecuniary difficulties: on the contrary, believing that his daughter was attached to Mr. Pitt, he was naturally anxious that it should take place.’ In point of fact,

it would seem, from a previous passage of the Auckland Papers (vol. iii. p. 374.), that several letters passed between Lord Auckland and Mr. Pitt suggesting arrangements by which the marriage might take place in time without imprudence; but they were unavailing, and Mr. Pitt declared that 'though he was sacrificing his best hopes and dearest wishes to his convictions and judgment, further discussion would only lead to prolonged suspense and increased anxiety.' We therefore conclude that the arrangements favourable to the marriage were in fact suggested by Lord Auckland—a man certainly not insensible to the dignity and advantage of having Mr. Pitt for his son-in-law—and that it was Mr. Pitt who broke off the negotiation, having apparently acted throughout the transaction with great delicacy and self-command. Traces occur in the Auckland Papers indicating the affectionate interest with which Mr. Pitt continued to regard Miss Eden until her marriage was declared with Lord Hobart, in 1799. On that occasion he addressed to her father the following expressive note:—

(Private.)

'My dear Lord—I have heard from the Speaker the circumstance you desired him to mention, and give you many thanks for your very kind attention in making the communication, and in making him the channel of it. There could be no event interesting to any part of your family which would not be so to me, and certainly this is not the instance when I feel that sentiment the least. I congratulate you and all around you with the most cordial good wishes.

'Ever affectionately yours,

'W. PITT.'

And some short time later, soon after the marriage, which was celebrated by a ball, he writes from Bromley:—

'My dear Lord—I dine here with some of your guests, but shall pursue my ride to Holwood when they repair to the crowd and gaiety of your ball. I hope very soon to have leisure to come to you when you are with a smaller party.'—*Auckland Papers*, vol. iv. p. 98.)

It is not our intention on the present occasion to revert to the ministerial changes and combinations in which Mr. Pitt was engaged, or to discuss his conduct in reference to those transactions. These topics have recently been examined at length in our own pages, and in several other contemporary publications, and we have nothing now to add to our former comments upon them. We shall, therefore, attempt rather to point out from Lord Stanhope's volumes what were the leading features of Mr. Pitt's administration, and to show how far Mr. Pitt's actual achievements fell short of the principles from which he started. The standard, after all, by which the reputation of a statesman must stand or

fall in the great account of history, is not by what he said, however wise or eloquent, nor even by what he was, however firm and disinterested, but by what he did for the greatness of his country and the good of mankind: and this is the test which we shall endeavour to apply to the political career and public service of Pitt.

Lord Macaulay has recorded his opinion that Pitt was emphatically the man of Parliamentary Government—that it was his lot to be born in a country and at a time when the power of speaking in public assemblies and the art of conducting their debates and their divisions are the surest elements of political power: and that legislation and administration were with him secondary matters in comparison with the all-pervading necessity of convincing and persuading the House of Commons. But if these had been the sole, or the chief characteristics of Mr. Pitt's genius, his fame would not have come down to us with the increasing majesty which it has now acquired. Of his speeches, it is admitted that no more than the merest skeleton remains: and in spite of the ascendancy which he owed in Parliament to his extraordinary argumentative powers, it cannot be asserted that in the gifts of oratory or language he was the superior of Burke, Fox, or Sheridan. The influence which rests on Parliamentary tactics is short-lived, and no man ever passed for a great statesman merely because he kept together a working majority. The talents of Mr. Pitt were therefore of a higher order than mere parliamentary eloquence or parliamentary tactics; and the best proof of his political superiority to most of his contemporaries is the fact that the germs of almost all the great legislative and administrative reforms accomplished in the last thirty years may be traced in some portion of his designs. Had Mr. Pitt been invested with a more absolute power than he ever possessed, we think it highly probable that he would have carried a variety of measures of the greatest merit—measures, in fact, based on the liberal principles which it took another half century to establish in this country. But the minister had to deal with a sovereign of narrow intellect and of intense prejudices. It is evident from numerous details in these volumes that Mr. Pitt could very seldom rely on any appeal to the reason of George III., and that he was obliged to watch and wait, perhaps for years, for an opportunity to work upon that contracted mind, which was liable to be inflamed, by sudden emotions, to a paroxysm of insanity. Not less had Mr. Pitt to manage the prejudices of his own party—a duty which ever weighs heavily on an intelligent leader of the Tory phalanx, and to which the Cas-

nings and Peels of our own time have, like Mr. Pitt, been compelled to sacrifice either themselves or their convictions. These prejudices were excited to madness by the horrors of the French Revolution, the sufferings of protracted war, the dread of invasion; until all liberal opinions were confounded in one extravagant denunciation of Jacobin principles, and the very objects which Mr. Pitt himself had once eagerly advocated were looked upon as treasonable designs to overthrow the Constitution.

The charge, therefore, which we are compelled to maintain against the administration of Pitt is this: We admire the profound and prophetic sagacity with which his youthful genius seized, as it were by intuition, on the true solution of most of the great problems of our national economy; but we find that scarcely in any single instance, even while he was at the height of undisputed power over a peaceful kingdom, did he really execute any one of these salutary reforms, which he comprehended better than any other man of his time. By some strange infelicity, arising either from obstacles he could not overcome, or from a want of determination in his own mind, Mr. Pitt, who is supposed to have governed this country with almost absolute sway for eighteen years, did practically and effectually realise but a very small number of his own conceptions; and the reverses of his foreign policy in the war, which clouded the later years of his life, were prefigured by the singular reverses to which he had been compelled to submit at an earlier period in his domestic policy.\* As this statement is very much at variance with Lord Stanhope's conclusions, and may sound to some of our readers like a paradox, we must illustrate it by some details.

Parliamentary Reform, Free Trade with Ireland and subsequently with foreign countries, Commutation of Tithes, the Abolition of the Slave Trade, the Reduction of the National Debt, the Reduction of duties with a view to increased revenue and diminished smuggling, the Repeal of the Test Act, the payment of the Roman Catholic Clergy in Ireland, the education of the Roman Catholic Clergy in Ireland, Catholic Emancipation—and the list might be still more extended—are all measures which have been carried by the influence of the Liberal party in the last fifty years; but every one of these measures

was at one time or another advocated, proposed, or contemplated by Mr. Pitt during his tenure of office, though not carried by him. We do not doubt that Mr. Pitt was perfectly convinced of the wisdom of each of these measures: we do not doubt that he was sincere in his desire to carry them; yet, by an unparalleled contradiction, he left every one of them where he found it, or rather he allowed himself to become the chief of the very party which was most bitterly opposed to these steps of progress, and he served a king who would in all probability have tripped him up, if the most important of these reforms had been accepted by the House of Commons. So that even the first eight years of Mr. Pitt's administration, which are now referred to as the most splendid example of his great ability, present us with a painful and humiliating contrast between the admirable and enlightened designs he formed and the measures he carried. The fact is that Mr. Pitt was as far before most of his contemporaries and immediate successors in political wisdom and sagacity, as he was superior in disinterestedness to the jobbers and intriguers whom his advent had expelled from power. But having these enlightened views and these disinterested sentiments, the more is it to be regretted that he consented to retain office without the power of giving full effect to his own convictions, and that he lent his great authority to the cause of intolerance and obstruction, more especially in the later years of his life.

The story of his attempt at Parliamentary Reform is soon told. After the General Election of 1784 Mr. Pitt stood supreme in power. 'He was,' says Lord Macaulay, 'the greatest subject that England had seen for many generations. His father had never been so powerful, nor Walpole, nor Marlborough.' Yet the third division on the Westminster Scrutiny was a defeat on a minor question at the very outset. On the 18th April, two months after the meeting of Parliament in 1785, Pitt brought forward his measure of Parliamentary Reform. He had sedulously devoted himself to the preparation of it. He was urgent with his friends Dundas and Wilberforce to support it, and they did so. He proposed to disfranchise thirty-six rotten boroughs, with a pecuniary compensation to the proprietors, and to transfer the seats so gained to the largest counties and to the metropolis. He proposed to extend the franchise from freeholders to copyholders. Mr. Massey remarks in his 'History of the Reign of George III.,' probably with reason, that a more absurd measure of reform was never invented—none certainly was ever less successful, for it was at once defeated by 248 votes

\* Curiously enough, the India Bill, which brought him into power in 1784, was the most long-lived of all his measures, and the only example of a great administrative institution founded or remodelled by Mr. Pitt. The double government of the East Indies survived till 1858, and the wonder is it endured so long.

to 174, in Mr. Pitt's own House of Commons. The wonder is that he should ever have thought it possible to carry such a bill in a house in which the boroughmongering interest was so largely represented; and where a large proportion of his own supporters had within a few months paid an ample consideration for the very seats he proposed to annihilate. The King, moreover, was secretly opposed to it, and, though he could not openly resist the Minister who had just rescued him from the Coalition, he had given a reluctant, and probably an insincere assent to the scheme. Lord Stanhope says: 'Pitt considered the result as final for that Parliament at least. He saw that not even ministerial power and earnest zeal, and that nothing but the pressure of the strongest popular feeling, such as did not then exist, could induce many members to vote against their own tenure of Parliament, or in fact against themselves.' Eight years later Mr. Pitt had become the most decided opponent of Reform, and when Mr. Grey moved in 1793 for a Committee on that question which he was destined in 1832 to bring to a successful termination, Mr. Pitt declared:—

'I had myself on different occasions proposed a reform, in situations which seemed favourable to my object, and supported by persons of the highest respectability, and had even then failed. Several gentlemen (from a dread of the consequences of innovation, and from a doubt whether the advantage to be obtained was such as would compensate for the risk incurred) opposed my views. I saw therefore that while none of the good of which a moderate reform might be productive was to be obtained, much danger might be incurred, and an opening afforded to subvert that very Constitution which we were desirous to improve, only in order that we might preserve: as though the attempt to reform might not be attended with the total subversion of the Constitution, yet it might lead to a state of confusion and distraction, which, at least, would disturb the enjoyment of those blessings of which we were in possession. I thus found the probability of good but little, while the mischief was of a size so gigantic as to defy calculation.' (*Pitt's Speeches*, vol. i. p. 438.)

Such was the judgment of Mr. Pitt in 1793 on Mr. Pitt the Reformer of 1785. The French Revolution, it is true, had broken out in the interval, had shaken the firmest nerves, and perplexed the clearest judgments. For it has been the effect of that great commotion of society, from 1789 to the present hour, to perplex the nations with fear of change, and to throw back the best hopes of rational liberty. But, it may be answered (and the remark does not apply to this point alone), how different would have been the condition of England during the tremendous contest which ensued from 1793 to 1815, if

in the preceding years of peace effectual measures had been taken to place the Constitution on a broader and more secure basis! If in those eight years of peace Parliament had been reformed, Ireland pacified and conciliated, the finances really regenerated, and the military and naval establishments reconstructed, this country would have engaged with irresistible power in its contest with revolutionary France, if that contest was unavoidable. Instead of intemperate faction and ferocious repression, we should have had loyalty; instead of Irish rebellions and invasions, union; instead of a suspension of cash payments, a far more solid and enlarged credit; instead of an army unfit to take the field, a force capable, perhaps, of deciding the fate of Europe. It is not too much to say, that if Mr. Pitt had carried in the earlier years of his administration the great and liberal measures he once designed, the aspect of affairs would have changed, and the war which it was his fate to wage with doubtful success, might possibly have been gloriously terminated at a much earlier period, and at a far less cost to the country.

The second great measure of the Session of 1785 was that known as the Irish Resolutions. Mr. Pitt described his own large and generous views to the Duke of Rutland in the letters already published in part by Lord Stanhope in a contemporary journal,\* from which we borrow the following passage:—

October 7, 1784.

'I own to you the line to which my mind at present inclines (open to whatever new observations or arguments may be suggested to me) is to give Ireland an almost unlimited communication of commercial advantages, if we can receive in return some security that her strength and riches will be our benefit, and that she will contribute, from time to time, in their increasing proportions, to the common exigencies of the empire: and having, by holding out this, removed, I trust, every temptation to Ireland to consider her interest as separate from England, to be ready, while we discountenance wild and unconstitutional attempts which strike at the root of all authority, to give real efficacy and popularity to Government by acceding (if such a line can be found) to a prudent and temperate reform in Parliament, which may guard against or gradually cure real defects and mischiefs, may show a sufficient regard to the interests and even prejudices of individuals who are averse, and may unite the Protestant interest in excluding Catholics from any share in the representation or the government of the country.' (*Lord Mahon's Essays*, p. 253.)

It is true that at this period Mr. Pitt had by no means embraced the cause of Catholic Emancipation, or the principle of equality of religious opinions in civil government. Nor,

\* *Quarterly Review*, No. 160.

indeed, had, at that time, Mr. Fox, for he repeatedly declared in the debates that he considered the settlement of 1782 to be final. Mr. Pitt's plan was first to remove the commercial and material disabilities of Ireland—to open to her the whole commerce of Great Britain and the colonies—to reduce the duties between the two countries to the lowest rates—and to charge on the surplus hereditary revenues of Ireland (if any) a contribution towards the support of the naval force of the empire. This was obviously the first step towards that union of the two kingdoms which was accomplished sixteen years later, after torrents of blood had been shed, and under circumstances far less favourable to the success of the measure. The resolutions were slowly, and with great difficulty, carried in the English House of Commons. Mr. Pitt writes on May, 1785, while the measure was still under discussion: 'Our majority, though a large one, is composed of men who think, or at least act, so much for themselves, that we are hardly sure from day to day what impression they may receive.' Such was the temper of that House of Commons in which Mr. Pitt was supposed to exercise an unquestioned sway. In the Irish Parliament, however, a different fate awaited the ministerial proposals. They were received with furious opposition. The Government was compelled to withdraw the Bill. Dublin was illuminated on the defeat of the first attempt to extend to Ireland an instalment of commercial justice and freedom. Lord Stanhope says—we quote the passage as a curious example of the vicissitudes of party connexions and political opinions:—

'To Pitt the failure of the Irish commercial measures was a deep disappointment, a bitter mortification. To them, to the framing or to the defence of their details, he had applied himself for almost a twelvemonth, and here was the result—the object of public good not attained, the jealousy of both nations stirred anew, and to himself for a time the decline of public favour, alike, though on exactly opposite grounds, in England and in Ireland. The journal of Wilberforce in the midst of the contest on this subject has this significant entry: "Pitt does not make friends." On the other hand, Fox, as the champion of high protective duties, enjoyed in many quarters the gleam of returning popularity. Being at Knowsley in the course of that autumn on a visit to Lord Derby, the two friends went together to Manchester, and were warmly welcomed by the great metropolis of manufactures. Here is Fox's own account of it: "Our reception at Manchester was the finest thing imaginable, and handsome in all respects. All the principal people came out to meet us, and attended us into the town with blue and buff cockades, and a procession as fine, and not unlike that upon my charring in West-

minster. We dined with one hundred and fifty people . . . The concourse of people to see us was immense, and I never saw more apparent unanimity than seemed to be in our favour." (Stanhope, vol. i. p. 275.)

Such was the fate of the two principal measures introduced by the young Minister in the first session of a parliament which had been elected for the express purpose of giving him unqualified support. On two most momentous subjects Mr. Pitt had unfortunately been defeated—in the last instance by the ignorant passions and violence of the people he wished to benefit. Here, again, how deplorable were the consequences of the check which his policy sustained!

All the bad passions which had long raged in Ireland soon broke out with fresh intensity; and upon the declaration of war both in 1793 and 1804, Ireland became the chief difficulty and the constant weakness of the empire. It is no consolation to reflect that Mr. Pitt's earlier policy towards Ireland was defeated by no fault of his or of the British Parliament, but by the ignorance and intolerance of that dominant faction which was, and long continued to be, the curse of Ireland. Throughout these volumes, and those of the 'Auckland Correspondence,' we find continual evidence of the bigotry and narrowmindedness of the Beresfords, the Forsters, the Fitzgibbons—Irish politicians on whom the British Government mainly relied for counsel and action, and who attempted to denounce and proscribe the officers of the British Government itself, when, like Lord Cornwallis and Sir Ralph Abercromby, they refused to look at the state of Ireland with the eyes of Protestant-ascendancy men. But we are anticipating a more advanced period of Mr. Pitt's career, to which we shall have to revert. The Irish Nemesis pursued him to the close of it, and was the chief cause of the dissolution of his government and the dismemberment of his party. The evils which he hoped in 1785 to prevent by the introduction of measures calculated to promote the union of the great interests of the two kingdoms, grew more rank in succeeding years, until they broke out in the rebellion of 1798: and although the Union was at last carried and effected, the means by which that salutary and important change was made were scandalous, and the essential conditions of Catholic emancipation, and the payment of the Roman Catholic clergy, which were alike contemplated in 1799 by Pitt, Cornwallis, and Castlereagh, fell to the ground.

Although in 1785 Mr. Pitt had not adopted the principle of the removal of Roman Catholic disabilities, yet, in 1787, he was

evidently disposed to favour the claim of Protestant Dissenters for the repeal of the Test Act. Unhappily this was another instance in which he suffered his own judgment to be overruled by the prejudices of the clerical party. We relate the transaction in Lord Stanhope's words:—

'Half a century had now elapsed since the Protestant Dissenters had applied to Parliament for the repeal of the Test Act. In the Session of 1787 their effort was renewed. For the most part they had warmly espoused the cause of Pitt at the last General Election, and they thought themselves entitled to some share of his favour in return. Their first step was to circulate among the Members of the House of Commons a paper entitled "The Case of the Protestant Dissenters with reference to the Corporation and Test Acts," in which they more especially laboured to distinguish their case from that of the Roman Catholics. With equal prudence they selected as their spokesman Mr. Beaufoy, a member of the Church of England, and a zealous supporter of the Government.

'Pitt appears to have felt a disposition to support their claims, if he could do so with the assent of the Church of England. Without that assent, as expressed by its Heads, it was scarcely possible or scarcely proper for any Prime Minister to move onward. A meeting of the Bishops was held at the Bounty Office, on a summons from the Archbishop of Canterbury, and at the request, as the Bishops were informed, of Mr. Pitt. The question laid before their Lordships was as follows:—"Ought the Test and Corporation Acts to be maintained?" Of fourteen Prelates present, only two—Watson of Llandaff, and Shipley of St. Asaph—voted in the negative; and the decision of the meeting was at once transmitted to the Minister.

'When, on the 28th of March, Mr. Beaufoy did bring on his motion, Lord North spoke in opposition to it, and Fox in its favour. Pitt rose and said that he did not think he could with propriety give a silent vote. He observed that some classes of the Nonconformists had injured themselves in the public opinion greatly, and not unreasonably, by the violence and the prejudices which they had shown. "Were we," he said, "to yield on this occasion, the fears of the members of the Church of England would be roused, and their apprehensions are not to be treated lightly. It must, as I contend, be conceded to me, that an Established Church is necessary. Now there are some Dissenters who declare that the Church of England is a relic of Popery; others that all Church Establishments are improper. This may not be the opinion of the present body of Dissenters, but no means can be devised of admitting the moderate part of the Dissenters and excluding the violent; the bulwark must be kept up against all." (*Stanhope*, vol. i. p. 386.)

Three years later Pitt opposed Fox's motion for the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts, with far greater vehemence, in a speech which embodied all the fallacies and

fears that stood in the way of that measure of policy and justice for the next thirty-five years. Here again was an Act favoured by Pitt's better judgment, but abandoned in deference to the exactions of the very persons who conceived themselves to be interested in resisting to the utmost the just claims of their fellow-countrymen to an equality of civil rights.

One of the most remarkable proofs of the sagacity with which Mr. Pitt was prepared at that time to deal with the great problems of social reform, if his power had really been equal to his intelligence, is to be found in a letter addressed by him to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, which Lord Stanhope has discovered in the Rutland Papers. It deals with the whole question of tithe commutation, and anticipates precisely the remedy which was adopted nearly half a century later:—

"Burton Pynsent, Nov. 7, 1786.

"My dear Duke,

"I have thought very much since I received your letter respecting the general state of Ireland, on the subjects suggested in that and your official letters to Lord Sydney. The question which arises is a nice and difficult one. On the one hand, the discontent seems general and rooted, and both that circumstance, and most of the accounts I hear, seem to indicate that there is some real grievance at bottom, which must be removed before any durable tranquillity can be secured. On the other hand, it is certainly a delicate thing to meddle with the Church Establishment in the present situation of Ireland; and anything like concession to the dangerous spirit which has shown itself is not without objection. But on the whole, being persuaded that Government ought not to be afraid of incurring the imputation of weakness by yielding in reasonable points, and can never make its stand effectually till it gets upon right ground, I think the great object ought to be, to ascertain fairly the true causes of complaint, to hold out a sincere disposition to give just redress, and a firm determination to do no more, taking care in the interval to hold up vigorously the execution of the law as it stands (till altered by Parliament), and to punish severely (if the means can be found) any tumultuous attempt to violate it. I certainly think the institution of tithe, especially if vigorously enforced, is everywhere a great obstacle to the improvement and prosperity of any country. Many circumstances in practice have made it less so here; but even here it is felt; and there are a variety of causes to make it sit much heavier on Ireland. I believe, too, that it is as much for the real interest of the Church as for the land to adopt, if practicable, some other mode of provision. If from any cause the Church falls into general odium, Government will be more likely to risk its own interests than to serve those of the Church by any efforts in its favour. If, therefore, those who are at the

head of the clergy will look at it soberly and dispassionately, they will see how incumbent it is upon them, in every point of view, to propose some temperate accommodation; and even the appearance of concession, which might be awkward in Government, would not be unbecoming if it originated with them. The thing to be arrived at, therefore, seems, as far as I can judge of it, to find out a way of removing the grievances arising out of a tithe, or, perhaps, to substitute some new provision in lieu of it; to have such a plan cautiously digested (which may require much time), and, above all, to make the Church itself the quarter to bring forward whatever is proposed. How far this is practicable must depend upon many circumstances, of which you can form a nearer and better judgment, particularly on the temper of the leading men among the clergy. I apprehend you may have a good deal of difficulty with the Archbishop of Cashel; the Primate is, I imagine, a man to listen to temperate advice; but it is surely desirable that you should have as speedily as possible a full communication with both of them; and if you feel the subject in the same light that I do, that, while you state to them the full determination of Government to give them all just and honourable support, you should impress them seriously with the apprehension of their risking everything if they do not in time abandon ground that is ultimately untenable. To suggest the precise plan of commutation which might be adopted is more than I am equal to, and is premature; but, in general, I have never seen any good reason why a fair valuation should not be made of the present amount of every living, and a rent in corn to that amount be raised by a pound rate on the several tenements in the parish, nearly according to the proportion in which they now contribute to tithe. When I say a rent in corn, I do not actually mean paid in corn, but a rent in money regulated by the average value, from time to time, of whatever number of bushels is at present equal to the fair value of the living. This would effectually prevent the Church from suffering by the fluctuations in the value of money, and it is a mode which was adopted in all college leases, in consequence, I believe, of an Act of Parliament in the time of Queen Elizabeth. I need not say that I throw out these ideas in personal confidence to yourself; and I shall wish much to know what you think of them, and whether you can make anything of your prelates, before any measure is officially suggested. It seems material that there should be the utmost secrecy till our line is decided upon, and it must be decided upon completely before Parliament meets.

"Yours faithfully and sincerely,

"W. PITT."

(*Stanhope*, vol. i. p. 818.)

Similar views were entertained in 1798. Lord Auckland writes to Mr. Beresford in April of that year, 'Oh that it were possible to do something similar as to the liberation of tithes in both kingdoms! *But the clergy would be alarmed.*' Moore, the Archbishop of Canterbury, was even sounded on the matter, but he announced his decided oppo-

sition, and the scheme was abandoned. Another instance of a great improvement defeated by those whom it was most calculated to benefit.

Of all the measures of this period which do honour to Mr. Pitt's courage and foresight, we assign the first rank to the commercial treaty with France. It was a triumph over the brutal doctrine of natural enmity between nations, the more remarkable, as only two years had elapsed since the conclusion of a peace on terms painful to the pride of this country. It was a triumph over the doctrines of commercial exclusion and protection, which had at that time an almost undisputed sway over the minds even of the most liberal statesmen. And as a measure of financial policy, it may be said to have been the first grand trial of that system which has only in very recent times been fully confirmed by experience.

'The surrender of revenue for great commercial purposes,' said the First Minister, in his speech of the 12th February, 1787, 'is a policy by no means unknown in the History of Great Britain, but here we enjoyed the extraordinary advantage of having them returned to us in a threefold rate, by extending and legalising the importation of the articles. When it was considered that the increase must exceed the concession which was made, it would no longer be an argument that we cannot afford this reduction. *Increase by means of reduction, he was obliged to confess, once appeared a paradox, but experience had now convinced us that it was more than practicable.*' (*Pitt's Speeches*, vol. i. p. 246.)

Such language from a Minister of the Crown of that day, not dealing with a surplus revenue, but having, on the contrary, to restore a balance in disordered finances, was in the highest degree wise and sagacious. The whole speech is in the same admirable strain: and the only excuse for the factious and ignorant conduct of the Opposition is that they did not understand what they were doing. Lord Stanhope has passed over this great transaction very cursorily, and we think it deserved a more complete notice, as one of the very largest conceptions of Mr. Pitt's political life. The instructions and correspondence of Mr. Pitt to Mr. Eden, with an account of the negotiation, are printed more fully in the first volume of the *Auckland Papers* (chapter v.). The recurrence of a similar treaty in our own times, after an interval of more than seventy years, has given fresh interest to the subject, and we have ourselves had occasion to notice it recently at considerable length.\* Yet, even here, the

\* Ed. Rev. vol. cxi.—Article on Commercial Relations with France.



fatality which attended all the designs of Mr. Pitt, even when he was most happily inspired, doomed this treaty to a premature and abortive termination. The distressed and agitated condition of France was ignorantly supposed to have been aggravated by the treaty with England; and in the great whirlpool of the Revolution which so soon followed, its provisions were annihilated, and for upwards of half a century the natural commercial relations of the two wealthiest nations in the world were almost entirely interrupted.

There can be no doubt that at this time Mr. Pitt was more thoroughly imbued with the doctrines of Free Trade and the principles of Adam Smith than any other statesman of his age, except Lord Grenville. He referred in 1792, in the House of Commons, 'to the writings of an author of our own times, now unfortunately no more (I mean the author of a celebrated treatise on the Wealth of Nations), whose extensive knowledge of detail and depth of philosophical research will, I believe, furnish the best solution to every question connected with the history of commerce or with the systems of political economy.' The financial policy which Mr. Pitt pursued from 1785 to the outbreak of the war was based on these principles, as we shall presently show. But, alas! even here the strength of his convictions or the weight of his authority was no match for the dark and evil times in which his lot was cast. Perplexed and alarmed by the scarcity and high prices of the year 1800, Pitt himself lapsed into the fallacies of the Corn Laws, and thus called forth the following indignant protest from his own colleague, Lord Grenville:—

*Lord Grenville to Mr. Pitt.*

<sup>1</sup>Dropmore, Oct. 24, 1800.

'My dear Pitt,—Lord Buckingham's letter is nothing more than an exaggerated statement of my fixed and, I am sure, immutable opinion on the subject of all laws for lowering the price of provisions, either directly or by contrivance. That opinion you know so well, that it is idle for me to trouble you with long discourses or long letters of mine about it. We in truth formed our opinions on the subject together, and I was not more convinced than you were of the soundness of Adam Smith's principles of political economy till Lord Liverpool lured you from our arms into all the mazes of the old system.

'I am confident that provisions, like every other article of commerce, if left to themselves, will and must find their level; and that every attempt to disturb that level by artificial contrivances has a necessary tendency to increase the evil it seeks to remedy.

'In all the discussions with which we are overwhelmed on this subject, one view of it is wholly overlooked. Every one takes it for

granted that the present price of corn is in itself undue, and such as ought not to exist; and then they dispute whether it is to be ascribed to combinations, which they wish to remedy by such means as will destroy all commerce, or to an unusual scarcity which they propose to supply by obliging the grower to contend in the home market, not with the natural rivalry of such importation as the demand might and would produce of itself, but with an artificial supply poured in at the expense of I know not how many millions to the State.

'Both these parties assume that the price is undue—that is, I presume, that it is more than would be produced by the natural operation of demand and supply counteracting each other. Now I know no other standard of price than this. But if the price be really so much higher, as is supposed, what prevents the increase of the supply at home? Or what bounty could operate so effectually to increase the quantity of wheat produced in the country, as the experience of the farmer teaching him that by the increased growth of that article he can make two or three times as great a profit as he can by any other? No man, with the least knowledge of the subject, will say that the country now produces all the wheat it could, if it answered to apply more capital to the produce. Give me my own price for it, and I will engage to produce more wheat in my kitchen garden than any farmer in this neighbourhood now does in his own farm. But the wheat so produced will have cost so much in labour and manure, that unless it were sold at two or three times more than even the present price, I should receive no return for my capital—perhaps not even recover the capital itself.

'It never has been proved to me that the price of wheat in these last two years has been more than sufficient to afford a reasonable profit on the capital of the farmer who has produced it, considering the increased expense of every article which he must consume in producing it, and the very scanty crop of last year, which gave so much smaller a quantity, while it left the expense the same as before, or rather, indeed, much increased by some of the unfavourable circumstances of the season.

'It is for this reason that I detest and abhor as impious and heretical the whole system on which we are now acting on the subject.' (*Stanhope*, vol. lii. p. 247.)

Four days earlier Lord Grenville had written on the same subject the following note to Lord Auckland, who was then engaged at the Board of Trade on measures connected with the scarcity:—

<sup>2</sup>Dropmore, Oct. 20, 1800.

'My dear Lord,—I really think all the nonsense into which some of our best disposed friends, and many who ought to have known better, have gone headlong on the occasion of the scarcity, more formidable than the scarcity itself. By what one hears and reads, one would think that we are gone some centuries back, or had still to learn the first principles of commercial legislation. I pray God that the meeting of

Parliament may effectually stop this torrent of ignorance and mischief.

'Ever, my dear Lord, most truly yours,  
'GREENVILLE.'

(*Auckland Papers*, vol. iii. p. 111.)

So little was the torrent stopped, that these restrictive measures to affect by artificial contrivances the supply of food were thenceforth maintained, for nearly half a century, by the Tory party, to be one of the inexpugnable foundations of the Constitution, and were defended with desperate fidelity until a more successful, if not a greater minister than Mr. Pitt, swept them away for ever. Meanwhile this too must be recorded as one of Mr. Pitt's mistaken sacrifices of his former opinions and of sound principle to what he conceived to be the exigencies of his position. Free Trade owed nothing to Mr. Pitt beyond the solemn assertion of its value, and the conclusion of the French treaty. But from that point Mr. Pitt's followers, and those who affected to act in his name, rushed into all the excesses of Protection, and identified themselves as a party with all the mistakes and absurdities he had once been most anxious to remove.

It may here be convenient to place among Mr. Pitt's wise, generous, but unfulfilled designs, his proceedings for the abolition of the slave trade. Mr. Wilberforce, soon after his serious call in 1785, had turned his eager and humane mind to the subject, and as Lord Stanhope observes :—

'It was natural that with these earnest aspirations Mr. Wilberforce should now apply himself to ascertain how far the changes against the Slave Traders were or were not well founded. In his own words:—"I got together at my house, from time to time, persons who knew anything about the matter. . . . When I had acquired so much information, I began to talk the matter over with Pitt and Grenville. Pitt recommended me to undertake its conduct as a subject suited to my character and talents. At length, I well remember after a conversation in the open air, at the foot of an old tree at Holwood, just above the steep descent into the vale of Keston, I resolved to give notice, on a fit occasion, in the House of Commons, of my intention to bring the subject forward,"

"I may add that this very tree, conspicuous for its gnarled and projecting root, on which the two friends had sat, is still pointed out at Holwood, and is known by the name of "Wilberforce's oak."

'It so chanced, that ere the day appointed for the motion, the health of Mr. Wilberforce failed. He found himself disabled from active business, and compelled to try the waters of Bath. Before he went, however, he obtained from Pitt a promise that if his illness should continue through the spring, Pitt himself would supply his place. Accordingly on the 9th of

May, the Prime Minister rose to move a resolution, "That this House will early in the next Session proceed to take into consideration the circumstances of the Slave Trade." With a reserve imposed upon him by official duty, he added that he should forbear from stating or even glancing at his own opinion until the moment of discussion should arrive. "I understand, however," said Fox, "that the opinion of the Right Hon. gentleman is *primâ facie* the same as my own. . . . For myself I have no scruple to declare that the Slave Trade ought not to be regulated, but destroyed. To this opinion my mind is pretty nearly made up. . . . I have considered the subject very minutely, and did intend to have brought something forward in the House respecting it. But I rejoice that it should be in the hands of the Hon. Member for Yorkshire rather than in mine. From him I honestly think that it will come with more weight, more authority, and more probability of success." These words, which redound so highly to Mr. Fox's honour, were followed by words not less decided from Mr. Burke and from Sir William Dolben, Member for the University of Oxford.

'Against an array of opinions such as these Mr. Bamber Gascoyne and Lord Penrhyn, the Members for Liverpool, and almost officially the spokesmen for the Slave Trade, could make no effectual stand. They deemed it wisest to let the Resolution pass unnoticed, and to reserve their strength for the ensuing year. And that strength was certainly far greater than at first it seemed. The opinion of Mr. Pitt had not prevailed with all his colleagues. Lord Thurlow, above all, was, and continued to be, favourable to the Slave Trade, and unhappily he found means to instil nearly the same prejudice into the mind of the King.'

'The Bill of Sir William Dolben being moderate in its aim and supported both by Pitt and Fox, passed triumphantly through the Commons. But in the other House Lord Thurlow fell upon it with great fury. He was backed by two Peers who had gained just distinction in a better cause—Lord Heathfield and Lord Rodney. And it was with great difficulty, and not until the last day of the Session, that there passed a measure on the subject, though curtailed of its first proportions.' (*Stanhope*, vol. i. p. 336.)

We have not the slightest doubt of the sincerity of Mr. Pitt in his approval of the bills for the abolition of the slave trade which were successively introduced into Parliament. It was the only liberal measure to which he gave an undeviating support to the end of his life. It was the only measure which always, and in the worst of times, brought Pitt and Fox into the same lobby of the House of Commons. Yet with this support the proposal made no progress. 'Strange as it may seem,' says Lord Stanhope, 'the cause for which such men combined, instead of making further way, receded.' From 1792 to 1800 the cause of abolition had lost ground. From 1800 to 1804 it had slum-

bered, under the influence of the Addington Cabinet, which, on this point, as on several others, faithfully represented the feelings of the King. On Pitt's return to office in 1804, the Bill was again brought forward and carried in the House of Commons. Lord Grenville was to take charge of it in the Lords. From the lateness of the season it was postponed, and, as is well known, it was not till three years later that abolition was carried—unhappily, not by Mr. Pitt.

We now arrive at that important subject which takes the first rank in the duties of the leading Minister of the Crown, and especially in the life of Mr. Pitt, for it is on his sagacity and originality as a financier that his fame chiefly rests. Reputation for financial ability has been frequently earned in the last century, and perhaps sometimes in the present century, by men who presumed on the general ignorance of the subject to pass off as measures of sterling value very inadequate, and even very false expedients. It would be highly unjust to class Mr. Pitt in the category of these mountebanks. On the contrary, there is the evidence of his own financial speeches to prove that his system rested on broad and sound principles: and we presume that to these speeches, Mr. Gladstone recently alluded when he described Mr. Pitt as the greatest peace minister this country has known. It is greatly to be desired that a biography of Mr. Pitt should present the reader with a distinct survey of these financial measures, which formed so important a part of his policy. Lord Stanhope claims for Mr. Pitt the merit of having restored the finances of the country after the disastrous war which ended in 1783; but he has not followed, with as much precision as the subject requires, the exact course of Mr. Pitt's financial measures, pointing out in what they succeeded and in what they failed. For example, the establishment of the Consolidated Fund, which brought under one head numerous branches of revenue, and the redemption of the Land Tax, as a scheme for lessening the National Debt, though in truth it was a mere conversion of a part of it, are subjects which well deserve a close and accurate examination, without which the real ingenuity and value of Mr. Pitt's financial proposals cannot be understood. Happily Mr. Pitt's own speeches of the 29th March 1786, and of the 17th February 1792, are pretty well reported, and supply a full statement of his views. They show his determination to deal with the great, and as it was then considered, alarming evil of a National Debt, which had doubled in the preceding ten years, and amounted in 1786 to two hundred and fifty millions, the income

of the nation being at that time rather above fifteen millions. Out of this sum the interest of the National Debt and the Civil List absorbed about ten millions and a half, leaving, in fact, only five millions for the whole military, naval, and civil expenditure of the country. It may be observed that the interest of the National Debt in 1786 amounted to nearly two-thirds of the public revenue, whereas the interest of the National Debt in 1862 does not materially exceed one-third of a revenue nearly five-fold as great as that which Mr. Pitt had then to deal with.

To equalise the revenue and the expenditure of the country in time of peace by an adjustment of taxes—to simplify the public accounts and correct the abuses which had crept into the financial departments—and to increase the productiveness of fiscal duties by enlarging the area of taxation, were doubtless creditable and enlightening measures; but they would not suffice to confer on Mr. Pitt the high financial reputation he has enjoyed. He himself would have rested his claim to that distinction on the policy he adopted for the reduction of the National Debt. Yet we now know that the whole conception of the Sinking Fund, adopted by Mr. Pitt, was radically unsound; and that the Minister who had made it the first object of his ambition to reduce the permanent burdens of the nation, was led, by untoward events, and in an incredibly short space of time, to double them.

Ample materials for a complete history of these transactions, and of the part taken in them by Mr. Pitt, are to be found in the invaluable collection of scarce tracts on the National Debt and the Sinking Fund, which have recently been reprinted by the care of Lord Overstone, with an introduction by Mr. McCulloch: and it may be regretted that Mr. Pitt's last and able biographer has not devoted a chapter to the full elucidation of these questions, since they are the very pith and marrow of his administrative policy, whether it be judged by the plans he brought forward in peace or by the disasters which overtook him in war.

The philosophic writers of the eighteenth century, Hutchinson, Hume, Blackstone, and even Adam Smith, had all viewed with a sort of terror the progress of the National Debt since the Revolution of 1688, and as early as 1716 a scheme for a Sinking Fund had been partially adopted. In 1726 Sir Nathaniel Gould propounded the doctrine that a sum of money placed at compound interest would accumulate so as eventually to extinguish the debt: thus he argued one million sterling, placed at 4 per cent. interest, would amount in 105 years to 1575 millions. Dr. Price in

his pamphlet, published in 1771 and 1774, placed the same fallacy in a very plausible form; and soon after Mr. Pitt took office he employed Price to frame proposals for a Sinking Fund, one of which was subsequently adopted by Parliament. The plan was to set aside by Act of Parliament 250,000*l.* quarterly, which should be invested in the purchase of stock by commissioners; the dividend of the stock so purchased to go on accumulating until the fund should amount to four millions.

Mr. Pitt does not seem to have been aware that the utter fallaciousness of this scheme, and of the principle on which it rests, had been demonstrated by Mr. Wimpey in a pamphlet published in 1772 in answer to Price; nor did the Minister himself detect the nature of the delusion, obvious as it has now become. Wimpey had nevertheless exposed it in a few sentences.

'So long as the people can furnish money to discharge the whole current expenses of the year, with an overplus, such overplus being applied as it ought, will certainly diminish the debt. But when these expenses exceed their utmost ability, the debt, in spite of all management, will increase; and I conceive it can make no difference how any former surpluses may be applied, if towards the discharge of old debts new ones must be contracted, with an interest daily accumulating. The Sinking Fund has nothing in it of the nature of a spring: it must be supplied from time to time, or it will necessarily cease to act, and to be anything more than a name. The only source is the purse of the people; when that is drained, good-bye to all FUNDS, call them by what name you please. Their infinite differences and omnipotent powers immediately vanish. A fund of 200,000*l.* per annum, or a million per annum, continued for 500 years, would avail nothing, unless the people could besides, and over and above these sums, discharge the interest of the present debt and defray their current expenses. Without such abilities a sinking fund is a mere chimæra, and a new debt might accumulate with twice the rapidity that the old one could be cancelled. 'Twould be like holding a double chalk in one hand and a sponge in the other, and making two strokes with the right, while one was rubbed out with the left; the longer you chalk and rub, the larger and longer would be the account. That money at compound interest would accumulate in the surprising manner you have said, is demonstrably certain; and it is just as certain that the interest of money borrowed, if not punctually discharged, would accumulate in the very same manner and with equal celerity.' (*Wimpey's Remarks on Price* [1772]. *Overstone Collection*, p. 368.)

These remarks may never have fallen under the eyes of Mr. Pitt, and it is undoubtedly true that Dr. Price's reveries found almost universal acceptance with the statesmen and the people who were the contemporaries of

Adam Smith. Yet the whole fallacy must have been detected had Mr. Pitt asked himself the simple question, 'Whence is this increment to come?' Money cannot beget money, though the use of capital may: but here the only source of increase was an additional sum annually set apart from the taxes on the people. It was reserved to Dr. Hamilton of Aberdeen to expose and demolish the system by the publication in 1813 of his 'Inquiry into the Rise and Progress of the National Debt,\*' and the demonstration has been completed by the more ample information since collected by Mr. McCulloch. We are now enabled by that writer to demonstrate what the exact effect of Mr. Pitt's Sinking Fund really was:—

'From these facts it may easily be shown that the Sinking Fund was not a clumsy only, but a costly imposture. In proof of this we beg to state that the loans contracted in each year from 1794 to 1816, both inclusive, amounted in all to 584,874,557*l.*, at an annual charge to the public of 80,174,864*l.* Of these loans the Commissioners of the Sinking Fund received 188,522,350*l.*, the proportional annual charge on such portion being, of course, 9,726,090*l.* But it further appears, from the accounts referred to, that the stock which the Commissioners purchased with this sum of 188,522,350*l.*, transferred to them out of the loans, only yielded an annual dividend of 9,168,232*l.*; so that, on the whole, the operations of the Commissioners during the war occasioned a direct dead loss to the country of 557,857*l.* a year, equivalent to a 3 per cent. capital of 18,595,233*l.*, exclusive of the expenses of the office, which amounted to above 60,000*l.* Such was the practical result of Mr. Pitt's famous Sinking Fund, so long regarded as the palladium of public credit and the sheet anchor of the nation.' (*McCulloch's Introduction to Lord Overstone's Collection*, p. xiii.)

Adam Smith had long before remarked that a Sinking Fund, though instituted for the payment of old, facilitates very much the contracting of new debts: and, in reality, that was the purpose to which Mr. Pitt's Sinking Fund was soon applied. Perhaps it enabled the Minister to raise loans on less disadvantageous terms than he must otherwise have accepted, from a belief, though a delusive belief, that some mysterious means were in operation for cancelling a portion of the previous debt. However this may be, it is certain that the Minister who had signalled his accession to office by an ardent and laudable desire to diminish the burdens caused by the American war, did in fact enormously augment those burdens. The sum total of Mr. Pitt's financial administration may be de-

\* Dr. Hamilton's pamphlet is now scarce: but an able review of it will be found in this Journal, vol. xxiv. The work itself is, however, reprinted in Lord Overstone's Collection.

scribed in three figures :—The National Debt at the time of the Peace of Versailles, 1783, was 249,851,628*l*. In the ten years of peace from 1783 to 1793, the sum paid off was 5,732,993*l*. In nine years of war from 1793 to 1802, the debt rose to 520,207,101*l*.; the increase was at the rate of 30 millions a year : yet England cannot be said during the whole of that time to have had an efficient army in the field, or an ally whom she could trust on the Continent. In many respects we have seen that Mr. Pitt's opinions were ahead of his times, and he was not unfrequently compelled to sacrifice those opinions to the prejudices of his contemporaries. But on this question of the Sinking Fund, which was the keystone of his financial system, we now know that all the leading men of the day were alike deceived ; and it is impossible to concede to men who could be so imposed upon, the highest honours due to financial knowledge and penetration.

The seven years which elapsed from 1785 to 1792 were, however, in this country, years of tranquillity and progress ; and the result of Mr. Pitt's administration, aided by his wise treaty with France, justified the proud complacency with which in the latter year he introduced his budget to the House of Commons. The imports had risen from 9,714,000*l*. in 1782 to 19,130,000*l*. in 1790. In August 1791, the four per cents and five per cents were sold at 107½*l*. and 122¾*l*. respectively for 100*l*. stock. The revenue had risen to sixteen millions and a half, a sum which left a surplus of 400,000*l*. in addition to the million of the Sinking Fund : and Mr. Pitt fondly anticipated that in fifteen years more, namely, in 1808, the fund would have reached the sum of four millions per annum, to be at the disposal of Parliament. With more truth he wound up that sanguine and triumphant survey of a successful minister by an eloquent tribute to the industry and energy of the country, to the effects of the accumulation of capital, and to the freedom of the people of England. 'We may yet, indeed'—these were his concluding words—'be subject to those fluctuations which often happen in the affairs of a great nation, and which it is impossible to calculate or foresee : but as far as there can be any reliance on human speculations, we have the best ground to look with satisfaction to the present and with confidence to the future.' Such was the language of the Minister on the eve of that tremendous conflict into which he was destined to plunge before the month of February returned—a contest which would compel him to add enormous burdens to the taxation of the country, to augment the National Debt with inconceivable rapidity, and to arrive in

less than five years at a suspension of cash payments. No man who has studied the policy of Mr. Pitt can impute to him any eagerness to engage in war, or any disposition to prolong it : on the contrary, he was singularly blind to the perils of it, even when they stared him in the face, and singularly embarrassed both to conduct and to terminate it. At this moment, however, we are considering its effect on his financial system, and it is evident that whatever was good in it was blown to the winds of heaven by the events of the next few years, whilst the burdens of debt and taxation were saddled more firmly than ever on posterity.

Before we quit this part of the subject, one topic remains to be noticed, which has not, so far as we know, attracted the attention of any of Mr. Pitt's biographers. Mr. Pitt first took office under Lord Shelburne at the close of the American war. One of his first great ministerial orations was a defence of that peace of 1783 which was censured in the House of Commons by a majority of 17. He defended it mainly on the ground that the British fleet (we had but one) was inferior to the fleets of France, Spain, and Holland ; that 'it was notorious that new levies could scarcely be torn on any terms from this depopulated country ;' and that three thousand men were the utmost force that could have been sent from England on any offensive duty. On the proud and patriotic soul of Mr. Pitt that peace left a wound not the less painful that it was inevitable. Years afterwards, when he proposed, in 1786, the fortification of the dockyards (another measure on which he was defeated, though only by the casting vote of the Speaker, and which it was reserved for our own times to undertake), Mr. Pitt exclaimed, in speaking of that war which his illustrious father had carried on with so much success : 'The last war—the last war ! would to Heaven we could call it the last war ! not indeed the last war, but the last on which Britons could reflect without a sigh or a blush—the war of contrast with the last—the war in which the name of Britain was exalted above the highest and proudest of nations, by successes as stupendous and conquests as glorious, as our late miscarriages and defeats have been calamitous and disgraceful !' Mr. Pitt showed in the quarrel with Spain about Nootka Sound, with Russia about Oczakow, with France in the affairs of Holland, that he was resolved to uphold the honour of the country ; and in 1793 he did not flinch from a contest with revolutionary France. But what preparations had he made during ten years of peace and prosperity to place the naval and military establishments of the country on an

efficient footing? The American war was a tremendous lesson to this country, not so much from the loss of the revolted colonies, as from the inferiority in which it had placed the king's forces by sea and land. It demonstrated that our armies were ill equipped and ill commanded—that the whole transport service was abominable—and that even the fleet was insufficient to protect the flag, and the shores of England. Can it be believed that a minister, with the power and the resources enjoyed by Mr. Pitt for that period, should have done nothing to raise the military and naval services from this prostration? Yet the fact is, that on the declaration of war in 1793, when it was thought necessary to send an expedition to Holland, the forces were in the same discreditable condition which led to the reverses of the American war. 'Our army,' says Sir Henry Bunbury, in his narrative of the Dutch campaigns, 'was bad in its discipline, entirely without system, and very weak in numbers. There was no uniformity of drill or movement; professional pride was rare; professional knowledge still more so.' When the English Ministers were trying, with the miserable means at their command, to assist the House of Orange—Dumourier having just overrun Holland—about 1,700 Foot Guards, with a few score of artillerymen, were all that could be mustered; 3,000 infantry and 700 dragoons were the whole British force the Duke of York had under his command in 1793; transports there were none, and these troops were huddled into such colliers as could be found in the Thames, which luckily conveyed them to the coast of Holland.\* Such was the manner in which Mr. Pitt commenced the greatest war in modern history. We cannot but think that, even if he had deluded himself with the notion that peace was to be eternal, he was guilty of the gravest omission in not having long before taken effectual steps to organise a more efficient army, and in leaving from 1788 to 1794 the Admiralty in the notoriously incapable hands of his brother, the Earl of Chatham. No doubt the calamities which ensued, and which in less than five years reduced this country to a most perilous and exhausted condition, were mainly attributable to the total want of competent officers and well-equipped troops in the first years of the war. No truth is more elementary in politics than that to carry on war with success, and to terminate it with promptitude and glory, the ground must be laid, not during warfare, but in the preceding years of peace and prosperity. This duty was altogether overlooked by Mr. Pitt.

\* This statement is confirmed by Sir H. Calvert in his journals, p. 22.

Some additional particulars as to the campaign of 1793 are supplied by the 'Correspondence of Lord Auckland' (vol. iii.), who was British agent in the Low Countries at the time. The Editor of these papers professes to show (in opposition to Lord Stanhope) that Mr. Pitt's Cabinet was a party to the designs of the Austrians for the curtailment and even the partition of France; but we are not satisfied that the evidence bears out this assertion. Lord Grenville instructed Lord Auckland (3rd April 1793) that His Majesty approved the plan of indemnification on the side of Flanders, and that the Austrians were to be directed to look to the acquisition of a new barrier in the Netherlands rather than to the exchange of these provinces for Bavaria. Lord Auckland accordingly intimated to those concerned the expediency of retaining those conquests (Condé, Maubeuge, and if possible, Lille). Ministers at that time clearly contemplated an extended frontier of the Low Countries and of Holland; and this designed the King to direct the expedition against Dunkirk. Somewhat later, after his return to England (July 1793), Lord Auckland communicated to Lord Grenville a scheme for the partition of France, and talked of 'the Austrian idea of acquiring the Somme for their new boundary.' He even added that it was worth consideration, 'whether, in that case, we ought not to insist on holding Dunkirk, and, perhaps, also Calais' (vol. iii. 79); and forwarded a memorandum on the subject drawn up by M. Jarry, which is now published. But Lord Grenville confines himself to saying that the memoir is written with knowledge and judgment; and there is no proof that the British Government ever adopted this Austrian scheme of dismembering France to the Somme.\*

On the occasion of Mr. Pitt's death, Lord Sheffield, a shrewd though rather an eccentric observer, declared that much as he regretted 'the loss of such an extraordinary creature as he really was, he had never thought him infallible, but on the contrary always expressed an opinion that he was eminently deficient in respect to the conduct of

\* M. de Jarry, the author of the 'Memoir on the Partition of France to the line of Somme,' was a scientific officer of some reputation. He was afterwards employed as an instructor at the Military School at Wycomb, and contributed, with Colonel Lemarchant, to the establishment of Sandhurst. Whatever may be thought of the policy of such a scheme of partition, which has justly been denounced as extravagant, there is this peculiarity about it, that the author of the proposal for the dismemberment of France was a Frenchman. The whole document is published in the 'Auckland Papers,' vol. iii. p. 86.

the war and of foreign affairs.' This opinion has in these later times prevailed, and Lord Macaulay went so far as to say that 'his military administration was that of a driveller, until the British army under Pitt became the laughing stock of Europe.' These accusations are, we think, expressed with too much vehemence, and there is one exception to this sweeping censure which Lord Macaulay unaccountably overlooked—we mean the expedition to Egypt, which was ably and boldly designed, well conducted, and gloriously terminated. But it is indisputable that Mr. Pitt's genius did not lie in the same direction as the genius of Lord Chatham, and that at the outset of the war he knew no more than a spinster of the division of a battle. Parliamentary ministers are not bound to have a minute knowledge of military details, though this is no superfluous accomplishment to any statesman. But the great principles of strategical science, which are to be learned from history, and the art of selecting men competent to command armies, which is only to be learned from life, are indispensable elements of the highest order of statesmanship. Lord Chatham owed the conquest of Canada to the happy mixture of audacity and judgment with which he entrusted the command of an army to Colonel Wolfe; Mr. Pitt owed the disastrous issue of the campaigns in Holland to the incredible subserviency with which he had allowed the King twice to place an army under the command of the Duke of York. Contrast the pitiable appearance of the British army at this very time in Europe, with the splendid achievements of the British army in India—contrast Dunkirk with Seringapatam, and you have the measure of the administrative genius of a Wellesley guiding an army to victory, with the administrative genius of the British Government sending similar forces to humiliation and defeat. The navy, it is true, did by a series of splendid victories maintain the honour of the country, and effectually defend these islands from invasion by sweeping the enemy from the seas. Howe, Duncan, and Nelson rose triumphant over every obstacle to the highest point of naval greatness; but it is now almost incredible how little they owed to the organisation and equipment of their fleets by the Admiralty: and that very navy which was the terror of our enemies, was goaded to acts of desperation by the detestable home administration, until it became, for a moment, even more formidable to ourselves.

We must pause for an instant on the campaign of 1799, because the highly interesting and ingenuous 'Memoir of Sir Ralph Abercromby,' written by his son, and recently published by the present Lord Dunfermline,

throws considerable light on the mode in which Pitt's Cabinet engaged in these military operations. On the 8th June 1799 Mr. Dundas wrote to Abercromby, who was then in Edinburgh, to announce the intended campaign in Holland, adding, 'if you wish to command the expedition, you must come away as soon as you can after the receipt of this letter.' Upon his arrival in London he found that the expedition was not to be under his command, but under that of the Duke of York, and that the nature of the operations had been changed. In fact, throughout this affair Ministers had a vague notion that something was to be done in Holland, without knowing what.

'Sir Ralph,' says Lord Dunfermline, 'was from the first strongly impressed with the difficulties that were to be encountered, and he was of opinion that the risk which must be run, and the perils to which the army must be exposed were so great, that they could not be justified by the importance of the objects to which our efforts were to be directed. He stated his views to the Ministers most frankly and unreservedly, so much so indeed, that Mr. Pitt, who was wholly unacquainted with the details of military operations, and with the means that were required to afford a reasonable chance of success, could not always repress his impatience, and on one occasion remarked, very pointedly, "There are some persons who have a pleasure in opposing whatever is proposed." Sir Ralph was not moved by this hint, and he persevered in expressing his opinions with calmness and firmness.' (*Memoir, &c.*, p. 148.)

In this manner the deliberate judgment and counsel of the ablest soldier then in England were overruled by the Cabinet. Sir Ralph executed with consummate prudence and skill the hopeless task on which he had been sent; on his return a peerage was offered to him for the battle of Egmont, which he declined. But assuredly it required no great military experience or sagacity to perceive that an expedition of a few thousand men, pent up in the Dutch islands, could lead to no result, and must eventually be outnumbered by the enemy. Lord Stanhope says that Pitt was not responsible for the greatest of all blunders—that of Walcheren: certainly not, but on the other hand the expedition of 1799 was the precursor of Walcheren; it had originally been intended for Walcheren, and it was sent in direct opposition to the advice of the best officer in it.

It may fairly be questioned also, whether Mr. Pitt ever possessed a thorough insight into the mechanism of foreign affairs, or that command of the relations of foreign states with each other and with this country, which resembles the *coup d'œil* of a general on a field of battle. In the sphere of foreign poli-



tics and international law, Lord Grenville must, we think, be ranked above Mr. Pitt; but it is just to add, that for many of these momentous years Lord Grenville was the Foreign Secretary of Pitt's Government. We still think that a more accurate examination of the diplomatic correspondence of the times, especially with reference to the alliances negotiated by Mr. Pitt during the war, will throw much additional light on this portion of his administration, whenever the state papers of the period are laid open to historical research. At present our knowledge of these transactions is chiefly derived from the publication of private correspondence.

Lord Macaulay has drawn a brilliant and a flattering picture of the first portion of Mr. Pitt's ministerial career, beginning in 1784 and ending in 1792. He styles him during this period 'a fortunate, and in many respects a skilful administrator;' he attributes to him all but absolute power over the Court and over the House of Commons: and with the single exception of his vote on the Test Act, Lord Macaulay avers 'that his conduct from 1783 to the middle of 1792 was that of an honest friend of civil and religious liberty.' Even Lord Russell affirms that Mr. Pitt's 'administration during peace was marked by large public views, was founded on great principles, and led to happy results.' These opinions, to which even the political adversaries of Mr. Pitt have given the stamp of authority, are naturally shared by Lord Stanhope, who vindicates Mr. Pitt even from the strictures which are passed on the later years of his government. We confess that we ourselves entered upon this inquiry with the same disposition of mind, and entirely free from any desire to disparage the exalted character of Mr. Pitt. But a careful and dispassionate review of the transactions which we have just laid before our readers, has satisfied us that Mr. Pitt cannot be termed a fortunate administrator, since every one of his leading proposals ended in defeat or dis-appointment; and although we do not question that he was animated by large public views and by grand principles, the results were so far from happy, that the outbreak of war in 1793 found Parliament unreformed, Ireland unreconciled, the religious tests unrepealed, tithes uncommuted, the finances encumbered with the fiction of a sinking fund, the slave trade in full activity, free trade annihilated by foreign war, and the army and navy in the same deplorable condition in which they had been left at the close of the American struggle. How comes it, then, that Mr. Pitt, with a full and clear perception of the measures by which these evils might have been cured, contented him-

self with a few abortive attempts to remove them, and continued to carry on the government with apparent vigour, although almost every one of the important measures he urged upon Parliament had failed? We can only conclude that when Mr. Pitt's enlightened views and sagacious mind placed him in opposition to the bigotry and ignorance of the Court or of his own party in Parliament, he was in reality powerless; and that his omnipotence began when he made himself the instrument of the prejudices of George III. and the passions of the nation, inflamed to madness by the spectacle of the French Revolution. George III. did not treat Mr. Pitt as he had treated Lord North; the correspondence with the latter Minister, published by Lord Brougham in his 'Biographical Sketches,' differs altogether in tone and substance from the highly interesting collection of the King's letters to Pitt, now published by Lord Stanhope. But upon a nice examination of these transactions, the King's influence may everywhere be discovered. It is melancholy to see the great intellect of Pitt fettered and foiled by the petty contrivances of George III., whose diseased mind was affected sometimes to madness by the intrigues of such men as Thurlow, Loughborough, Auckland, the Irish Chancellor Clare, and the English Primate Moore. In spite of Mr. Pitt's haughty bearing and inflexible character, he was compelled to stoop, and he did stoop, to prejudices which he did not share, and to objects which he despised. It is well known to what a catastrophe the state of things led when Mr. Pitt quitted office on the Catholic question in 1801. There is in Lord Malmesbury's Journal a passage written at that time, which might, we believe, be extended to a much longer period of Mr. Pitt's life. Canning is described as saying

'That for several years so many concessions (as he called them) had been made, and so many important measures overruled from the King's opposition to them, that Government had been weakened exceedingly; and if on this particular occasion a stand was not made, Pitt would retain only a nominal power, while the real one would pass into the hands of those who influenced the King's mind and opinion out of sight.' (*Malmesbury's Diaries*, iv. p. 4.)

Our limits forbid us to follow Lord Stanhope into the dark and terrible narrative of the ensuing years, when every calamity that could be endured by a nation, except that of foreign invasion (and even that was not wanting in Ireland), fell upon this country. Bishop Tomline had announced his design (which he did not live to complete) of 'following Mr. Pitt in the wise and vigorous conduct of

the war;' and Lord Stanhope endorses these epithets as rightly descriptive of the task before him. He even thinks that 'it was mainly the sap and strength imparted by the measures of the preceding years which enabled the nation to sustain, and finally triumph over, the perils of the conflict.' We regret that we cannot share his Lordship's opinion. For the reasons we have already given—we hold that the nation was frightfully ill-prepared to enter upon any conflict at all; and that many of the measures resorted to in that conflict only tended to aggravate the dangers of our position. No sooner was war declared, than symptoms of internal discontent, which had been allayed since the American war, broke out with extreme violence, inflamed no doubt by the detestable excesses and extravagant doctrines of the French Revolution. From that moment, and for many years, every liberal opinion, including those which Mr. Pitt had himself professed, was denounced as Jacobinical, subversive of the monarchy, repugnant to all religion and law. State prosecutions of unexampled rigour followed, especially in the northern part of this island; and measures more repressive than any which had been known in Britain since the flight of James II. were employed to crush every manifestation of opinion on the part of the minority. Yet we are convinced that the minority which espoused revolutionary opinions was a contemptible one, and that nothing it could have said or done in England and Scotland would have been so injurious to the British Constitution and the character of Government, as the means taken to persecute and subdue it. The immoderate violence of the nation against what were called Jacobinical principles proves how little they were really to be feared. The great bulk of the people of England detested them, and the more they were known, the less likely they were to prevail. The revolutions of foreign countries are not an example but a warning to England, and their results, far from inviting, repel us.

The public calamities reached the highest pitch in 1797. Hoche threatened the invasion of Ireland, which was the scene of constant treason and incessant rebellion. A party of French marauders landed in Pembroke-shire. The Austrians, abandoned by Germany and defeated by the young conqueror of Italy, signed the preliminaries of Leoben. The drain upon the Bank of England was such that, on the 26th February, Pitt caused the King to pass an order in Council prohibiting the directors from further cash payments. Lord Stanhope observes that nothing but a most energetic determination on the 'part of the Executive Govern-

ment could have saved the Bank, or in its train the State, from insolvency.' But what is the distinction here drawn between a suspension of cash payments and an actual insolvency? It mattered nothing, that 3,800,000*l.* still remained in the Bank, if no one could receive anything but a note of paper. National bankruptcy was averted, not by the issue of inconvertible paper in 1797, but by the resumption of cash payments in 1820. For twenty years, the State and the Bank of England compelled their creditors to accept an inconvertible promise to pay for a payment.\*

Yet even this form of national bankruptcy was not the greatest peril that befell the country. In the month of April in the same year, the fleet mutinied, first at Portsmouth, and afterwards at Sheerness, and for several weeks the right arm of England was not only powerless, but turned against herself. Lord Stanhope's narrative of the mutiny at the Nore is extremely animated and interesting. But here again, we must remark that this formidable occurrence, which has been truly described as the darkest day in our annals, was due far more to the brutal injustice and incapacity of the Admiralty than to any disloyal or treasonable spirit among the seamen. They no doubt took a highly culpable method of extorting redress for their grievances, but their grievances were real and intolerable. No increase of pay to the fleet, and no improvements in the service, had taken place since the reign of Charles II. The complaints of the men had been treated with scorn, and we cannot entirely acquit the Prime Minister of that 'gross ignorance or gross unconcern' which Lord Stanhope imputes to the admirals on active service on this occasion. It is obviously the duty of the Prime Minister of this country to have his eye on every branch of the public service—to know its wants and the manner of providing for them—and not suddenly to find himself in presence of such events as a suspension of cash payments and a mutiny of the fleet.

\* Mr. Pitt seems to have been taken by surprise by the announcement of impending insolvency first made to him by the Bank Directors on the 21st February. Lord Stanhope supposes on the authority of the financial statement made to the Houses of Parliament, that there remained to the Bank on the 25th February a clear surplus of 3,800,000*l.* But it was shown at the time by Mr. Allerdice, a Member of the Committee, that the real amount of cash in the Bank on the evening of the 25th February was 1,272,000*l.*, from which a sum of nearly 300,000*l.* seems to have been abstracted on the 28th February. The statement put forth to show that the Bank 'was in the most affluent and prosperous situation,' was utterly worthless and delusive.

One quality Mr. Pitt possessed which no one has ever called in question. Throughout these extraordinary trials, his indomitable courage and composure never for one hour forsook him; and it is *that*, more than any other element of his character, which places him on a pinnacle of greatness and endears him for ever to Englishmen. He had shown it in his early youth when he faced the Coalition. He showed it again when the madness of the King tossed everything into confusion, and when a few days more would have thrown the supreme power into the hands of a profligate prince, and of his own political enemies. In presence of these tremendous events, Mr. Pitt stood unmoved at the helm of the state, as if he had taken for his motto those words of adamant import, 'He that endureth to the end shall be saved!'

Mr. Pitt was at length convinced, as the Duke of Wellington and Mr. Peel were convinced thirty years afterwards, that the policy of resistance and repression had its limits, and that these principles of government could never restore peace to Ireland or strength to that portion of the empire. The administration of Lord Camden and the fanatical bigotry of the Protestant party, then in exclusive possession of power at Dublin, had driven that island to a state of actual rebellion, and caused many of her more ardent sons to enter into treasonable correspondence with France. In 1798, Pitt changed the Irish policy of his Government, to the dismay of those who had hitherto been the chief instruments of the former system. The appointment of Lord Cornwallis to the Lord-Lieutenancy was the first step in this new direction. That nobleman entered upon his painful and onerous task with sentiments of humanity and moderation, which now stand recorded in his published correspondence to his immortal honour; and we learn from the Auckland Letters that his policy was viewed from the first with suspicion and hatred by such men as Mr. Beresford and Lord Clare. But Mr. Pitt had framed a design which they were unable to comprehend, and he was resolved to execute it by the sacrifice of the long-cherished prejudices of his adherents, or even, as the result proved, by the sacrifice of his own power. The union of Ireland to the United Kingdom was this great and difficult enterprise; and partly by the purchase of the borough interest, partly by the conciliatory tone of Lord Cornwallis to the Roman Catholics, it was at length carried. But even here, and in the hour of success, the ill fortune which beset so many of Mr. Pitt's best concerted plans, marred the consummation of the measure, and indefinitely postponed that

act of justice to the Irish Catholics which was an essential part of it. The secret influences which had more than once opposed the prejudices of the King to the wisdom of his Minister were unscrupulously employed, and with such effect, that the mind of George III. was unhinged, his life was in danger, and the Government itself was overthrown.

Mr. Pitt may perhaps be accused on this occasion, as Sir Robert Peel was accused in 1845, of a want of confidence in those persons who conceived that they had a claim to a full measure of it. He neglected to prepare the mind of the King during the autumn of 1800 for the plan which had been for some time in contemplation; and this silence was turned to fatal account by men, who were bound at least by the ties of personal friendship and official duty not to cabal against the Minister whom they served. Of these, Lord Clare, Lord Loughborough, and Lord Auckland were the most influential. We think it is proved that Lord Clare was the person who first roused the scruples of the King as to his Coronation oath: it was Lord Loughborough who took advantage of his stay with the King at Weymouth in September 1800 to poison his mind against the measures about to be proposed by the Prime Minister; it was Lord Auckland who aided the correspondence, and brought the Archbishop of Canterbury, his brother-in-law, to aid in the plot.

The Editor of the 'Auckland Papers' has attempted in the forty-second chapter of that work (vol. iv. p. 113.), to refute these charges, at least as far as Lord Auckland is concerned. But so far is he from having succeeded in this task that he has brought to light the most decisive evidence of the truth of them, under the hand of Mr. Pitt himself.

Mr. Pitt had very little intercourse with Lord Auckland in the summer and autumn of 1800, although that nobleman had been actively employed by him in preparing the commercial conditions of the Union in the preceding year. But at the close of an insignificant letter from Lord Loughborough to Lord Auckland, dated from Weymouth, 20th September, 1800, we remark the following strange sentence:—

'Your *very private* article is very generally whispered, and I believe with foundation.'

It is highly probable that this expression relates to the view taken by Pitt of the Catholic question. Mr. Pitt's letter to Lord Loughborough summoning him to attend a Cabinet on the subject, was dated ten days later, on the 30th September. It was not, however, until the month of January following that Mr. Pitt resolved formally to communicate

his policy to the King. At the last moment Lord Auckland addressed to him a vehement appeal to divert him from his purpose, to which Mr. Pitt returned the following answer:—

*Private.*

'Downing Street, Saturday, January 31, 1801, 8 P.M.

'My dear Lord,—I have many reasons for not wishing to say much in answer to your letter of this morning. Widely as we differ on the subject itself which led to it, I am afraid we should differ at least as much as to the question on which side there had been a failure of friendship, confidence, or attention in reference to this business. I feel this so strongly that I will not dwell upon it. Nothing belonging to this occurrence, painful as it is to my personal feelings, with respect to yourself, can make me forget how long and how sincerely I have been affectionately yours

'W. PITT.'

(*Auckland Papers*, vol. iv. p. 125.)

After the production of such a document, it is absurd to contend that the charges against Lord Auckland in this transaction rest on the loose statements of Lord Malmesbury. They rest on the positive and final judgment of Mr. Pitt, who thenceforward never renewed his acquaintance with the man who had made the Coalition of 1783; who had afterwards attempted to reconcile Lord Shelburne, alternately if not simultaneously, with Lord North and with Mr. Fox; who had then deserted the Whigs for the service of Pitt; and who ended by caballing against the wise and conciliatory policy of his friend and benefactor.\*

We have confined ourselves on the present occasion to those parts of Mr. Pitt's career on which some new light has been thrown by recent publications, and we shall not now revert to the questions raised by Mr. Pitt's resignation, and by his relations to the Minister who succeeded him. The fourth volume of Lord Stanhope's work, in which these transactions are related, down to the close of Mr. Pitt's life, is fully equal, if not superior, to the preceding volumes; and although we have not stated reasons for differing from some of the noble biographer's views, which he himself admits to be somewhat biassed by early associations and by constant veneration for his illustrious kin man, we are most anxious to do justice to the dig-

\* It deserves remark that Lord Auckland in the course of his long and servile official life never reached the Cabinet. When Lord Grenville and Mr. Fox entered into negotiations in 1806 on the formation of the Ministry of all the talents, each of those statesmen said to the other that there was one man they wished to exclude from the Cabinet. Both named their man—and both named Lord Auckland.

nified and dispassionate spirit which he displays throughout his work.

In conclusion we will only advert to an opinion expressed by Lord Stanhope, that if Mr. Pitt had been able to meet Parliament in 1806 in tolerably good health, his ministry would have recovered its former power and durability. We cannot think so. Upon his return to office in 1804 he stood between two parties in Parliament,—that of Fox and Lord Grenville, still proscribed by the King, that of Addington and the old Tories, ever ready, as was shown by actual experiment, to fly off from him. His own attempts alternately to ally himself with one or the other of these parties, prove how difficult he thought it to maintain himself in opposition to both of them. But, on the other hand, conscious of his own importance, he was less than ever disposed to make fresh sacrifices to the demands of the King, and to the exigencies of the old Tory party acting with Lord Sidmouth. 'If he had lived,' said Lord Sheffield at the time, 'he would have been liable to mortification too great for his haughty spirit to bear, and the country would have sunk under parliamentary wrangles.' The enchanter's wand, which had so long swayed the tempests of the State, was broken. And although Mr. Pitt died at forty-six, before the dawn of peace and independence was discernible on the horizon of Europe, we believe that his work was accomplished, and that a prolonged tenure of office would have added nothing to his fame.

ART. V.—1. *Habitations Lacustres des Temps Anciens et Modernes.* PAR FRÉDÉRIC TROYON. Lausanne: 1860.

2. *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, Vol. VII.

NOTHING in the history of scientific investigation is more remarkable than the singular manner in which the labours of various inquirers, acting without apparent concert, seem frequently to take at the same time a common direction. Phenomena of deep interest or importance exist around us unrevealed, like the gold in Australian gravel, until the hour suddenly arrives when light, thrown on them from one quarter, is answered by corresponding lights from all parts of the heavens. Then the system of which these phenomena form a part, their relation to each other, and their bearing on some general subject, disclose themselves little by little, with all the freshness of discovery.

Twenty years ago, or little more, it was the commonly received doctrine that there were not any traces of Man to be found in Europe attributable to any age earlier than that very recent period known, or, at all events, indicated to us through history. And now, simultaneously, and from various corners of Europe, a new school of inquirers, proceeding, as we shall see, by a method utterly different from any adopted before, inform us that this quarter of the globe was peopled for uncounted ages before history began,—peopled by a race of whose memory history contains no record whatever. It tells us of entire populations, with their arts, customs, and languages, buried and forgotten before Troy town was besieged, or the oldest piles of Cyclopean masonry were massed together by their mysterious architects: \* with annals far antecedent to the memory of Spenser's Eumnestes, who

—'all the wars remembered of King Nine,  
And old Assaraous and Inachus divine.'

From the mounds and dykes of farthest Scandinavia—from limestone caves and turf deposits scattered over Western Europe—from the bogs of Ireland and the lake shores of Switzerland—nay, from the gravel and sand strata of past geological periods, in Picardy and in Suffolk—the evidence accumulates upon us of the existence, and long continuance, of successive 'pre-historical' races of men; smaller men than ourselves; a 'feeble folk,' apparently, who must have had a difficulty in maintaining their existence against the inclemency of climate and the incursions of wild beasts, yet who must have struggled on, through multiplied centuries of unprogressive existence: so low, in some respects, that they did not know the use of metals until introduced at a comparatively late period; yet so far advanced in others, that they lived in numerous societies, practised some rude agriculture, buried their dead with peculiar usages, and were certainly a good way removed from the low savage type. These discoveries, curious and interesting as they are, have almost a disquieting effect on the imagination. They introduce into the domain of history something of that sense of oppression which results from the manner in which the modern theories of geology draw on Time as an inexhaustible bank. They threaten a revolution in our own

way of thinking, too fundamental to be agreeable. For it is well observed by Archbishop Whately (in his edition of Bacon's Essays) that the proverbial love of novelty in mankind extends only to details; a new system, in politics or in science, has attractions only for the few, and disturbs the minds of the many. But when this first feeling has passed away, and we no longer shrink from apprehending a great theory, subversive of the assumptions which have hitherto tacitly regulated our thoughts, we are carried forward, in spite of ourselves, by the magnificence of the new prospect. It is as if our powers of vision were suddenly doubled, or our perceptible horizon removed to twice its former distance. In such a frame of mind, we are apt to forget that these disclosures are still in their infancy. Men assign to them an amount of certainty, and an extent of range, which are in truth as yet unwarranted. And, on the whole, we are inclined to believe that the best service which can be rendered to the cause of investigation, is to take the phenomena, and endeavour first to examine each by its own separate light, as far as this can be done, without making premature efforts at generalisation. We therefore purpose, on the present occasion, to confine ourselves almost wholly to the subject of M. Troyon's work—the 'Lacustrine habitations,' or Pfahlbauten (pile-buildings) of Switzerland—and the very analogous relics of primæval antiquity which have lately been discovered in Ireland.

In order, however, to comprehend the use made by the Swiss antiquaries of the discoveries recently effected in the lakes of their country, it is absolutely necessary to be acquainted at least with the outlines of the labours of learned Europe, for the last fifteen years, in the same general sphere of inquiry. The notion that three distinct races of men have consecutively occupied the greater part of Europe, before the period at which history, properly so called, begins—or, to speak more accurately, the last of which races only is properly 'historical'—originated, we believe, with the antiquarians of the Scandinavian peninsula. Professor Worsaae, who has done more than any other individual in opening this vast field of inquiry, ascribes the nomenclature of the Three Ages of Stone, Bronze, and Iron, to Staatsrath E. C. Thomsen (about 1843). Stripped as far as possible of controversial details, the facts revealed by the examination of numberless places of sepulture, on the shores of the Baltic, of alluvial gravels, and other deposits, are said to be these. First, that great part of the Baltic countries was at one time occupied by a race of men who did not know the use of

\* The present King of Denmark, however, contributed to the Annual Meeting of the Society of Northern Antiquaries (1857), a memoir in which reasons are given for believing that these Cyclopean structures (or the 'Halls of the Giants,' which answer to them in the North), might have been erected by men to whom the use of metals was unknown.

metals; who were hunters, but agriculturists only in some spots and to a slight extent; who were of smaller stature than modern Europeans; who buried their dead, unburnt, in stone-chests; who dwelt almost exclusively (so far as has yet been discovered), on the shores of the sea, or of the rivers, fiords, and fresh-water lakes of the Scandinavian North. It is added (but this, of course, is conjectural only), that while the people probably migrated hither from the East, following the course of the rivers of Russia and the coasts of the Baltic, another division of them penetrated into Central Europe along the shores of the Mediterranean—both leaving memorials of themselves, strictly analogous to the Scandinavian, scattered on their two lines of march. After discussing various unsuccessful attempts to connect these people of the 'age of stone' with existing European races,\* Professor Worsaae suggested that they should be simply termed 'pre-historical,' as a confession of ignorance,—a suggestion which has been pretty generally acquiesced in.

Secondly, that at some later period another race followed who knew the use of metals, but employed almost exclusively a compound of copper and tin, or 'bronze,' for their implements of war and peace. This race, generally speaking, occupied the settlements of its predecessors; but it also added new ones, and ventured farther into the interior from the navigable waters than the men of stone had done. Its habits were also more agricultural. In short, it constituted a more advanced type of humanity. About its mode of sepulture much uncertainty prevails; Worsaae thinks that the men of bronze adopted both modes, of burying and burning the dead. When first the notion of a 'bronze age' was started, there were some determined Teutons who broached the theory that it actually *preceded* that of stone; and that an advanced German race, knowing the use of metals, had been for a time thrust from its seat by a flood of little Celts with their stone hatchets. Worsaae, however, had no doubt that the age of bronze came second in point of date. But he was inclined (see his '*Zur Alterthumskunde des Norden*,' 1847) to imagine that the men of bronze belonged to several of our existing races,—were some of them Goths, others Celts, Thracians, and so forth. More recent inqui-

ry seems to have thrust farther back the supposed age of this perplexing people, and they are commonly set down as equally 'pre-historical' with the denizens of the Age of Stone.

Lastly, that an Age of Iron succeeded; being that of the historical races, of most of whom we learn something from the records of Rome. Worsaae, indeed, suggested that the Age of Iron did not commence in North Germany until about A.D. 500, or after the Roman period; but we believe that all are now agreed in assigning to its beginning a much higher antiquity.

Such is the outline of the first Swedish discoveries; illustrated, rather than followed, as we have said before, by similar discoveries in Ireland, France, Denmark (where the 'kitchen-middings,' masses of bones of animals, apparently used for food by the earliest inhabitants, have formed the subject of especially curious studies), and, lastly, in the lakes of Switzerland; besides those made in the ancient 'drift' by M. Boucher de Perthes and his fellow-labourers, which, as thought to belong to a different geological age, must always be separately dealt with. The 'pre-historical' people have already passed from the hands of the mere archæologist into those of the ethnologist: there are vast speculations afloat, tending to connect them with that mighty, but somewhat imaginary, 'Turanian' family of nations, of which Professor Max Müller tells us that its language 'comprises all languages spoken in Asia or Europe not included under the Arian or Semitic families, with the exception of the Chinese and its dialects.' 'This,' the Professor adds truly enough, 'is indeed a very wide range; and the characteristic marks of union, ascertained for this immense variety of languages, are as yet very vague and general, if compared with the definite ties of relation which severally unite Semitic and the Arian.' Mr. Rawlinson, the translator of Herodotus, tell us, in commenting on this passage, that—

'The original occupation of Asia by Turanian races . . . is admitted. The peopling of Europe in primeval times, by tribes having a similar form of speech, which yielded everywhere to the Indo-European races, and were either absorbed or driven into holes and corners, is apparent from the position of the Laps, Finns, Esths, and Basques, whose dialects are of the Turanian type.'

And other speculators, proceeding further on the same road, drew the inference which we have already mentioned, namely, that these fragments of an ancient dispossessed people, especially the Lapps and Finns, who are diminutive in stature, are, in truth, the existing representatives of those whose relics

\* Among others with the Greenlanders or Esquimaux, whom, singularly enough, Isaac Lapeyrière, in his strange dissertation on the Preadamites (published in 1641), had selected as a relic of that population which he believed to have existed before the Fall. The greater part of his essay is devoted to Biblical argument: but it contains also some curious anticipations of the antiquarian theories with which we are now concerned.

are buried in the mud of the Swiss lakes, and of those, far more ancient, whose wrought flints are dug by myriads out of the Suffolk 'crag' and the tertiary formation about Abbeville. But with this slight glimpse only, we are determined to dismiss, for the present occasion, all ethnological speculation: convinced that it is premature, and that it is far better to acquiesce in the mystery which surrounds the origin and family of the races in question, and search out patiently the records which they have left us of their habits of life and their geographical extension.

It may be advisable also to guard against another source of confusion, to which the lively imagination of antiquarians is a little too prone. It is scarcely philosophical to infer a connexion between different races of men, merely because, being placed under similar physical conditions, they have adopted similar devices and similar modes of living. The fisherman of the Bosphorus raises a curious and complicated kind of wooden erection on stages, by means of piles driven in the current of the strait. Mr. Layard describes for us the extraordinary island-dwellings of the Afaij Arabs in the marshes of the Euphrates, and shows us that tribes of similar habits are depicted among the subjugated nations in the sculptures of Nineveh. (Nineveh and Babylon, chap. xxiv.) The negroes on the Tchadda construct similar aquatic habitations, described by Dr. Baikie. The Papuans of New Guinea dwell in villages built on wooden platforms in the tide rivers, closely and curiously resembling the supposed erections of the 'Lacustrines' in Switzerland. The American Indians in the Lake of Maracaybo are reported to have had 'cities' of similar construction; whence their province was termed by the Spanish conquerors, Venezuela, or Little Venice. But these are analogies only, casting a curious light on the discoveries made by the Swiss archæologists. Similar necessity produces everywhere a resort to the same methods: people who, for purposes of defence or nourishment, take to dwelling in the middle of the waters, must live in many respects alike; and no reasonable antiquarian would infer from thence a family connexion between the several cases, or imagine that he had under his eyes the relics of some primitive and universal practice. So with regard to the most curious parallel instance of all those cited in M. Troyon's book: the description given by Herodotus of certain Pæonians on Lake Prasias, in Thrace. We quote from Mr. Rawlinson's translation:—

'Their manner of living is the following: platforms supported upon tall piles stand in the middle of the lake, which are approached from the land by a single narrow bridge. At the first,

the piles which bear up the platforms were fixed in their places by the whole body of the citizens; but since that time, the custom which has prevailed about fixing them is this. They are brought from a hill called Orbelus, and every man drives in three for every wife that he marries. Now the men have all many wives apiece, and this is the way in which they live. Each has his own hut, wherein he dwells, upon one of the platforms, and each has also a trap door giving access to the lake beneath; and their wont is to tie their baby children by the foot with a string, to save them from rolling into the water. They feed their horses and their other beasts upon fish, which abound in the lake to such a degree, that a man has only to open his trap door, and let down a basket by a rope into the water, and then to wait a very short time, when up he draws it quite full of them.'

We shall see presently that the Father of History has here sketched for us, in his graphic way, the very outlines of that Lacustrine life which M. Troyon supposes to have been led by his pre-historical fellow-countrymen. But we cannot infer from thence a common 'Turanian' origin for the dwellers on Lake Lemman and Lake Prasias, as Mr. Rawlinson seems inclined to do, any more than from the fact that there 'is salmons in both.'

With these few preliminary remarks, we will proceed at once to consider, by themselves and without further efforts at generalisation, the facts communicated by M. Troyon.

The boatmen on the Swiss lakes, when navigating close to the shore, had, from time immemorial, observed in various places, under the calm transparent water, the heads of numberless wooden stakes just protruding through the deposit of soft silt which is generally found at the bottom. Here and there, along with these, large blocks of wood were visible, stags' horns of great size, bones, and fragments of pottery. There still lived among them\* a traditional belief, that these were the remains of dwellings, occupied by people of ancient times, who built on the lakes in order to shelter themselves from wild beasts. And yet century after century elapsed, and no one had the curiosity to look closer into these scattered fragments of a forgotten world, until the season had ripened for the final discovery.

But it so happened, that in 1853 and 1854, a period of unusual dryness set in. The higher mountains did not receive their usual supplies of winter snow, and the lakes, scantily fed by the glacier streams, fell far below their ordinary level. In the Lake of Zurich, the lowest level hitherto marked on the so-called 'stone of Stäfa' had been attained in

\* On the shores of the Lake of Geneva, between Yvoire and Hermance, M. Troyon found this notion prevailing. (p. 128.)



1674. In 1854, the water was a foot lower. In a small bay between Ober Meilen and Dollikon, the inhabitants\* took advantage of the recession to increase their gardens, by building a wall along the new low-water line, and filling up the space thus acquired with earth obtained by dredging the lake. During this operation, they 'found great numbers of piles, of deer horns, and also some implements.' The attention of Dr. F. Keller, of Zurich, was called to the discovery; and the result of his investigations (described by him in three memoirs, presented to the Antiquarian Society of Zurich in 1854, 1858, and 1860), was to establish the existence of a submerged 'lake village,' in this part of the Lake of Zurich. This discovery was rapidly followed by others. In the Lake Constance, Geneva, Neufchatel, Bienne, Morat, Sempach, and in many smaller ones (Inkwy, Pfäffikon, Moosseedorf, Luissel), similar sites have been traced. They seem, indeed, now to multiply in the note-books of archaeologists with almost inconvenient rapidity. Two years ago, twenty-six such village sites had already been traced and described in the Lake of Neufchatel alone; twenty-four in that of Geneva; sixteen in that of Constance, and we cannot tell how many more the zeal of local inquiry, stimulated by rivalry, may have since disinterred. And the amount of ancient objects recovered from their débris acquires a magnitude still more formidable. Twenty-four thousand of these have been raised from the single locality of Concise, in the Lake of Neufchatel. 'We are still very far,' says M. Troyon, 'from having recovered all the relics imbedded in the silt of the lakes and peat of the valleys. Nevertheless, we are by this time acquainted with a sufficient number of points of remarkable richness, to enable us to give, by their description, an idea of that ancient population which had the habit of living on these waters.'

At first sight, indeed, the systematic texture of facts said to be established seems to contrast strangely with the slight and fragmentary nature of the indications on which they are grounded. But the process of investigation in this, as in analogous cases, is in reality by safe deduction from a multitude of inferences, in themselves slight, in conjunction overwhelming. Cuvier at first astonished the ignorant, and made more sceptics than believers, when he reconstructed extinct animals from single fossil bones. So did his disciples, when, from a shell or two, or the remains of a single animal, they established the age of a mineral deposit extending over

a province. But these things no longer surprise us now. The irresistible force of induction has conquered unbelief. Our trained eyes have become enabled to see with comparative clearness through the mists of geological antiquity; and our inferences, though very far from infallible, are hardly subject to any greater risk of error than is incident to ordinary speculations, founded on premises apparently more obvious and more extensive. The very same process inaugurated by Cuvier and his followers in the science of palæontology is now carrying on in that branch of archaeological research which we have under our eyes. And it is perhaps rather a curious circumstance, that the inductive, or Baconian, method of inquiry seems to have come into general use in antiquarian study much later than in scientific. Antiquarian investigation, until within a very recent period, was certainly all 'deductive.' That is, it was the habit to adhere in a general way to some ethnological or other theory, and then to search for evidence to support it. 'The inductive philosopher,' says Mr. Buckle, 'is naturally cautious, patient, and somewhat creeping; while the deductive philosopher is remarkable for boldness, dexterity, and often rashness.\*' Certainly the latter were the commoner characteristics of the enthusiastic F.S.A. of the last century. Nay, to borrow the words of the same author when speaking of David Hume;—

'He not only believed with perfect justice that ideas are more important than facts, but he supposed that they should hold the first place in the order of study, and that they should be developed before the facts are investigated.'

We shall see, by examining the method adopted by our Swiss and other inquirers of the new school, in 'first collecting the facts, and then proceeding to the ideas,' how much of new life can be imparted into what seemed an almost worn-out study, by the introduction of the truer process.

It is, indeed, difficult to do justice to this part of our subject, and of M. Troyon's work, by mere analysis or extract; it can only be appreciated by a careful investigation

\* We cannot cite this name without adding the expression of no transitory regret. Every student of social history must feel it as a personal loss, that he is no more to grapple with that vigorous and self-sustained intellect, to feel the edge of that trenchant style. Whatever judgment posterity may form of the value of so much as Mr. Buckle was permitted to accomplish, we of the present day cannot but recognise that we have lost in him one whose originality of thought was great, but who was still more remarkable for reproducing and marshalling with extraordinary distinctness a class of thoughts very prevalent in the minds of this generation.

\* See 'Natural History Review' for January 1862.

of details. But a mere summary will, at all events, illustrate our meaning, and serve as an index. The antiquarian observes a number of heads of piles or stakes (often in vast profusion, one site, it is said, has 40,000) disposed in some sort of arrangement, slightly protruding above the silt in the manner already described, at a small distance from the shore, and in shallow water; say four, six, or eight feet beneath low-water level. These stake-heads mark out the sites, and the extent, of villages. Now it need not be said that stakes of solid wood under water last a very long time; but they perish at last. Those in question have doubtless been wasted by the action of the water down to the point at which their further decay is arrested by the casing of silt. But the wood wastes more rapidly in the upper and agitated, than in the lower and more tranquil, stratum of water. If, therefore, the piles have been worn down to the actual silt, these are the most ancient. If they still project a foot or two above the silt, then the destructive action of the lower stratum of water has not yet completed its work. These, therefore, are the remnants of comparatively modern 'pile-buildings;' ages, it may be, posterior to the former. And, if we understand our authorities aright—but this is a point of extreme delicacy and importance, on which we do not feel qualified to speak except 'under reserve'—the respective characters of the objects of antiquity found in these different places correspond with the indications of comparative antiquity afforded by the length of the stakes. In the next place: a double range of stakes is often found in a straight line from the mass of stakes to the shore. This denotes the bridge which connected the settlement with the main land? Scattered on the silt, among the stakes, or close to them, lie fragments of wooden beams, roughly squared. These must have been part of the platform, raised on the stakes, which supported the houses. They are in many cases partially charred by fire. The village was, therefore, destroyed by fire. Buried in the silt, by their side, are quantities of wattles, twisted into such shapes as to form part of a concave framework; together with bits of clay casing, similarly concave. These were portions of the walls, with their lining, of the circular huts which we must conceive perched on the platforms. Among these lie lumps of matted foliage and moss, huge stags' horns, and other miscellaneous articles. These probably formed part of the rude furniture of the cabins. There are also trunks of trees, partially hollow; these people, therefore, used canoes. From the concavity of the wattles and casings we arrive at a no-

tion of the ordinary size of the cottages (generally, says M. Troyon, from three to four yards in diameter). By the number of piles we calculate the size of the platform. Putting the two together, we arrive at the probable number of cottages. Adding an estimate of the probable number of dwellers in every such cottage, we have the probable population.

The 'objects' made of durable materials, found in the silt among these ruins, are, as we have said, almost innumerable. In many of the villages these are of stone exclusively, or mixed only with fragments of wrought bone and earthenware. The stone is commonly serpentine, or other similar native rock. But a kind of flint is also largely used. This is not found nearer than in France or Germany. The people, therefore, had some slight traffic with these neighbouring parts. They comprise knife-blades, arrow- and lance-heads, saws, hammers, borers, needles, above all, axes and hatchets of most various size and shape, and prepared to be fitted to handles by sundry ingenious devices. Now where these alone are found, the conclusion is, that the villages belonged to a people unacquainted with the use of metals,—that they are of what is now familiarly denominated the 'age of stone.' But, here and there, amidst the multitude of stone and bone objects, there is some fragment of an implement of metal, or an ornament of coral or amber. *Ergo*, the inhabitants had some traffic with distant parts. They, or their neighbours, from whom they could obtain these things by exchange, were visited by the traders of the Mediterranean.

But we next examine the remains of another village, in which these objects of metal are multiplied. Weapons and domestic implements of bronze are mingled with those of stone. These are chiefly warlike—sword and hatchet blades, and so forth,—arrows in less quantity than in the stone villages; but they are also, in great part, domestic, together with a singular abundance of personal ornaments and baubles—hair-pins, buttons, chains, and the like. Therefore, a race of superior acquirements to the former was, at one time, established in the same localities, and (as we shall see) remained there long. But might not these have been only the descendants of the 'stone' race, improved in point of civilisation so as to acquire the art of working metals? The Swiss antiquaries reply, with confidence, no; and mainly for the following reason. Bronze is a mixed metal, of copper and tin. Had the natives learnt, and then improved, the art of working in metal, their first essays would undoubtedly have been in a single metal. Im-

plements of copper alone have been in fact discovered in some Eastern countries; but none such have as yet been found in Switzerland. Again, tin, one of the materials of bronze, is one of the scarcest of metals, and derived by the ancients apparently from one quarter alone, the British Islands. It seems, therefore, much more probable that the metal should have reached Switzerland, in general, in its composite state, than that the amalgamation should have been effected there; although it cannot be denied that the art of amalgamation was at some time known to the Swiss Lacustrines, since blocks of copper and tin were discovered in one locality separate from each other, and with traces of a foundry (at Thonon, on the Lake of Geneva; see Trojon, p. 310). Again: though many settlements founded in the stone era were also peopled by the bronze race, there are many others which show no signs of such occupancy, but exhibit apparent traces of violent destruction by fire. Putting all these things together, the antiquaries adopt, as the most probable conclusion, that, in Switzerland at least, the men of bronze were new comers, who conquered, and ultimately exterminated, their feebler predecessors.

But the subsequent age of bronze was of very long duration. This is proved by the thickness of the *strata* of relics, and by the considerable difference of length in the uncovered portions of the stakes in different bronze villages respectively. Its society perished at last by violence, as that of the former age had done. This is shown by the recurrence of the same signs of destruction. The people who destroyed it wielded swords and spears of iron, as their relics testify. The destruction was nearly complete, for out of sixty or eighty villages of which the existence in the bronze age is hitherto established, eleven only show signs, and these slight, of having still been occupied in the iron age. This mysterious bronze nation, intercalated between the first 'pre-historical' and the modern race, seems in Switzerland to have perished absolutely. The men of iron were in all probability the Celts, or Helvetians, who were the first inhabitants of Switzerland known to the Romans: and at this point written history seems, according to the light of our present knowledge, to dovetail in with that inscribed on those mouldering relics which have now been tortured by the logic of science into yielding their strange confessions.

One fact only, connected with this invasion by the iron race, is so curious in its general bearing on history, as to deserve mention here. We have seen that they did not occupy, or soon abandoned, the lacustrine dwell-

ings. They were stronger and better armed, and did not need the feeble protection which these afforded to their predecessors. They were not traders, and had no habits which wedded them to a waterside life. But men in later ages returned to those spots of peculiar natural advantage which the primævals had utilised. The cities of Zurich and Geneva, as well as various smaller towns, rest on the sites of buried lake-villages.

But the same process of induction which has led us to these general conclusions as to the history of these lacustrine races, reveals to us also the most curious and minute circumstances respecting their mode of life. A few fragments of stone or bronze, pottery, and bones, heaped up confusedly with some other objects in a bed of silt, serve the office of a volume of cotemporary memoirs. These people, especially of the stone age, were of smaller stature than the present inhabitants of Europe. This is proved by the size of their ornaments, and in particular by the grasp of the handles of their implements. They were a race of hunters: this is shown by their arrow-heads and lance-heads, and, further, by the bones of wild animals,—the élan, the deer, the wild boar, and others,—heaped together round their dwellings. But they were also pastoral: for the bones of sheep and oxen, and more rarely of a small species of horse, are found in close juxtaposition with the former. They were to some extent agricultural: for grains of wheat and six-rowed barley, kernels of cultivated fruit, nuts, nay, slices of small apples and pears as if cut for preserving, and cakes of unleavened meal, are found among the other relics. There are traces, though less certain, of masts, or cordage, of hemp or flax. All these are in general found charred by fire: the remnants of the last dinner perhaps of the unfortunate Lacustrines, before the men of bronze, or those of iron, destroyed them and their habitations together. Few human bones are found among the relics of the earlier periods: there were, therefore, no savage or murderous rites practised; and such bones as are found may have belonged to individuals slain in the last assault. But appearances are very different in the age of iron: then human sacrifice seems to have been abundantly performed; in one place, the skeletons of four young women, in distorted attitudes, have been disinterred, along with fragments of broken ornaments; the victims probably of some of those sanguinary rites:—

—'quibus immitis placatur sanguine diro  
Teutates, horrendæ feris altaribus Hesus,'

The pre-historical men had their domestic animals, and fed their dogs with the relics of

their dinner; for it is found that almost all the bones containing marrow are broken, while many of them are marked by the teeth of dogs. They preferred spring water to the flat beverage of their own lakes; for among their pottery are found fragments of vases two or three feet in diameter—and it is difficult to conjecture what other purpose these can have served. But there are other vases curiously and artistically punched with round holes, disposed in lines. These could not have held any liquid, but they probably did hold curd, from which the liquor had been expressed; the inhabitants of the Pfahlbauten or Lake Lemman, like their successors in the modern châteaux, were therefore skilled in the confection of *laitages*. Lastly, however great their antiquity, they were not, in the common phrase, antediluvian; they belonged to the modern era, geologically speaking. They do not seem to have been contemporaneous with different animals or a different climate from those of modern Switzerland. Their animals are all of races existing in that country; their vegetables, all but one or two, of which the water-chestnut (*Trapa natans*) is mentioned as the most remarkable.

What is established in these respects concerning the habits of the age of stone, seems also generally true of that of bronze. The men of that age had made, no doubt, that advance which the more powerful nature of the means at their disposal secured to them. Their 'Pfahlbauten' were, as a rule, somewhat farther advanced into the lakes than those of the men of stone; showing, either that they had more powerful enemies to dread from landwards, or, that the possession of metals enabled them to cut timber more easily, and use it more profusely. But their general mode of life on the lakes remained much the same with that of their predecessors. It has been attempted, however, to establish one difference between them, so remarkable as to require distinct notice; namely, as to their mode of sepulture.

The men of stone certainly followed (in Switzerland as in Scandinavia) that most primitive of sepulchral usages, which spread from the far East, perhaps, over all the old world,—of which the records are said to be found deep under the foundations of Babylon; inasmuch that the migrations of these first colonists of the West may be traced, according to some authorities, by their graves. Their dead were deposited in 'stone-chests' or cells, constructed generally of three or four large flat slabs, adapted to contain bodies doubled up, face and knees together, and the arms crossed over the breast. Few of these have indeed been found in Switzerland; but such as there are exhibit these peculiarities.

Whether this posture was adopted, as some fancy, from analogy to that of the infant in the womb, or whether (which seems the simpler interpretation) because it required least room and exacted the smallest amount of labour, it is, at all events, characteristic of extreme antiquity, and still subsists, like other usages of the like antiquity, only in the remotest corners of the world, such as the southern extremities of Africa and America. Such was the mode of sepulture of the primitive race. But how long it continued is not so clear. We must not be too systematic on the subject. Mr. Lubbock says (*Natural History Review*, Jan. 1862) that 'the very same position was, to say the least of it, very common in early British tombs,' which are, in comparison, but of yesterday. And the Swiss authorities themselves (like those of the North) seem very uncertain as to its employment in the age of bronze. We rather infer, from M. Troyon's book (notwithstanding some expressions which seem contradictory, see p. 302), that he believes interment, without burning, to have continued throughout the era of bronze. At Sion, and at Chardonne, near Vevey, instruments of bronze have been found in primitive tombs. But the bodies seem to have been deposited there in the natural attitude. The ancient practice of bending the body together would seem then to have been discontinued at some time in the intermediate age. On these questions, however, the records are scanty, and speak but doubtfully. This much alone is certain: that the custom of burning the dead, or 'incineration,' as antiquaries call it, together with the 'tumulus,' or mound raised over the ashes, appears universally to commence with the advent of the age of iron, and 'clearly designates the establishment of the Helvetian race at the foot of the Alps.' (*Troyon*, p. 328.) With the arrival of these strangers our present researches terminate. They were a people considerably advanced both in the arts and in commerce long before the Romans knew them; how long, we have no means of judging. At Tiefenau, near Berne, is the field of a great unrecorded battle, in which these Helvetian immigrants appear to have turned their arms against each other. 'Fragments of chariots, a hundred swords, remnants of coats of mail, lance-heads, rings, fibulæ, ornaments, various utensils, coarse earthenware, and fragments of glass bracelets, accompanied by some thirty coins, of Gaul and Marseilles, anterior to our era,' have been picked up on the ground, and may serve as the memorials of some bloody day, when these conquerors revenged on each other, in civil conflict, the wrongs inflicted on the exterminated 'men of bronze.'

Of the religion of the earliest race nothing is known; some crescent-shaped stone articles have been termed amulets, or 'fetiches,' by antiquarians, rather from not knowing what else to call them than from any settled premises. The same may be said of the age of bronze. For we cannot attach much importance to M. Troyon's ingenious speculations about 'menhirs,' 'lacustrine chapels,' and the like, there being really nothing to appropriate these monuments, if authentic monuments at all, to any age preceding the Celtic (pp. 381-3). Nor are we very much impressed by the arguments which make him believe that the primitive mode of burial shows that his pre-historical race 'believed in the resurrection of the body.' Nor until we arrive at the period of iron do we find substantial traces of those objects and ruins of a religious character which constitute such marked features, all over Europe, in Celtic antiquity.

And now, we think, we have said enough to show that M. Troyon is really not drawing on his imagination, but on a reasonably sufficient stock of materials, allowing only for some tincture of that kind of sober romance which antiquaries love, when he sketches the life of these primitive people in language like that of an actual observer:—

'The first possessors of the soil (the wild beasts) had to retire step by step before a new population, which came to raise upon the waters its picturesque groups of cabins, the smoke from whose hearths spread itself in the air. Fires lighted on the beach, where the domestic animals were folded, served to keep at a distance during the night the carnivorous ones, who as yet had only learnt to know that element by the electric flashes of the storm. As soon as the lacustrine habitation had attained some development, thousands of piles supported a platform crowned by numerous circular huts, with conical roofs. A narrow bridge connected these dwellings with the shore; boats, fastened to the piles, served for fishing and for voyages of discovery. Among the trophies of the chase which decorated the dwellings, were the antlers of huge stags, bear-skins, the manes of wild boars, and the skulls of wild bulls. The furniture was of the most primitive kind. Leaves, dried grass, moss and straw heaped on the floor, served the purpose of beds. On the hearth, situate in the middle of the room, was placed the *pôt-au-feu* of the family. The earthenware vessels were grouped in some corner. The arms and various utensils hung from the roof. These slight habitations sheltered thousands of families during a number of centuries; but who will ever tell of all the scenes of joy and grief which they have witnessed! . . . . .

'And now, after enumerating the different branches of industry which characterised the life of these lacustrine races, it may be not out of place to remark that the inhabitant of the village had also his pleasures and amusements. The stone quoits found in the lakes resemble

those which the North American Indians still employ in their sports. A people of hunters must have found pleasure in the handling of weapons, and in rivalries of skill and dexterity in hitting the mark, throwing the javelin, the race and the wrestle. Living on the lakes, they must have frequently made it an amusement to manage the oar, or to cleave the waters in swimming matches. The children of the tribe, like the dwellers on the shores of our lakes at the present day, played on the surface of the water, or plunged into it from their platforms. Again, when we see how proud these people were of adorning themselves with rings passed round all their limbs, with long pins, small chains, pendants, and even rattles, it may be safely concluded that they were not less attached to amusements and fêtes. The dances which formed part of their religious rites had not assuredly a character exclusively devotional; and we may suppose that their recreations and sports were such as they still are among tribes which have not got beyond the extent of progress attained by the ancient Gauls. The inhabitants of the villages, dispersed from the labours of the day, returned at night to seek repose in their dwellings; but, after their labours, the breeze of evening, in the soft moonlight, invited them to assemble on the platform, where their gaiety was not inferior to that of a modern village eve. . . . . During the stormy season, the dwelling, shaken by every blast of wind, afforded at times but little security. The angry waves rolled loudly under the frail hut, plunged in a profound obscurity only broken by the flashes of lightning. Who can say whether the electric fire did not occasionally consume the lacustrine hamlet? and how can we represent to ourselves the confusion of an entire population endeavouring to save its aged and children, and leaping into the waves to swim to the shore which some were unable to reach? And often must these disastrous scenes have assumed other shapes: the whistle of the wind, the howl of wolves, the melancholy shriek of the birds of night, must have excited the timid imagination of a credulous race, inclined to the marvellous, until it found vent for superstition, innate in every heart. Then the family circle would draw closer, and talk over the mysteries of the supernatural world.' (Troyon, pp. 376-80)

To trace the historical course and geographical bearings of the revolutions and migrations which established each successive stage on the ruins of the others may seem a hopeless task; it is at all events far beyond our present means of execution. One remarkable circumstance, however, is thought by the Swiss antiquaries to be established; that is, unless subsequent discoveries chance to upset it, as has been the case with so many similar generalisations. The relics of the age of bronze, mingled with that of stone, are found in Western Switzerland only—the lakes of Geneva, Neuchâtel, and so forth. In Eastern Switzerland (Lakes of Constance, Zurich, Moosseedorf, &c.) the villages as yet disco-

vered are all of the unmixed period of stone. And, singularly enough—possibly, indeed, through some chain of cause and effect as yet unknown, and not by mere coincidence—the boundary between these two classes of villages seems exactly to coincide with that which divides the French from the German population. The conjectural explanation is this: that the immigration of the men of bronze took place from the Mediterranean up the valley of the Rhone, and through the broad gate of Lake Lemman; that they stopped short, eastward, in their occupation of the Alpine land at this point; not in their conquest of it, for the stone age Pfahlbauten east of this line show the same signs of violent destruction as those to the west.

Can we form any conjecture as to the family and origin of these men of bronze, the intermediate race between the primitive and the modern? We have at the outset of this article noticed Worsaae's opinion on the subject; at least, what he advanced, with hesitation, in 1847, when these inquiries were in their infancy. It seems to have been the fashion among Swiss antiquarians to term them Celts, and thus to recognise a prior Celtic invasion of bronze, and a posterior Celto-Germanic, or Cymric, or Helvetian of iron. But M. Troyon confesses, and it seems to us with much reason, that he is not satisfied with this ordinary doctrine:—

'I have adopted,' he says (p. 419.), 'the general denomination of Celts for the European population of the age of bronze. I admit, nevertheless, that the question may be raised, whether the Celts did not in truth arrive in the West at the epoch of the first age of iron.'

He then shows, what is perfectly true, that the Celts, at the earliest period at which history speaks of them, were acquainted with the use of gold, copper, and silver, as well as iron. It may be added that the small and delicate figures of this bronze race present no analogy to those of the sturdy Celtic breed. It seems safest, as we have already stated, to suppose both the first races equally 'pre-historical,' as far as our present knowledge goes.

Following out his inductive course of argument with singular persistency, M. Troyon has gone (as already said) so far as even to calculate the number of inhabitants who occupied the Lacustrine settlements of the western Swiss lakes during the bronze and stone periods respectively. The process by which he constructs this curious fabric of reasoning is as follows:—

'Measuring the side of the village platform by the extent of space occupied by the remains of piles, it is easy to form an approximative idea of the number of huts which the village might

contain. One of the largest, that at Morges, is 1,200 feet long, by 150 of average breadth, which gives a surface of 180,000 square feet. Deducting half this surface for the room required for ways and open spaces; and covering the other with huts seventeen feet in diameter, thickness of walls inclusive, and leaving out the room left unoccupied in consequence of the circular form of the huts; we find that the settlement at Morges might count 311 huts. We may assume without danger of exaggeration an average of four inmates for each. Population therefore, 1,244. Assuming the same premises, the eight villages discovered on the lake of Neufchâtel, measuring respectively from 8,000 to 160,000 square feet of surface, would contain in all 5000 inhabitants, or an average of 625 to the village. The 68 lacustrine settlements of Western Switzerland in the age of bronze would thus give a total of 42,500 inhabitants. While for the preceding period, the lacustrine population scattered from Lake Lemman to the two shores of the Lake of Constance would be of 31,875 persons. . . . If I enter into these details' (adds M. Troyon, modestly), 'it is especially with the object of inviting observations which may enable us to arrive at more complete results.'

He compares these numbers with that of the Helvetian emigration in the time of Julius Cæsar, 368,000 persons. (P. 403.)

Nor have our antiquaries shrunk from applying the same at once adventurous and logical method of inquiry to a problem of much greater interest—that of the antiquity and duration of what we have termed the stone and bronze periods in Switzerland. This they have endeavoured by the use of geological data. The following is the instance employed by M. Troyon:—

Yverdun—famous half a century ago all over the world, on account of its citizen, Pestalozzi—is built between the site of the Roman (and Gaulish) city Eburodunum and the Lake of Neufchâtel. It stands on ground gained from the lake by the alluvium of the Orbe torrent. The ridge on which Eburodunum stood is now 2,500 feet from the lake. It is presumable that it was abandoned for the modern Yverdun, in consequence of the gradual growth of this alluvium. And it seems, from evidence which M. Troyon details, that the ridge in question was still bathed by the lake about A.D. 300. If so, fifteen centuries have been required to raise a space 2,500 feet wide above the waters. Now following the same torrent of the Orbe above Eburodunum, and at 3,000 feet from that site, at the foot of a kind of island in the marsh called the Mont de Chamblon, we find rows of pileheads, indicative of the site of a village of the first period, buried several feet deep in the alluvium of the valley. There was therefore once a lacustrine village 3,000 feet from Eburodunum, and 5,500 feet from

the present lake. Now, assuming, in the absence of evidence to the contrary, that the rate of increase of the alluvium was the same before A.D. 300 as it has been since, this gives us some eighteen centuries more for the period which elapsed between the *abandonment* of this lacustrine village (on the retreating of the waters), and the era of A.D. 300 aforesaid. In other words, the abandonment in question took place 3,300 years ago; which, as it happens, agrees nearly with a similar estimate of M. Worsaae in his *North-ern Antiquities*.

These calculations are no doubt ingenious, but M. Troyon himself readily admits that they are subject to many elements of uncertainty. In fact, another observer, M. Morlot ('*Leçon d'Ouverture d'un Cours sur la Haute Antiquité, fait à l'Académie de Lausanne*,' cited by Mr. Lubbock), arrives at a different result from the same process of calculation, applied in the case of similar lacustrine vestiges found in the alluvium of the Tinière, a torrent which falls into the head of Lake Lemman at Villeneuve. The estimates obtained from his data incline M. Morlot 'on the whole, to suppose for the bronze era an antiquity of from 3,000 to 4,000 years, for the stone era of from 5,000 to 7,000 years.\*

It will be seen that nothing has as yet transpired, through these Swiss discoveries, which militates very seriously with the assumptions of those who are resolved to abide by the limit of six thousand years, assigned by popular theology as the duration of man upon the earth. But no student can honestly or consistently embark on that vast sea of inquiry which modern ethnological speculation is opening, unless he is prepared to disregard a doctrine which first assumes that Scripture is intended to teach us chronology, and then establishes, as scriptural chronology, a mere series of traditional and most imperfect deductions from Scripture.

\* We can do no more than advert in passing to the daring calculations which M. Morlot has just communicated to the Société Vaudoise des Sciences Naturelles (*Revue Suisse*, April, 1862), derived from the so-called diluvial deposits, in the valleys which open on the Lake of Geneva. 'There must have been successively a *first* glacier epoch, then a *first* diluvian epoch without large glaciers, then a *second* very long glacier epoch, then a *second* diluvian without large glaciers, and then the modern epoch . . . . The result of the whole inquiry is: a duration of a thousand centuries at least for the last geological epoch, which commenced immediately after the disappearance of the great glaciers, characterised by the presence of the Mammoth (*Elephas primigenius*), and, as it would seem, by the first appearance of man; which duration ended at the commencement of the modern epoch, which last has now continued about one hundred centuries.'

Whatever may have been the date of the subjugation or destruction of that 'Turanian,' or pre-historical people, whose existence and activity on the surface of Europe are now brought to light in so many unexpected ways, it is very certain that they must have been prior sojourners on the earth for some extensive period of time. Their works, performed with none but stone implements, are enormous; it may almost be said, more enormous in relation to the power which they wielded than the monuments of Egypt or Assyria. They possessed domesticated animals; in a few cases they tilled the ground. How many ages of stationary or slowly progressive condition do these circumstances indicate? Or, if we prefer the once popular theory of degeneracy, and believe that the inferior races of man are the deteriorated relics of an ancient and lost civilisation, then how many ages of decline must have preceded the state of timorous impotence, the diminutive figures and small bodily powers, of which these remains give evidence? And again, we have seen that the most ancient of these lacustrine people were only contemporary with our existing Fauna and Flora. The relics of the 'drift-men' discovered by M. Boucher de Perthes in the valley of the Somme, and since that time in Suffolk and elsewhere, while closely resembling those of the early lacustrines in character, are affirmed to be contemporary with those of the extinct animals of the 'Pleistocene' geological period.\* Nay, one of the latest authorities on this subject, Mr. Prestwich (in a paper read before the Royal Society in March last) is disposed to assign to them a date 'antecedent to the excavation of many of our great river valleys.' In the face of discoveries which seem to stretch farther and farther back into the night of ages,—

'Where wilds immeasurably spread  
Seem lengthening as we go,'—

it behoves us for the present to maintain at least the attitude of serious and unprejudiced expectation. And we cannot refrain from introducing here certain very instructive remarks of Professor Owen, on the remains of a human individual of a singular race, the 'Mincopies' of the Andaman Islands. We quote from a recent number of *Proceedings of the Geographical Society* :—

\* We do but touch on this highly interesting part of the subject on the present occasion for various reasons; one of which is, that we observe the announcement of an intended work on it by Sir Charles Lyell. No topic can be imagined better suited for that inductive genius, and that spirit of patient investigation, which have placed him at the head of his own class of scientific explorers.



'Professor Owen observed that the bones were those of a man to all appearance in the prime of life, who evidently did not exceed four feet ten inches in height. As to the character of the bones, he might say he never saw any, in texture, or in the development of their processes or ridges, or in any of those characteristics which indicated the complete mastery of the frame by a healthy individual, so strongly marked as in those of the little man whose skeleton he had received from Dr. Mouatt.'

After observing that he had been unable to detect in the skull of the Andamanner any of those special indications which would have induced him to conclude in favour of affinity with the Malay, Mongolian, Negro, or any other well known race of men, the Professor proceeded to make the following remarks:—

'Why should ethnologists, when they come to study the natures of an insulated group of people like the Andamanners, deem it necessary to determine to what contemporaneous people they were allied, on the assumption that they had been derived from some existing and neighbouring land? Geological science had established the fact of continuous and progressive, though extremely slow, mutation of land and sea; and had taught them that the continents of modern geography were only the last phases of these mutations. How long the human species had existed, and how far they had been contemporaneous with such mutations, were the preliminary questions which presented themselves in grappling with the problem suggested by a peculiar insular race like the Mincopies. Certain it was, that geologists had conceived that the islands on the south of the present great continent of Asia might be remnants of some antecedent very distinct group of land. . . . In confirmation of that idea, they had the result of the geological researches of Cautley, Faulkner, and others in India, which seemed to show that the Himalayas had risen, lifting up the fossiliferous beds on their present slopes, within comparatively recent geological time, proving that India had been the site of one of the latest of those great upheaving forces that resulted in the formation of new continents. Was it not possible, then, that the Andamanners might have come from *nowhere*—that is to say, from no actual contiguous and separate land, but might be the representatives of an old race, belonging to a former continent that had almost disappeared?'

Leaving, for the present, this great enigma in the hands of those who, in various countries, are eagerly employed in seeking its solution, let us conclude by directing our attention from the opening to the conclusion of the long lacustrine history. We seem able to connect our lake-dwellers, *a parte antè*, in scholastic language, with those races of men of which there is geological record only. *A parte post*, we can connect them by fair reasoning with times absolutely recent,

and show the latest of their primeval erections shattered by modern artillery. This connexion is to be traced through the history of the Irish 'crannoges,' or lacustrine fortresses on small stockaded islands; a very curious chapter in archaeology, and one which has been developed almost simultaneously with the recent discoveries in Switzerland.

These 'crannoges' have of late attracted the attention of several antiquaries, and, in particular, of Dr. Wilde, Secretary of Foreign Correspondence to the Royal Irish Academy, and of Mr. Digby Wyatt, the distinguished architect. They are thus described by the former gentleman, in his 'Catalogue of the Antiquities in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy' (1857):—

'In most districts in which these islands were found, several small lakes are clustered together. They are not, strictly speaking, artificial islands, but *chrans*: small islets, or shallows, of clay and marl in these lakes, which were probably dry in summer time, but submerged in winter. These were enlarged and fortified by piles of oaken timber, and in some cases by stone work. A few were approached by moles or causeways; but generally speaking, they were completely insulated, and only accessible by boat; and it is notable that in almost every instance an ancient canoe was discovered in connexion with the *crannoge*. Being thus insulated, they afforded secure places of retreat from the attacks of enemies, or were the fastnesses of predatory chiefs or robbers, to which might be conveyed the booty of a marauding excursion, or the produce of a cattle raid. . . . It is manifest, from the quantity, age, and variety of the antiquities discovered in these 'crannoges,' that they had been long occupied. We likewise learn from their recent submerged condition, how much water had accumulated on the face of the country since their construction, probably owing to the great decrease of forest timber, and the increased growth of bog. From the additions made to the height of stockades, and also from the traces of fire discovered at different elevations in the sections made of these islands, it may be inferred that the rise of the waters commenced during the period of their occupation.'

The following is the general description of these 'crannoges,' given by the engineers of the Board of Works:—

'They are surrounded by stockades driven in a circle from sixty to eighty feet in diameter; but in some cases the inclosure is larger, and oval in shape. The stakes of these are generally of oak, mostly of young trees, from four to nine inches broad, usually in a single row, but sometimes in double, and in a few instances in treble. The portions of these stakes remaining in the ground generally bear the marks of the hatchet by which they were felled. Several feet of these piles must have originally projected

above the water, and were probably interlaced with horizontal branches, so as to form a screen or breastwork. The surface within the rounded enclosure is sometimes covered over with a layer of round logs cut into lengths of from four to six feet, over which was placed more or less stones, clay, or gravel. In some instances, this platform is confined to a portion of the island. Besides these, pieces of oak framing, with mortises and cheeks cut in them, have been found within the circle of the outer work. In almost every case, a collection of flat stones was discovered near the centre of the inclosure, apparently serving for a hearth; in some instances two or three such hearths were discovered at different points of the crannoge. . . . Considerable quantities of the bones of black cattle, deer, and swine, were also discovered upon or round the island.' (*Wilde's Descriptive Catalogue*, p. 224.)

At least fifty or sixty of these 'crannoges,' or rather of the foundations which mark their site, have now been disinterred, chiefly in the small lakes of the north of Ireland. It will be seen at once that they have only a slight resemblance to the 'Pfahlbauten' of Switzerland in their style of construction. The Swiss lake-dweller lived, generally speaking, in deeper waters; and, instead of filling these, raised over them a platform on piles. The native of Ireland chose a spot in some shallow mere, or a compound of unreclaimed swamp and water, raised the site with stones or earth, and surrounded it with wattle or timber fences. And the Swiss constructions may be thought to have served primarily the purpose of habitation; the Irish that of refuge or defence. Nevertheless, the analogies are, on the whole, more remarkable than the differences. In some shallow Swiss waters, indeed, the villages seem to have approximated to the 'crannoge' in actual character, of which there are instances at Steinberg, in the Lake of Biel, and in the little lake of Inkwyl. Some Irish 'crannoges,' on the other hand, are spacious enough for the site of villages. And, like the Swiss Pfahlbauten, they furnish to the digger great quantities of articles, not warlike only, but including household implements and personal ornaments. These, however, testify to a somewhat later period than the Swiss. The animal remains are said to be all of domestic kinds; some of a very fine race of short-horned oxen; some having the mark of slaughtering in the modern fashion, by the blow of an axe. Stone weapons and tools, so common in the Swiss lakes, are rare in Ireland. Bronze is also rare; iron and bone the principal material used. Articles of gold, occasional among the Swiss relics of the supposed primitive races, very common among the

Scandinavian, have not been as yet discovered among the Irish.

The 'crannoges' are therefore more recent than the 'Pfahlbauten,' as far as existing knowledge enables us to judge. But at whatever period the use of them may have commenced, we know, at all events, that it is coeval with the earliest historical records of the Irish population. Dr. Wilde has traced a continuous series of notices respecting them, in chronicles, from the ninth century after Christ down to the seventeenth. The earliest discovered and examined 'crannoge,' in modern times—that of Lagore, near Duns- haughlin, in Meath, of which the remains present 'a huge circular mound of 520 feet in circumference,' whence above 150 cart-loads of bones of oxen, horses, and other animals, together with 'a vast collection of antiquities, warlike, culinary, personal, and ornamental, of stone, wood, bronze and iron,' have been drawn—happens to be also the earliest to which historical allusion has been found. In the old translation of the Annals of Ulster, we are told that Cineadh, son of Conairg, 'brake down the island of Loch Gavan (Lagore) to the very bottom,' A.D. 848. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, we have repeated accounts of onslaughts by one native chief on the 'crannoge' of another. The map of the escheated territories, or 'Platt of the county of Monaghan,' 1591, contains rough sketches of the dwellings of the petty chiefs of Monaghan, which are in all cases surrounded by water. 'The crannoge,' says Mr. Shirley (Account of the Territory or Dominion of Farney), 'was the universal system of defence in the north of Ireland.' Thus, one Thomas Phettilplace, in his answer to an inquiry from the Government, as to 'what castles or forts O'Neil hath, and of what strength they be,' states (May 15. 1567), 'In castles, I think it be not unknown to your honours, he trusteth no point thereunto for his safety, as appeareth by the rasing of the strongest castles of his dominion; and that fortification that he only dependeth on, is in *sartin fresh-water loghes* in his country, which from the sea there come neither ship nor boat to approach them. It is thought that there, in the said fortified islands, lyeth all his plate, which is much, and money, prisoners, and gages.' In the Ulster Inquisition of 1605, many spots described as 'insulæ fortificatæ,' are noticed as then existing. And, finally, the latest and one of the most curious accounts of a 'crannoge,' as still subsisting, and used for defensive purposes, is to be found in the chronicles of the Great Rebellion. We quote from the 'Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy,' vol. vii. p. 158.

'Loughinsholin is a small lake in the south of the county of Londonderry. It was so called from Inis Ua Fhloinn, or O'Lynn's Island, a small stockaded island, situate near its eastern margin. . . The island has been dismantled of its oak piles, and is now reduced to an unseemly bank, overgrown with reeds and rushes. Concerning this island the following notices are obtained from Friar Mollan's Irish Journal of the Rebellion of 1642:—

"1643. Aug. 25. Inis O'Linn was garrisoned by Shane O'Hagan. The enemy came and called on them to surrender, which they refused to do. They then stopped up a stream which ran out of the lake, and turned the course of another into it, so that they continued to flood the island. The garrison kept watch in the island house, and one of their men was killed by a cannon ball while on watch. However they refused to surrender the island on any terms. The enemy at length departed.

"1645. March 7. The people of O'Hagan burned Inis O'Lynn, for want of provisions, and followed the general eastward."

And with their departure ended the long and curious chapter in the history of the European race. We close our own slight sketch of it with a strong impression that, notwithstanding all the industry, and the very ingenious reasoning, which our guides have expended in its investigation, they have as yet done little more than excite instead of satisfying curiosity. The field has been scarcely opened. Already indications are mentioned, by M. Ferdinand Keller, of discoveries in the Italian lakes of the same kind with those made in the Swiss.\* The waters of France and other countries, in particular the Loire, Rhone, and Garonne, whose courses were pointed out by M. Worsaae long ago as probable lines of migration of the primeval races—have yet to be thoroughly interrogated, and made to discover their secrets. The many caverns and recesses of the earth, used for similar purposes of security, have, as yet, been only very partially made to give up their deposits. And, without prejudging the results of future inquiry, it may, perhaps, be conjectured that the farther it is carried, the more probable it is that the sharp and definite generalisations hitherto made will be somewhat invalidated. Such is, at least, the ordinary course of scientific inquiry. We are all aware how that rigidly marked order of superposition, in the strata of the earth's surface, which early geologists erected almost into a creed, has melted away before closer investigation into a series of transitions from one to another. In the same manner, it is

somewhat difficult to believe that our ages of bronze, stone, and iron will preserve that clearness of difference which M. Troyon and his fellow-labourers seek to establish, when a more thorough examination of analogous phenomena has been achieved. But, whatever modification may thus be introduced into the conclusions now suggested, the world will remain not the less indebted to those recent inquirers, whose labours have opened a large and deeply interesting field of inquiry in its early history.

ART. VI.—1. *Aus Vier Jahrhunderten. Mittheilungen aus dem Haupt-Staatsarchive zu Dresden, von (Out of four Centuries. Selections from the Chief State Archives at Dresden. By) Dr. KARL VON WEBER, Ministerialrath, Director des Haupt-Staatsarchives.* Two volumes. Leipzig: 1857.

2. *Aus Vier Jahrhunderten, &c., &c.* Neue Folge. 1861.

THE author of this compilation is one of those zealous public functionaries whom it would be both cruel and impolitic to check by Talleyrand's famous injunction against zeal. Public loss as well as private mortification would be the result. Instead of dozing over the miscellaneous and multitudinous heaps of parchments and papers confided to him in 1849 as Director of the State Archives of Saxony, or pocketing occasional fees for extracts, Dr. Karl von Weber set about examining and selecting from them; and from the description he gives of his treasures we should say that few antiquarians have undertaken a more appalling task.

The State Record-office of Dresden, established in 1834, contains (he tells us) besides a great number of original records, about 300,000 reports or documents (*Actenstücke*) out of the repositories of more than fifty dissolved or expired provincial jurisdictions, commissions, embassies, &c. It also possesses an inexhaustible mine for history, in the shape of letters to and from members of the ruling family, high officials, and other influential persons. If, for example, in earlier times there died any one directly or indirectly connected with the local or central administration, it was customary to despatch a commissary to the house of mourning, to take possession of all writings belonging to the State: and if he chanced to be of an anxious turn of mind, he laid hands on all the written paper that met his eye. The sorting and sifting were postponed, or reserved for

\* We are told that piles very similar to those of the Swiss lakes were discovered in draining a mere at Wretham, in Norfolk, some years ago, together with deer's horns. Unluckily attention had not at that time been called to the subject.

some superior, by whom the papers were commonly laid aside and forgotten. 'The State Office has inherited in this fashion a vast quantity of private papers, unpaid tailors' bills inclusive, which are now only fit for the paper mill; but mixed up with them have frequently been found interesting letters and confidential communications concerning events which were kept strictly secret in their day, many which were not even trusted to official reports necessarily circulating through many hands.' A tailor's bill, paid or unpaid, may be turned to good account by a biographer; witness the curious illustration of the circumstances and habits of Goldsmith drawn by Mr. Foster from the bills of Filby of Fetter Lane, the maker of the famous peach-coloured coat; and many of Lord Macaulay's most striking remarks on characters and events are based on scraps and remnants, which a writer of less discernment would have passed unnoticed on a stall.

When Dr. Weber had completed his selection of materials, the next step was to compound them into a book, 'at the earnest request of friends.' The encouragement given to the first specimen naturally led to a second; and the result is a collection which may often be consulted with advantage, whether the object be to verify a disputed point in history, to throw light on manners, to gratify a taste for the wonderful, or to find new proofs of the old adage that truth is stranger than fiction.

It matters little with which volume or class of subjects we begin. Extracting at random from such a book is like dipping into the kettle of Camacho. The ladle is pretty sure to contain something racy and appetising. We alight, for example, on an article headed 'A Journey to Milan in 1571,' an expedition set on foot by Augustus, Elector of Saxony, with the laudable object of promoting industrial enterprise. With this view Bartholomew Rabozot and Jacob Dunus, natives of Ticino, were commissioned to institute such inquiries and make such purchases in Italy as might facilitate the establishment of the silk and velvet manufactures in Saxony. The sum to be laid out by them was 5000 florins, with which they purchased thirty-five horses at Frankfort, expecting to realise a handsome profit by reselling them in the South. Unfortunately they got no further than Milan, where religious bigotry put a decisive stop to all hopes of international barter; Milan being at that time an appanage of the Spanish crown with a cardinal for governor. Rabozot, who, on his arrival, was more afraid of horsestealers than priests, was reposing booted and spurred in the stable with his stud, when he was suddenly roused

at midnight and carried off to a place of confinement with six of his grooms. Early the next morning he was brought before the cardinal-governor, who handed him over to the tender mercies of the Holy Office. After lying forty-eight hours in a dark cell, he was visited by the Inquisitor and examined as to some fifty heads of doctrine or belief, with a most unreasonable disregard to his own personal faith or means of knowledge. For example: What was the Elector of Saxony's religious creed? Was his highness a Lutheran heretic or not? whether he himself held that belief? to which last question he replied affirmatively. He was next asked whether he attended mass, and on his replying that he had his affairs to look after, they told him that, if he had traded ten years in their country and neglected the mass, he was a child of Satan. 'Whether he had brought any Lutheran letters or books with him?' 'No.' 'Whether he had eaten flesh at forbidden times?' 'No, for the very sufficient reason that no one there would give him any;' to which they rejoined that there were innkeepers who would give him 'his crop-full of what he asked for.' Secondly, 'Whether he had spoken ill of the priests whom he had met in the streets or elsewhere?' 'No.' 'Whether he had thought evil of them? and what was his opinion of the mass?'

The last question was a poser, and he did his best to evade it by appealing to his former professions, but the inquisitors were not to be put off in this fashion, and they remanded him with the ominous warning that they would find a mode of getting what they wanted out of him. The next day they hung heavy weights on his feet, and told him he must confess or be torn in two, and especially declare whether he deemed the mass good or not. On being lifted from the ground he cried out that he must speak on compulsion, and said that, as to his opinion of the mass, he had never tried nor witnessed it, and therefore did not know whether it was good or bad. They then drew him up again, and the chief official gave him many hard words, to which he replied boldly: 'If we were alone together, you would not dare to talk thus, and although I am now in your power, and must suffer all you choose to inflict, the time may come when I shall be notably revenged.' 'By whom?' they scoffingly asked. 'By the Swiss?' 'They would take good care not to meddle. Who would put themselves against the Pope and King Philip, who had upheld the Inquisition.' This last speech was accompanied by an indecent gesture of contempt. They kept him suspended in the air two hours longer, to the best of his reckoning, for he fainted and does not know when

he was let down. He lay sixteen days in prison, much weakened by spitting of blood and fainting fits, before he was permitted to return to his hotel, from whence he at length managed, probably by the connivance of the authorities, to escape across the border and return to lay his complaint before the Elector.

After setting forth his pecuniary losses and bodily sufferings, he petitioned to be remunerated for the former in cash, and to be compensated for the latter by subjecting to the same mode of treatment which he had undergone at Milan, all Milanese or others concerned in the affair who should be apprehended in Saxony or other parts of Germany. And he especially prays that, as Milanese may not be found in his Highness's dominions, letters might be addressed to the Palatine and Landgraves, requiring them, should the Milanese in question, most particularly certain Milanese horsedealers from Frankfurt who were suspected of betraying him, pass through their States, to arrest them bodily with their goods and belongings. The Elector, after vainly trying to obtain satisfaction for his emissary by regular means, issued letters of mark and reprisal authorising Rabozot, 'should he meet with these or any other Milanese, to throw them into prison, so that Rabozot's bodily pains and many losses might be made good to him by them.' Whether he was fortunate enough to encounter them, or in what form he retaliated, is not stated in the record.

We are wont to laugh at the blundering indignation of the Irishman who knocked a man down in Covent Garden because he himself had been knocked down by another in Drury Lane; yet it is hardly a caricature of the received mode of obtaining redress for real or fancied injuries, over a large part of Europe little more than a century ago. The heirs of Urban Ulrich a Saxon had a claim of 600 florins on the town of Eisleben, which remained unpaid after repeated demands. Thereupon the Elector issued a command to the mayor of Leipzig to summon before him the burgesses and traders of Eisleben attending the Christmas fair, lay the matter in detail before them so that they might communicate it to their fellow towns-men, and notify to them that if the debt was not discharged by the ensuing Easter fair, disagreeable consequences might ensue. This intimation proving fruitless, the mayor, on the eve of the Easter fair, was further commissioned to take summary measures against the bodies, goods, and belongings of the Eislebeners whom he should encounter within or without the fair, and so compel payment of the debt.

It is a common belief that local and family feuds were carried to the highest and most

mischievous pitch in Corsica, but Dr. Weber heaps case upon case to show that German revenge frequently led to results as disastrous and widespread as the *vendetta*; nor was the assumed privilege of private war confined to the noble or the great. Anthony Birnstiel, a carrier by trade, was indebted to Christopher Schnee, who, not choosing to rely on the uncertain and tedious process of the law, stopped Birnstiel's team on the highway and carried off the horses as a pledge. Failing, as he afterwards alleged, to obtain legal redress, although it is far from clear that he applied for it, Birnstiel declared war against the entire township of Geyer in which Schnee lived as an ordinary member of the community, and repaired to the nearest district of Bohemia to levy troops. He there fell in with a countryman, a Saxon cattle driver, who had just begun a similar feud with a Bohemian noble by burning down his farmhouses. With the co-operation of this ally, Birnstiel managed to get together a formidable band, with which, preceded by drums and trumpets, he marched across the borders and beleaguered Geyer so closely that no one could go in or out without being stopped and laid under contribution by his gang. The mayor or chief magistrate of the district pressed the Duke—not to punish the violators of the public peace, but—to bring about a conciliation between the parties, which Schnee declined under an apprehension that he might be compelled to make good the damage done and repay the money extorted by Birnstiel; so this system of organised robbery continued over a space of four years, namely from 1539 to 1543, when the record suddenly breaks off, and we are left in ignorance whether Birnstiel succeeded in his enterprise or was hanged.

The following narrative illustrates the wild notions that prevailed in one of the principal seats of the Reformed faith at a time, 1568, when we should have thought true religion had begun to exercise its healing influences. Salzman, judge (Richter) of Canitz, wished to marry his deceased wife's brother's daughter, which the German Consistory then deemed illegal and anti-christian for reasons which a majority of the English bishops still think unanswerable. On the refusal of the parson of Thallwitz, the parish in which Canitz was situate, to bestow the marriage blessing, the lovesick and irritated judge formally proclaimed feud against the parson and all the villages and hamlets comprised in his cure. A band of supporters was easily got together, and the parishioners had no alternative but to keep watch and ward night and day to protect their persons and property from being burned by the magis-

trate. They contrived to take captive one of the most formidable of his retainers, Pegenau by name, a truculent-looking scoundrel, who could speak German, Bohemian, and a little Latin, besides several provincial dialects, wore a hood and trunkbosc of scarlet lined with green, which he could wear inside-out on occasions, and was famous for the murders and robberies he had committed, and the many pregnant women he had ripped up—the hands of unborn children being highly prized for amulets. This worthy readily proffered to turn king's evidence against another by whom he alleged he had been hired to shoot the Elector, receiving along with his instructions a powder which he was to swallow as soon as he had perpetrated the deed. It was warranted to make him invisible, but Pegenau, distrusting its efficacy, gave it to a dog, who died howling before his eyes. The record ends with the sentence of death passed on him, and we learn no more about the feud. Indeed there is something extremely tantalising in Dr. Weber's communications, although their incompleteness is an evidence of their authenticity so far as they go.

The practice of resorting to reprisals for redress lasted till far into the eighteenth century, and was especially congenial to the temper of Mr. Carlyle's pattern monarch, Frederic William, whose inordinate passion for giants was constantly engaging him in discreditable broils. The audacity of his recruiting officers or crimps, stimulated by high rewards and severe threats, grew to such a height that no country in Europe was safe from outrage, and it was found necessary to make an example of some of them. Two were shot, and a third hanged, in Maestricht, in 1733. Frederic William retaliated by arresting several officers of the Low Countries who chanced to be in his dominions, and by demanding 250,000 dollars from the Dutch Commissaries in Königsberg, under a threat of levying contributions on the warehouses belonging to the Dutch. This difference was arranged; but, six years afterwards, a Prussian officer, taken in the mainour, was hanged at Liège, in full uniform, with the Order of Merit round his neck.

The Prussian ambassador at the English Court, M. de Bork, had contrived, by force or fraud, to export a good many subjects of his Britannic Majesty, which was the more irritating because, as is well known, his master and George II. cordially hated each other, and were with difficulty prevented from fighting a duel, for which the preliminary arrangements had actually been made. Whilst de Bork was absent on leave, the English Government took the opportunity to request

that he might be replaced, as in case of his return he would be exposed to ill-treatment from the mob. The King of Prussia refused to recall him, and accompanied the refusal with an intimation that whatever was done to the Prussian minister in London should be done to the English minister in Berlin.

A tall tenant of the Circensian Abbey of Paradies, in Poland, had long been watched with desiring eyes by the Prussian crimps. Aware of his danger, he never ventured across the boundary, and frequently shifted his night quarters. It was shrewdly guessed, however, that he would remain at home during the confinement of his wife; and, on the occurrence of this event, a recruiting party broke into his house, found the couple in bed together, and immediately proceeded to bind and carry him off. In the darkness and confusion, instead of tying his legs, as they intended, they fastened one of his legs to one of his wife's, and pulled her out of bed along with him. She died from fright and exhaustion; but this trifling mishap was disregarded by the captors, who bore off their prize exultingly, turning a deaf ear to the moans of the dying woman and the despairing cries of her bereaved helpmate. The Abbot of Paradies claimed his liegeman. The Prussians held him fast, and the abbot, a true member of the Church militant, seized, as hostages, several traders from the Prussian town of Züllichan, who were attending a market near the abbey, and, to the demand for their restitution, gallantly replied that he would keep them until his tall farmer was released. The result is graphically described in a magisterial report.

On the 21st of March, 1740, at six in the morning, a company of musqueteers and a troop of hussars, reinforced by a number of townsmen from Züllichan, about 400 in all, appeared before the abbey-gate, with wagons laden with grenades, scaling-ladders, and other munitions of war. Prior to the assault, they were formed in three divisions—one to attack the convent outwork, one the hospital-gate, and the third to act as a corps of observation and reserve. The monks opposed only a passive resistance, and breaches were speedily effected with levers and axes. Father Deodatus, the first monk who encountered the enemy, received a sabre-cut in the head. Father Amadeus, besides having his ears boxed, was thrown into agonies of fear by a sabre drawn backwards and forwards under his nose, and compelled to act as guide to the abbey, which was speedily cleared of all its valuables, sacred and profane. The prior, who, like Prior Enstace in the 'Monastery,' took the post of danger properly appertaining to his superior, ven-

tured to demand their business, and ran imminent risk of being sabred and bayoneted for his pains. A hussar aimed a blow at him, which was providentially intercepted by a vine-branch. The monks were assembled in the church, to celebrate a religious feast, the saint day of St. Benedict. The assailants mingled with the congregation; and after vainly calling for the prior, who had wisely withdrawn, proceeded to cuff, kick, and push about the monks, vowing that, if any defence were attempted, they would set fire to the cloisters. Much to the relief of the pious sufferers, the trumpets at length sounded the retreat. The concluding demand of the commander was a florin for each of his people, by way of remuneration for the fatigue they had undergone; but he was obliged to rest satisfied with an assurance that there was no money in the establishment. At last the troops marched off, to the cry of 'Victory! See what the Brandenburgers are capable of!' to which the hussar captain added, 'If you try reprisals again, we shall pay you a second visit.'

Another inroad of three hundred Prussians into Poland, for a similar purpose, did not turn out quite so well for the Brandenburgers. They were driven back in confusion; and the Russian ambassador notified the intention of his government to resent any future invasion of the kind. On hearing this, the King flung a dish, with all its contents, at the head of the officer who had planned the assault of the abbey.

It will be remembered that Mr. Carlyle invites us to pity 'a man of genius' mounted on his hobby, and makes the 'poetic temperament' answerable for the aberrations of a despot who had no one quality of genius but its wilfulness—who was the most essentially prosaic and stupidly practical of human beings—who understood no argument but force—who used no instrument of persuasion but the cudgel—whose administration of justice resembled that of the Tartar monarch who caused the stomach of a wretch to be ripped open, to see if the stolen milk was in it—and whose economy, financial and political, was that of the savage who cuts down the tree to get at the fruit. Unlike the wordy commonplace absurdities of his contemporary and countryman, Sir Archibald Alison, Mr. Carlyle's paradoxes exercise a widespread and baleful influence on many of the most promising of the rising generation in both hemispheres, who reverence him as a prophet. We were, therefore, not sorry to find in the book before us some new and curious illustrations of his fallibility, in the shape of detailed and decided proofs that what he would fain pass off as the incidental

caprices or weaknesses of his patriot-king formed, in fact, the very staple of the character. The greater part of them have been derived from the despatches of the Count de Manteuffel, Saxon Minister at Berlin, who was in the habit of transmitting to his Court reports resembling those which were regularly required by the Venetian republic, in its palmy days, from its ambassadors. An English minister at the Court of Berlin at a somewhat later period, whose credit for priority of information was at stake, took the bold and self-sacrificing step of making love to the unattractive wife of a colleague who had access to her husband's cabinet. The Count de Manteuffel was not a whit more scrupulous in his sources of information; and so long as the tobacco-parliaments lasted, he experienced little difficulty in ascertaining what was said or done at its sittings, or elsewhere, by its royal president.

The extravagance of Frederic William's passion for giants very far exceeds the popular estimate of it, based on three or four good stories which many believe to be apocryphal. He procured, through his emissaries, a registry of all the tall men in Saxony, and was constantly intriguing or conspiring for the legal or illegal possession of some of them. Dr. Weber prints the heads of a contract for the exchange of various rarities and objects of art, to be selected from the Prussian museums, for tall fellows (*lange Kerls*). He enumerates a collection of medals; statues of Diana, Priapus, and Momus; an equestrian statue; a bronze of St. George, and rare skins from the Indies; the whole valued at 500,000 dollars. The tall Saxons were put down by the Prussian negotiator at the low figure of 300 dollars a head, which so disgusted the Saxon agent that he broke off the bargain. Marshal von Flemming sold the King two recruits for a sum of money and 'the pardon of M. de Sparfeld.' The King of Denmark, after vainly demanding, upon the faith of treaties and international law, the extradition of a criminal (Prætorius, who had murdered Count Christian von Rantzen), bought him for a dozen tall men. The Bishop of Wilna, a Polish refugee, had procured a safe-conduct by a promise of giants, which he failed to supply. He was consequently detained at Tilsit; and the Count de Manteuffel, when requested to intercede for him, writes:—

'Je m'emploierois volontiers pour son élargissement s'il était accusé d'avoir voulu p. e. détrôner le Roi de Prusse ou attenter à sa vie, mais que de parler pour quelqu'un qui a promis des grands hommes, ce seroit m'exposer à tout qui pourroit m'arriver de fâcheux sans la moindre espérance de réussir.'



The commanders of companies were often placed in the most embarrassing dilemma, for the King required them to have 'lange Kerls,' and if possible foreigners, on the right flank. If they were found wanting, cassation (breaking) and Spandau was the word. In November, 1739, a major was sent to Spandau for six years for having no tall foreign recruits. In the preceding June two majors were broken in front of their regiments for no other assignable delinquency. One of them, Thatt, had already spent 10,000 dollars, probably his whole fortune, in tall recruits. A foreign fogleman, who had cost his captain 1500 dollars, got drunk, fell from a bridge into the Spree, and was drowned. The captain complained to the King, alleging that the loss had arisen through the negligence of the bridge superintendent, who should have seen to the security of the balustrade. His Majesty took this view of the question, and quartered a subaltern with six men on the superintendent till he replaced the soldier or compensated the captain.

A rich merchant of Amsterdam had relatives in Prussia, whom, not being on good terms with them, he declared his intention to cut off with a shilling on his decease. The relatives applied to the King, and promised him a number of 'grosse Kerls,' if he would send their wealthy cousin to Spandau for life. The proposition was favourably received: and the Amsterdam cousin, lured into Prussia on some pretence or another, was seized and sent to Spandau, where he remained till the King's death.

His Majesty's notions of justice were equally under the influence of the 'poetic temperament' when he was not mounted on his favourite hobby. On August 22, 1736, he was walking in the garden smoking his pipe, when there appeared before him the wife of a hautboy-player, named Fischbach, to complain of her husband for adultery with a girl. The accused was confronted with her, and a scene of rude altercation ensued; in the course of which he admitted his intimacy with the girl, but denied its criminality, as well as all knowledge of what had become of her. On the assertion of the wife that their son, fourteen years old, was privy to the father's infidelity and the place of concealment of the girl, the lad was sent for and examined. A storm arising during the inquiry, the King, instead of adjourning it within doors, ordered a tent to be pitched. The son was as obstinate or honestly ignorant as the father, and two buffoon attendants of the King tried to make him speak by caning him, which simply had the common effect of torture in inducing him to heap story upon story to obtain momentary relief.

His tormenters did not give over till he was nearer dead than alive with pain and terror. Determined not to be baffled, the Prussian Solon caused Fischbach to be brought before him again, and as he still refused to give information against his supposed paramour, four non-commissioned officers were ordered to cudgel him, which they did with such severity that, adds an eyewitness, Manteuffel, 'it was a wonder he survived.' He never uttered a syllable, preferring to die under the cane than betray his beloved.' The concluding words of the report are remarkable:—

*'J'avoue que cette exécution m'a inspiré une terreur dont je ne suis pas encore revenu: l'opiniâtreté du hautbois et de son fils m'a frappé, mais moins que la tranquillité avec laquelle on voyait tourmenter ces malheureux.'*

The courtiers of Frederic William had seen too many of such exhibitions to be shocked by them.\*

A man accused his wife of adultery with a state councillor, and demanded a divorce, but as he produced no proof, his demand was rejected, and his wife was acquitted by the criminal court. The plaintiff went straight to the King, who, on his own mere motion, drew up a judgment the very opposite of that given by the tribunal, adding: 'this judgment is much more just than that fools' judgment.' He then summoned the complainant and the councillor, and when both were come, asked the first, 'Is that your man?' on his answering 'Yes,' 'Then give him,'

\* 'A just man, I say, and a valiant and veracious.' (Carlyle, vol. i. p. 406.) Here is one of his own examples of justice:—'Doris Ritter, a comely enough good girl, nothing of a beauty, but given to music, Potsdam Cantors (Precentor's) daughter, has chanced to be standing in the door perhaps to be singing within doors once or twice, when the Prince passed that way. Prince inquired about her music, gave her music, spoke a civility as young men will,—nothing more upon my honour; though His Majesty believes there was much more, and condemns poor Doris to be whipt by the beadle, and beat hemp for three years. Rhadamantus is a strict judge, your Majesty, and might be a trifle better informed.' (Vol. ii. p. 277.) Now for veracity. Frederic William, obliged to provide horses and travelling accommodation for the Czar Peter, writes to the postmaster:—'Observe, you contrive to do it for 6,000 thalers: won't allow you one other penny; but you are to give out in the world that it costs me from 80 to 50,000.' Mr. Carlyle's comment on this combination of meanness, falsehood, and tyranny runs thus:—'So that here is the Majesty of Russia, who beyond all men abhors lies, giving orders to tell one—alas, yes, a kind of lie or fib (white fib or even gray), the pinch of thrift compelling. But what a window into the artless inner-man of His Majesty, even that gray fib,—not done by oneself, but ordered to be done by the servant, as if that were cheaper.' (Vol. i. p. 424.)

exclaimed the King, 'a couple of boxes on the ear! the scoundrel shall marry the strumpet!' The boxes on the ear were duly administered, but the wedding, which was to take place the next day by royal command, could not be completed, because the councillor had made his escape during the night.

In another case in which the Consistory refused a divorce on the demand of the husband, the King wrote upon the margin of the record: 'It is quite clear that there are some gallants in the Consistory: I hope your wives will make cuckolds of you; and, complain as you will, you shall certainly keep them.'

An impudent and roguish adventurer, named Echhard, who had got possession of the royal ear by flattery, was named war and revenue councillor, received a patent of nobility and a decoration. The Electorate Chamber ventured a respectful protest, and was thus addressed: 'The high, praiseworthy Chamber is entreated to let alone reasoning, and not to meddle with the honourable Echhard, or We shall come and in our own person undertake the presidency of the Chamber with a good cudgel.' There was a pictorial postscript from the royal pen or pencil, representing a gallows with a man hanging, and underwritten, 'The well-merited reward of the Electorate Chamber.' The King afterwards assigned Echhard a palace for his residence, and ordered the Academy of Science to frame an inscription, with the words, 'This is the reward of true service, *poliment tournés selon les règles de l'art*;' which recalls the scene in Molière where M. Jourdain desires his language-master to compose a billet-doux, by an eloquent amplification of '*Belle Marquise, vos beaux yeux me font mourir d'amour*.' The Academy demurred, or the King was not satisfied, for a motto of his own composition was set up: 'Thus is Truth rewarded;' and the night following a gallows was added immediately above the motto.

One of Echhard's schemes was to enrich the royal treasury by speculations in grain. He told the King that complaints were made of the want of a market for corn in Prussia, and advised him to buy up all the corn, have it carried to Berlin, forbid importations from neighbouring countries, and sell the contents of his granaries as dearly as he could. No sooner said than done; and a rise of price, causing great privation, was the result. The Crown Prince on his way from Rheinsberg, not far from the Mecklenburgh boundary, met fourteen waggons laden with corn. On asking the drivers where they were going, he learnt that they were returning home after having been refused entrance into

Prussia. He ordered them to turn back and unload their corn, which he purchased from them, and sold to the people at the market price, being less than half of that for which the King was then selling it. Mr. Carlyle is probably of opinion that this was enlightened economy, and would be prepared to rank this Prussian Empson with Turgot, Colbert, Stein, or Hardenberg.\* One of the first acts of Frederic the Great on his accession was to remove the restriction and throw open the magazines.

Frederick William employed knaves like Echhard knowingly and systematically. On being told after Grumkow's death, that some man of position and acknowledged merit should be named to a vacant post, he replied:—'You know nothing about the matter; I know from experience that people of position and merit are not fit for business. They intrench themselves behind their point of honour, when they do not choose to obey my commands. If these are not what they think right and reasonable, they make objections and take it ill when I tell them to get away with them. This does not suit me, and for the future I prefer taking "Kläffer" (yelping dogs) whom one can order about without their being sulky, who must do whatever I wish without reasoning.'

The selection of a public servant was by no means the sole occasion on which his practice and theory corresponded; thereby showing that his departures from the right path were rather the rule than the exception. In the course of a conversation in July 1734, at which some members of the diplomatic body were present besides his ministers, the binding force of treaties was discussed, and the King observed, with more frankness than discretion, that no sooner was one made than the parties began thinking of the best means of breaking it. This colloquy ensued:—

'*The King*.—Count Manteuffel, you know what treaties are: say honestly, is a single one ever made with the intention of keeping it?

'*Manteuffel*.—Your Majesty is joking when you ask such a question. The prior question would be, whether great rulers are honest men, and are anxious to be esteemed as such. How could they pass for such, if they did not hold to truth and faith?

'*The King*.—That is all true enough; but what treaties are observed? I know none.

'*Manteuffel*.—I know many. Your Majesty has made all your treaties with the intention of keeping them, and you do keep them in fact.

'*The King*.—Yes; I have always had the intention; but I have not always abided by it. It pains me; but I must own as much.'

\* 'That he (the King) understood National Economics, has now become very certain.' (*Carlyle*, vol. i. p. 408.)

He then related to the whole company that, in the times of the Czar Peter the First, he had solemnly promised never to abandon him, and never to make peace with Sweden without him, which he had, notwithstanding, done.

"Was that right?" he continued. "I do not think so; but it was done. I held out a long time. I worked myself into a fever about it; but what could I do? My rogues"—the chief of whom was present—"plagued me so. Kniplausen would not leave me a moment's peace: I must sign. I might assent or dissent; and I ended by signing. This was a downright fraud."

This, taken altogether, may be deemed one of the most creditable traits recorded of him, although it would reflect no great amount of credit on an ordinary ruler.

Johnson praises Frederick the Great for so accurate an acquaintance with his cellar as to be able to tell where a bottle of any given wine was to be found. He may have inherited or learnt this curious qualification for kingcraft, if he really possessed it, from his father, whose minute attention to the expenses of his household was one of the peculiar features of his character. He kept the Queen and Princesses on such short commons that they would have been in danger of perishing by inanition had not the Crown Prince surreptitiously added two dishes daily to their dinner. The cook was forbidden to render the slightest addition to their bill of fare under penalty of the gallows, and the written order to this effect concluded: 'This order is to be obeyed after my death.' One day, after remaining some time sunk in thought, he suddenly addressed the Queen: 'Sophy, what is the price of eggs?' On her confessing her ignorance, he flew into a passion; and told her that after his death she would die on a dunghill because she attended to nothing. He then sent for some kitchen-maids, examined them about all sorts of household trifles, and bade them sweep out the apartment in his and the Queen's presence, 'that the Queen might learn how it was done.'

Till 1738 the sum of eight dollars was allowed for the royal table. Early in that year he was put out of humour by the desertion of sundry giants, and the conviction coming upon him that he was plundered by his cooks, he reduced the allowance to seven dollars and a half, and issued two fresh decrees: 1. For the banishment of all turnspits and kitchen helps, as a race good only for stealing the eatables and making the cooks lazy; 2. To prohibit, under the penalty of the gallows, any tasting by the cooks, because, under the pretence of tasting, they levied a heavy toll

on the dishes. This proves that his Majesty was not a gourmand, for the editor of the famous 'Almanach' lays down that the forefinger of a good cook should travel unceasingly from his saucepans to his tongue, and suggests that, if his taste should lose its delicacy, the sole mode of restoring to him 'cette fleur qu'il a perdue, de lui faire reprendre sa souplesse, sa délicatesse, et ses forces, c'est de purger le cuisinier, telle résistance qu'il y oppose.' It is fortunate for the Prussian cooks that their royal masters did not think of this method of improving them.

'Touch not, taste not,' was a maxim which one of the royal suite, high in favour, neglected to his cost. A barrel of oysters was announced, price ten dollars. The King, who liked oysters but was staggered by the cost, asked von Kleist if they were likely to turn out good. Excellent, was the reply, and on being asked how he knew, he stated that, passing through the kitchen as they were opening the oysters, he had tasted one. 'Very well,' said the King, 'he who has eaten one may eat them all, and repay me the money they have cost.' He compelled Kleist to take the bargain off his hands.

More wild boars than were wanted having been killed by the royal foresters, the King took out his ministers and suite to look at them, and carelessly asked the ministers what they were worth a head. To flatter him, they named a high price, seven dollars. 'Right, right; seven dollars. Each of you will take one, but you must pay ready money.' After a grand *chasse* the slaughtered boars and porkers were counted by hundreds, like pheasants after an English *battue*, and portioned out in lots amongst the officials, nobility, and townspeople, who were obliged to take and pay for them whether they liked swine-flesh or not. The Jews of Berlin were compelled to take 200 head at once, after a week of extraordinary slaughter in 1724. The Jews were turned to account in many ways. When the King wished to afford help which cost nothing, he was wont to give the object of his bounty a license or privilege in blank for the settlement of a Jew in Berlin. This was saleable, and the name could be filled in at pleasure. One of them has been known to sell for seven or eight hundred dollars.

Finding the new part, the Tyburnia or Belgravia of Berlin (*Dorotheenstadt*), not sufficiently peopled, he ordered several families who were on the point of quitting, and had already removed their goods, to stay in it. In 1737, under the pretence that the soldiers were not well lodged, he issued a decree that the front rooms of the houses in the Old Town should be given up to the military, and that the householders who were not content to

live in their own back rooms should remove to the New Town. To throw a halo round this child of fancy, he decreed in 1739 that, dating from March 8th, every one who possessed a carriage and horse, without distinction of ranks, should appear every Sunday from three to five on the promenade in the New Town, under the penalty of 100 dollars. The effect is described as curious in the extreme, since 'carriage' was understood to mean every description of vehicle, from a butcher's cart to a coronetted coach; so that the promenade resembled the Epsom road on a Derby day, rather than the Prater, the Bois de Boulogne, or Hyde Park in its glory.

We must admit that there is considerable fertility of resource and variety of invention in these administrative expedients, and no want of energy or volition in their enforcement. But if these are proofs of genius or natural emanations of the poetic temperament, great injustice has been done to the East, where full many a Pacha wastes his poetry on (literally) the desert air—full many a Turkish Frederic William rests inglorious *caret quia vale sacro*—forwant of a discriminating eulogist like Mr. Carlyle.

Two friends of ours were descending the Nile, when their head boatman became obstreperous; they stopped at the first military post, and complained to the commander. He heard their charge, and ordered the man to be bastinadoed without waiting for his defence, remarking, 'Do you suppose these two English gentlemen would have taken the trouble to come to me about you, if you were not in the wrong?' Surely, there was quite as much poetic justice in this decision as in Frederic William's mode of dealing with the accused husband and the son.

The late Lord Alvanley dining with a Pacha who was proud of his cook, indirectly hinted that the man's performances were not quite on a level with Caramé's. The next morning the head of the *chef* was suspended, by way of delicate attention, to the guest's saddle-bow. Beheading for tasting to no purpose may pair off with hanging for tasting at all.

The late Mr. Morier related, as founded on fact, that an Oriental governor who had seized an English traveller's medicine chest, was puzzled what to make of it; so he collected all the Jews in the town, made each swallow the contents of a box or phial, and locked them together in a room till the effects were ascertained. This is more original than making the Jews of Berlin buy pork.

Professor Ranke describes the death-bed of Frederic William as presenting an edifying and touching scene, in which he addresses his successor in set phrases very similar to those

applied by Philip of Macedon to Alexander after the adroit taming of Bucephalus. The dying despot may have had some lucid or maudlin moments, during which he showed himself not utterly destitute of rational faculties and natural affection; but there is abundant evidence that his demeanour on the near approach of death did not belie the general tenor of his life. In his first colloquy with a spiritual adviser, he improved on the doctrine of the French noble, who maintained that '*le bon Dieu* would think twice before making up his mind *de damner un Clermont-Tonnerre*.' 'Would it be right,' argued Frederic, 'that God, who from His love for me puts me here in His place to rule over so many thousands at my good pleasure, should one day liken me to one of these, and judge me with the same strictness?' The clergyman, a Protestant, did his duty manfully, and replied that God gave power to be used as He used it, with justice and mercy, not according to the good pleasure of the ruler, who would be punished for the abuse of it as the worst of sinners; whereupon the King told him he was an ignoramus, and might go to the Devil. The patient grew more accommodating as he grew worse. In a colloquy on the same topic with another divine, he tried hard to extort the admission that faith was sufficient without good works, and that the love of God did not imply the forgiveness of enemies or the love of one's neighbour as oneself.

'*King*.—God knows that I have no enemy whom I have not willingly forgiven everything. I know of none but that — the King of England; but he too shall be forgiven. Ficke (the Queen), write to your brother, as soon as I am dead, that before my end I forgave him everything with all my heart. Do you hear, when I am fairly dead and no mistake.

'*Divine*.—I do not require to know the names of your enemies; but perhaps you remember others whom you hate as much and with as little reason as your brother-in-law, although they may be no great lords or foreigners.'

Here 'long Hacke,' the favourite attendant, came in with medicine, and the divine was dismissed. Blowing the nose or clearing the throat in the King's chamber was forbidden under the penalty of a ducat for each offence. Hearing that his attendants were boarded in the palace, he ordered them to bring their dinners along with them, to be submitted to his inspection before eaten; on which occasions he frequently partook of their fare, and sometimes exchanged one of their dishes for one of his own. One day he ate and enjoyed a snipe, which the cook, hearing he was out of humour, had omitted in the bill of fare. The day after, seeing snipe again, he struck it out, saying he

wanted no such expensive garbage. To the remonstrance that he had declared the first snipe excellent, he replied that he took it for a present, and ate it out of compliment to the giver. The cook, therefore, was mulcted in the price. In all Pope's famous Epistle there are no more curious instances of the ruling passion strong in death than these.

He insisted on the Crown Prince's taking an oath to make no alteration after his death in the colleges or army, not to lay hands on the treasure, and to take into his service no person whose name should not be mentioned in a list. The Crown Prince respectfully refused. On the 31st January 1740, the King exclaimed, 'I am not sorry that I must die; for he who fears death is a ———. What pains me to the heart is that I must have such a brute (*Unmenschen*) as my son for successor.' Another time he vowed his sole cause for self-reproach was that he had not caused his son to be executed ten years ago.\* When the attendants rose on the Prince's entrance, the King flew into a violent passion, and cried out, 'Sit down in the Devil's name, or go all of you to the Devil.' Despite of his bluster, he was by no means void of apprehension that he was about to travel in the same direction himself, and his efforts to keep up his courage strongly resemble those of Jonathan Wild when, maddened by brandy and despair, he shouts at the top of his voice in the ocean solitude, '*Who's afraid?*' The year before his death the King was suffering from gout, and General von Schwerin, to comfort him, suggested that he need not be afraid of dying of it. 'What!' shouted the King, 'do you believe I am afraid of death? Bring two pistols, or better still, two cases of powder and matches; each of us shall take his seat on one, and he who sets fire to *his* last shall be counted the greatest coward of the two.'

He died on the 31st May 1740. On the 22nd April he went out in a wheel chair. Seeing a mechanic stare at him, he stopped the chair and sent a page to give the man six pulls of the nose. Whilst this was going on, an exciseman came up, and was asked what

\* In August 1730 the Crown Prince had a narrow escape for his life, and his sister was beaten and otherwise brutally ill-treated for interposing in his behalf. Mr. Carlyle introduces his account of the transaction with these words:—'The poor King, except that he was not conscious of intending wrong but much the reverse, walked in the hollow night of Gehenna all that while, and was often like to be driven mad by the turn things had taken,'—as if the turn things had taken was not exclusively owing to his own madness or brutality. Mr. Carlyle may fairly claim the privileges which he gratuitously accords to 'the poor King,' but even genius should refrain from constantly running counter to the moral and common sense of mankind.

he wanted. He said he was rejoiced to see His Majesty so well. His Majesty gave him a couple of blows with his cane, and ordered the footmen to give him a sound cudgelling, which was administered forthwith. After this His Majesty continued his progress, and the frightened people dispersed '*en l'accompagnant de mille bénédictions.*' These benedictions probably resembled those which he liberally dispensed.

Shortly before his death, when the Crown Prince was with him, he called up three of his most faithful and attached attendants, and when they were looking for a parting recognition of their services and a recommendation to the heir, he solemnly enjoined the Prince to hang all three of them as soon as the breath was out of his body.

Byron, in one of his fits of waywardness, contends that your true poet is the miser, who indulges his imagination instead of gratifying his own or other people's senses with his wealth; but we own we see neither poetry nor genius in the accumulation of wealth or the formation of armies by obvious and vulgar means. Frederic William, however, is a social and political phenomenon well worth studying in detail; and the proof that he has hitherto been imperfectly understood is to be found in the view taken of his life and character by Mr. Carlyle, which so learned and conscientious a writer would surely not have hazarded had he anticipated that the revelations of the Baireith memoirs were about to be thus confirmed and amplified.

Amongst the curious and doubtful passages of history on which light is thrown by this compilation, is the tragic fate of Königsmark and the Princess Sophia Dorothea, wife of the Crown Prince of Hanover, afterwards George I. Although the tale has been told, with variations, by various writers of ingenuity and research,\* none of them had the good fortune to light upon the narrative discovered by Dr. von Weber, which was drawn up in 1725 by Count Moritz of Saxony, the son of the beautiful Countess Aurora of Königsmark, from family papers and traditions. We shall give the leading features of his version in an abridged shape.

Sophia Dorothea was the daughter of the Duke of Celle, at whose Court Königsmark was brought up. It was the familiar story of the page and the princess. So tender a friendship had grown up between them, that, during the celebration of her marriage with the Crown Prince of Hanover, Königsmark concealed himself in the chapel, and nearly

\* One of the latest and most interesting, though obviously coloured for effect, appeared in the '*Revue des Deux Mondes*,' for June 1853, from the able pen of M. Blaze de Bury.

betrayed the secret by the violence of his emotions. To avoid further risks of this kind, he made a journey to Sweden, where he remained till he had recovered his senses and his self-possession. On his return, his respectful adoration was renewed and tacitly permitted by the object. It was purely Platonic, and might have been unattended by compromising results, had not the Countess of Platen fallen in love with him. She was the mistress of the Elector, over whom she held sovereign sway, and, although no longer in the bloom of youth, she was both surprised and enraged to find her advances received by a young officer of the body guard, in which Königsmark held a commission, much as those of the Sultana were received by Don Juan. Her wounded vanity suggested that a rival was the cause, and after jealously scrutinizing the demeanour of all the court ladies, her suspicions fell upon the Princess, who was in the habit of indulging her young admirer with occasional opportunities of private communication. Furnished with ample proofs of their indiscretion, and giving it a worse name, she hurried to the Elector, and urged him to take summary vengeance against his daughter-in-law; but his mildness of character made harsh expedients revolting to him, and he simply commanded the attendance of Königsmark, and told him, 'Count, I know all. Here is a letter for Prince Frederic Augustus (the general of the Imperial army); begone: apply from Hanover for your discharge. Farewell, and remember the friendship I am manifesting for you.' There was no alternative but to obey: he joined the Imperial army, and served in it till the end of the campaign, when he requested leave of absence for the purpose of visiting Hanover from the Prince Commander, who granted it reluctantly.

The fatal lure was a ribbon, once bound round a bouquet given by the Princess as a prize at a match of running at the ring, at which he had come off conqueror. He had left it behind on his hurried departure, fastened to the colours of his company, and it was to reclaim this token that he came back. The standard was in the custody of the captain, his ancestor, one Count Platen, a relative of the Countess, who had already got possession of the ribbon. Königsmark desired her relative to tell her that if she would give it up, he would forgive her all the sufferings she had brought upon him, and that even the arms of the Elector would prove an unsafe place of refuge if she refused. This message, faithfully delivered, was not well calculated to obtain a favour from a proud, passionate, and jealous woman, who saw her opportunity at a glance, and was withheld

by no feelings of remorse or former love from profiting by it. She feigned hesitation, and, by negotiating for the delivery of the ribbon, induced Königsmark to prolong his secret stay in Hanover till she had completed her plot. Her grand difficulty was the Elector, who was at length over-persuaded to give a modified assent. She had in her pay two Italian cut-throats, ready for any deed of villainy; she joined with them three Germans of her household, who received instructions to watch for Königsmark on a specified day in the palace garden, not far from the steps leading to the Princess's apartment, to throw themselves upon him, stifle his cries, and bring him into a subterranean room of the castle, called the laboratory. These instructions were given in the presence of the Elector. Her secret orders to the Italians, in their own language, were to murder Königsmark in the laboratory; and just before they repaired to the rendezvous her waiting-maid was to hand them refreshments mixed with poison, so that they might not survive the deed long enough to give evidence of her complicity. To inveigle Königsmark into the snare, the co-operation of the Princess's confidential attendant, Miss Dillon, was required. By the command of the Elector, the poor young lady repaired trembling to a private interview with the Countess, who, by the threat of instant death, compelled her to write the following billet:—

'MONSIEUR LE COMTE.—Ma Princesse désire de vous voir, elle ne peut pas vous écrire, s'étant brûlée la main, et m'a ordonné de vous faire savoir que vous pouvez vous rendre ce soir chez elle par le petit escalier comme autre fois; elle me paroît inquiète de votre silence. A Dieu, tirez bientôt de doute la plus aimable princesse du monde.'

On receiving this billet, Königsmark hurried to the garden, ascended the steps, and found the Princess in her usual sitting-room. She was surprised to see him, not knowing he was in Hanover, and gently reproached him for his indiscretion. He produced Miss Dillon's note as his justification; on reading which the Princess exclaimed that he was lost; that it was a trick of the Countess, and that she would not lose a moment in ascertaining the truth. He hurried down the steps, and was just entering the garden saloon when the three Germans and two Italians fell upon him. He defended himself with skill and courage. Two of the Germans and one of the Italians were killed on the spot; the second Italian and the third German, named Fourier, were wounded, when Fourier, a very strong man, threw away his sword, caught up the cloak which Königsmark had let fall, and as the Count was rushing upon the Italian,

the sole remaining obstacle to his escape, flung it over his head. The Italian instantly ran him through his body, and he sank senseless to the ground.

In the narrative of M. Blaze de Bury, the Countess and Princess are present at this scene, and an animated dialogue, worthy of one of M. Alexandre Dumas' melodramas, is carried on between the actors and actresses. In the narrative before us, the Countess judiciously keeps her distance, and the Princess only comes on the ground time enough to be made aware that a bloody deed has been done. She was roused from the reverie or stupor into which she had sunk after the Count's departure, by the barking of her pet dog at the door; on its being opened he rushed down the steps, and she followed him. The first objects that met her eye in the saloon were the two men preparing to carry off Königsmark. After a vain effort to approach or call for help, finding her strength failing, she tried to regain her chamber, but stumbled over one of the dead bodies and fainted. The murderers left their victim, carried her to her room, laid her on a couch, locked the door on the outside to prevent further interruption, and after conveying the Count to the laboratory, proceeded to report proceedings to the Elector. Fourier threw all the blame of what had been done in excess of his highness's instructions on the Italian, who confidently appealed to the Countess; and the Elector, half beside himself with confusion and remorse, requested an interview with the Princess, to which he repaired in company with her husband, the Crown Prince, who had passed the preceding day and night at his hunting-box. They were thus addressed by the Princess:—

'I have only a very few words to say to you. I will not lower myself to persuade you of my innocence. I am guilty, but only in this, that in cowardly obedience I broke my troth to Count Königsmark. I loved Königsmark before the duty was imposed on me, Prince, of obeying you. I own, shuddering, my fault in permitting him access to me; and the rest of my life shall be devoted to repentance and recollection. I am the cause of his death; it lies on me to revenge him. Be prepared, therefore, for every horror that revenge can impose.'

At the frank commencement of this pithy speech, the Crown Prince must have felt like Sir Peter Teazle when he exclaims, 'Now I believe the truth is coming out indeed;' and the conclusion naturally suggested the prudence of placing some slight restraint on the movements of his spouse. The Count, however, was not dead; his wounds were reported dangerous, but not mortal; and the thought occurred whether his recovery and release

would not be the best things that could happen under the circumstances, when the surviving Italian began to feel the effects of the poison administered by the waiting-maid, sent for two of his countrymen in default of a spiritual confessor, made a clean breast of it, and died invoking vengeance on the Countess. She was disgraced and ruined if Königsmark lived to disentangle and denounce the conspiracy, and he was accordingly despatched by poison. His brother-in-law, Count von Lowenhaupt, made a gallant attempt at rescue, and actually forced his way to the vault, where he found no trace of his relative but these words scrawled with coal on the wall: '*Philippe de Königsmark a rempli sa destinée dans ce lieu le 14 Feb. de l'année 1694.*'

The fate of the Princess is well known: she was divorced from her husband and confined in the castle of Ahlden, near Celle, till her death in 1726, twenty-nine years after these events. Count Moritz, of Saxony, says that she retained her attitude of dignified superiority, if not quite of injured innocence, and refused all offers of reconciliation; and this is the point in which his narrative most materially differs from the popular versions. Whether she was guilty or not in the worst acceptance of the term, is one of those questions which people will decide according to their excess or lack of charity, their belief or disbelief in Platonics. Making every allowance for the pride of the Princess and the delicacy of the admirer, these admitted private interviews sound compromising at best. 'The progress of a private conversation,' says Scott in reference to Leicester and Elizabeth, 'betwixt two persons of different sexes is often decisive of their fate, and gives it a turn very different from what they themselves anticipated. Gallantry becomes mingled with conversation, and affection and passion come gradually to mix with gallantry. Nobles, as well as shepherd swains, will, in such a trying moment, say more than they intended; and queens, like village maidens, will listen longer than they should.' From the correspondence between the Count and Princess, especially from her letters, unfavourable conclusions have been deduced; but they are not utterly inconsistent with the theory of her personal purity; their authenticity may be questioned; and the entire tenor might have been changed by the alteration or introduction of a sentence or two. We now know, what was all along suspected, that Mrs. Piozzi's letters to Conway the actor, published as 'loveletters,' have been shamefully garbled to bear out the title;\* and the

\* The originals are in the possession of Mrs. Ellet, an American lady of literary distinction who is about to publish an exposure of the fraud.



letters of the Princess may have undergone a similar process. When the divorce was threatened, she again avowed her affection for Königsmark, and offered to take the sacrament on its stainlessness. Wonderful to relate, the offer was accepted. Dignified ecclesiastics officiated at the altar: with the elements in her hands she called God to witness her truth, and then, having undergone the ordeal without blenching, she challenged the Countess Platen to do the same. The Countess turned pale and refused.

Instances of strange imposture and wondrous credulity abound in these volumes, where we find the very tricks of spirit-raising and table-creaking which have recently been turned to good account under the auspices, we regret to add, of persons who should be prevented by self-respect from lending a momentary sanction to such charlatany. Here, also, we meet with anomalous crimes and atrocities which set all ordinary theories of proof, motive, and probability at defiance. The punishments are often on a par in point of singularity with the delinquencies, and prison discipline appears to have been imperfectly understood. Instead of simple decapitation, one recorded sentence is, 'that the criminal be cut into two pieces, the head part the smaller, and the body part the larger, as a well-merited doom to him and a terrible example to others.' Three incendiaries were apprehended and convicted in Eilenburg. One was burnt to death, another beheaded, and the third condemned to be branded and kept in safe custody till his reform was ascertained. The branding was easy, but the safe custody embarrassed the town council, who ended by putting him in irons and sending him daily 'to beg his bread from door to door, with a view to his reformation.' To the indignation and surprise of their worships, as they report, 'the ungrateful rascal, not appreciating their clemency, stole away.'

Peter Jokuff had been guilty of contempt by words or gestures against the tribunals of Wilthen, and refused to ask pardon or express contrition. Having no prison or legal place of confinement at their disposal, they placed the said Peter under arrest in the public-house, where he was chained by the leg to the public table, from the 2nd of September 1750 to the 15th of February 1751. Barring the awkwardness of the position, he led an agreeable life enough, as he had plenty of company, and could eat and drink his fill at the expense of the frequenters of the house, with whom he was in high favour for his spirited contumacy. So the magistracy caused a kind of wooden cage to be constructed in the same room, shut him up in it, and by strict prohibitions to the landlord and

guests did all that in them lay to confine him to a bread and water diet. They tried to put both his feet in the stocks, but met with so determined a resistance that they were obliged to rest satisfied with one. He remained in the cage till the 15th August, 1751, when, being still unsubdued, he was removed to the newly constructed house of correction at Waldheim, where, we regret to say, we lose sight of him altogether.

Valuable illustrations of the history of German morals and manners may be deduced from sumptuary laws against luxury and dress. Less than a century since, these were frequently and invidiously enforced in Germany. Thus a formal report of the courts at Hirschstein makes known to the administrative body, at the instance of the church-patron and judge, Julius Alexander von Hartitsch, that the excess of the peasantry in dress had become intolerable, inasmuch as three farmers' daughters had appeared at church attired in silks, furs, gold brocades, and spangles, which are detailed in the document with such minuteness as to justify a suspicion that the accusing elder was set on by the ladies of his family and had taken counsel with them. His demand was that the three damsels should be warned to dress according to their degree, under penalty of having their finery publicly stripped off. Their fathers pleaded in reply, that they had shown a particular liking for such attire; that they had town marriages in prospect; lastly, that the garments in question were by no means expensive, and were more convenient than the ancestral habits, veils and hoods. Their persecutor was still unsatisfied, and called for summary judgment on their contumacy. The fathers appealed to the provincial government, who rejected the appeal, and ordered the appellants to forbid the alleged excess in dress, to give Hartitsch notice that they had done so, and to let the affair rest.

So late as 1786, a fur cap excited much local agitation, and led to a serious conflict of the authorities. The daughter of the state-piper, Meischner, at Eisenbach, appeared at church with the cap. She was a pretty girl; it became her; and the town-judge, Stölzel, looked at her oftener than was agreeable to his wife. The result was that the next day, under domestic compulsion, he issued an order to the piper to prevent his daughter from wearing the cap again. The piper appealed to the district magistrate, who, after inspecting the head-dress, and finding it composed of ordinary and unforbidden materials, formally authorised the damsel to wear it, and gave the judge due notice of the fact. The judge held to his prohibition, and the town was divided into two parties, who ex-

hibited as much eagerness and animosity as the greens and blues of the amphitheatre, or the smallendians and bigendians of Lilliput. The old and ugly women, with their husbands, supported the judge; the young and pretty, with the bachelors, were mostly on the side of the magistrate. The married interest was strongest in the town council, and one of their myrmidons was commissioned to repair to the church on the 19th February 1786, and before the whole congregation remove the cap from the fair head of the wearer. He performed this invidious duty without hesitation or compunction, and bore off the cap to the council, who condemned it as lawful prize; whereupon the leaders of the opposite party retorted by purchasing a finer and more becoming cap, in which the piper's daughter appeared the following Sunday, to the confusion of her enemies and amidst the triumphant congratulations of her friends. This *coup-de-main* carried the day. The council, taken by surprise, wanted courage or presence of mind enough for a second confiscation; and before the lapse of another week, the central authorities interfered. The council was evidently ordered to make restitution and pay the costs.

The exact number of dishes to be served at the table of each class of the community according to their rank was carefully prescribed; and a license was required for any departure from the ordinance. A long process is reported, in which a list of the dishes and the guests, with a minute description of their quality, was submitted to the Grand Duke in council, who, after deliberating with a gravity resembling that of the Roman Senate in the famous turbot case *temp.* Domitian, acquitted the accused. Musical instruments were the subject of equally stringent regulations; trumpets and trombones being especially confined to grand occasions and forbidden to persons of low degree. The trumpeters and kettle-drummers formed a close and highly privileged corporation. One Mather Richter, at Altenberg, was fined 200 dollars for allowing trumpets to be blown at his daughter's wedding; and so late as 1782 the trumpeters and trombone-players of Weissenfels lodged a complaint against the bailiff of Freiburg for daring to make the state-piper attend on him with trumpets and trombones. The defence was, that persons of distinction were present; and the cause came at last before the Law Faculty of Leipzig, who, on due examination of the circumstances and the precedents, let off the offender on payment of costs.

Amongst the numerous instances of popular prejudice which abound in this collection, the municipal ordinances against shep-

herds are the most unaccountable. Not only were they forbidden to settle in towns or to become members of guilds; but to intermarry with the pastoral class carried into a family a taint like that supposed to be communicated by the smallest intermixture of black blood in the disrupted States of North America. With these curious and whimsical incidents of German morals and manners in the last century, we take leave of Dr. Weber.

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- ART. VII.—1. *The useful Metals and their Alloys; including Mining Ventilation, Mining Jurisprudence, and Metallurgic Chemistry, &c. With their application to the industrial arts.* By JOHN SCOFFERN, M.B. Lond., WILLIAM TRURAN, C.E., WILLIAM CLAY, ROBERT OXLAND, WILLIAM FAIRBAIRN, F.R.S., W. C. ATKIN, and WILLIAM VOSE PICKETT. London: 1857.
2. *Iron, its History, Properties, and Processes of Manufacture.* By WILLIAM FAIRBAIRN, C.E., LL.D., F.R.S., F.G.S. Edinburgh: 1861.
3. *On the Application of Cast and Wrought Iron to Building Purposes.* By WILLIAM FAIRBAIRN, C.E., F.R.S., F.G.S. 2nd edition. London: 1857-58.
4. *W. Fairbairn, Esq., F.R.S., on the Properties of Iron and its Resistance to Projectiles at High Velocities.* Lecture delivered at the Royal Institution on Friday, May 9th, 1862.
5. *Iron Ship Building, with Practical Illustrations.* By JOHN GRANTHAM, consulting engineer and naval architect, Liverpool. London: 1858.
6. *Lives of the Engineers.* By SAMUEL SMILES. 2 vols. London: 1862.

THE present century offers the first instance in the history of the world of a supply of iron which exceeds the demand. The scarcity of this most useful of all metals was the great clog on the unevenly developed civilization of the ancient world. In Homer's days the supply of iron barely sufficed for the rude agriculture of the period. His heroes were content to mangle each other with brazen spears and swords, and a lump no bigger than a man could carry of unwrought iron, fit for making arrow-heads, was thought a prize worth contending for at the funeral games of Patroclus.

The Romans possessed iron in much larger quantities. Pliny speaks as authoritatively as a modern geologist, though not as scientifically, of iron ores 'to be found in almost all

parts of the world,' of their various qualities and different uses. And it is remarkable that wherever iron has been discovered in this country, even in very recent times, the traces also of ancient workings have been found.

But the age of bronze cannot be said to have passed away till the first of the three great inventions which form landmarks in the history of the iron manufacture—the art of making 'pig iron'—had been made known to the world. The Romans undoubtedly succeeded in increasing the 'blast' and the combustion of their furnaces; but the perfection of the art of smelting consists in the introduction of a third substance, called a 'flux,' which is easily fused in combination with the earthy matter of the ironstone, and permits the disengaged metal to flow freely from the bottom of the furnace into the moulds prepared for it.\* The iron thus produced is called pig iron, and is not only more abundant in quantity but differs materially in quality from the product of the processes previously in use. When this great discovery was made, or by whom, is unknown. Its value was probably not appreciated at the time, and its date is unrecorded. Certain it is that with the first dawn of modern history we find iron established in the economy of daily life as the useful material of all hardware. Soon after the invention of gunpowder we read of cast-iron ordnance, and 'casting' implies a previous familiarity with the art of making pig iron. In the Middle Ages a degree of skill which has never been surpassed was attained in working in steel. The artisans of that period were artists, and they employed all their powers in both capacities to decorate the arms and armour, and other hardware intended for the personal use of the great. They inlaid them with the precious metals in patterns of the most exquisite design; and further to adorn them the art (the parent of engraving) was invented of carving on little plates of silver an outline which was subsequently filled up with a dark composition called nigellum, and hence the name of the Nielli, so highly prized by modern collectors, and so dexterously imitated by modern forgers. But, with these and a few such like exceptions, iron was applied to only the most ordinary uses. Yet even for these the supply

\* It is by many supposed that the Romans used a flux. We should infer from Pliny's silence on the subject, and still more from the quantity of iron found in the Roman 'cinder,' that they did not. Pliny's phrase, '*Aquæ modo liquari ferrum, postea in spongias frangi*' (*Hist. Nat. cap. xxxiv.*), implies that the iron, though fused, was not run off into moulds, but was left to form itself into a shapeless honey-combed mass at the bottom of the furnace.

was insufficient, and early enactments forbidding its exportation prove its scarcity and value in this country. So far, however, from encouraging the manufacture, the legislature for some centuries seems to have considered it as the natural enemy of the oak forests, on which the national safety then depended; and at best as a necessary evil which could only by great vigilance and restrictive laws be contained within tolerable bounds.

In Charles I.'s day, Dud Dudley discovered the art of substituting coke or coal for charcoal in the smelting furnace—the great invention which forms the second epoch in the history of the iron manufacture—but even he failed to see or feared to urge the great importance of his own discovery; and in his passionate pleading with the restored Government of Charles II. for the renewal of his patent, he claims no merit for increasing the supply of iron, and dwells only on the advantage of sparing the native oak forests.

If Dudley did not feel the full value of his own invention, no one else felt it at all. The discovery was, in fact, premature. Till the necessary improvements in the blowing apparatus of the smelting furnace had been effected, the means were lacking to turn it to account, and this was not accomplished till about 1740, at which date the iron trade had reached its lowest point of depression. Under the double check of legislative discouragement, and a diminishing supply of charcoal, the home manufacture had sunk to less than 18,000 tons per annum; and so far had the political troubles of the preceding half century checked industrial enterprise, that the imports did not average more than 30,000 to 35,000 tons. But better times were at hand. With the assistance of pit coal, which was soon brought into common use, the home manufacture was raised in the interval between 1740 and 1788 to nearly 70,000 tons per annum, while the imports increased to upwards of 50,000. And now at last the time was arrived when the need of foreign aid was yearly to become less. About the year 1788 the completion of the steam engine gave a new impulse to all the operations of mining, and facilitated all the processes of the iron manufacture. From this period dates the supremacy of England in the iron trade. And while this rapid stride in advance was still fresh in the memory of the middle-aged, the third and last great discovery, the application of the hot blast (the nature of which we shall describe presently), secured a supply of iron large enough to meet any possible demand, and cheap enough to permit its application to every variety of purpose.

In the first instance, iron was most urgently needed as the material for the improved

machinery, which was the indispensable instrument of further progress. Powerful engines on new principles were invented, and the clumsy wooden contrivances of a ruder age were gradually superseded by iron-work of a more scientific construction. At the present day, the quantity of iron annually consumed in the manufacture of machinery is enormous. And in the sole production of iron, more iron is in various ways employed than the whole country could have furnished at the beginning of the century.

It is difficult to conceive how a supply of 70,000 tons of home manufactured iron could have sufficed for the wants of an age which already displayed so much industrial energy, but everything is relative; and even before the annual 'make' had reached this amount, the comparative plentifulness and cheapness of iron suggested the idea of applying it to hitherto untried uses. Even then John Wilkinson of Broseley, who is known as 'the father of the iron trade,' and in his day was called 'the great iron master,' ventured to predict the time would come when we should live in iron houses and sail in iron ships. He was called 'iron mad,' and it was supposed to be a symptom of his prevailing delusion, when in 1773 he proposed that cast iron should be used as the material of a single-arched bridge, which it was desired to erect across the Severn. The idea was not wholly new. As early as 1755 an attempt had been made at Lyons to construct an iron bridge. But it had failed; and even if its fame had reached Shropshire, its failure could have held out no encouragement to repeat the experiment. Bridges of cast iron are now so common, it is difficult to appreciate the boldness of the man who first conceived the project of employing this new material in the construction of a gigantic arch to span a navigable river. Hitherto cast iron had been little used. Dudley speaks of certain cisterns and other articles for domestic use, which he had cast from his pit-coal iron as novelties beyond the reader's belief. More recently, Savery and Newcomen had made use of it in constructing their pumps and engines. As yet, however, the art of casting was imperfectly understood. But the vigorous efforts which were made in the latter half of the last century to develop the industrial resources of the country, by the construction of roads, bridges, and canals, called forth a vast amount of engineering and mechanical talent—and taxed it to the utmost to invent novel modes of construction, and to discover materials of more extensive application than those hitherto in use. Wilkinson's proposal was referred to Mr. Pritchard, the architect of the county, and was carried out in the erection of the

bridge near Coalbrookdale—the first iron bridge in the world—which gives the name of Ironbridge to the little town rapidly rising on the adjacent bank. The second iron bridge was designed some years later, by the well-known Thomas Paine, whose notoriety is derived from a less creditable employment of his talents. It was executed at Rotherham, and taken piecemeal to London, where it was set up on a bowling green at Paddington (where is the bowling green now?) and exhibited as a curiosity. Paine had intended it for the Schuylkill in America. But his means failed, and he ran away to Paris, then in the height of its revolutionary frenzy, to join the friends of liberty or to avoid his creditors. The friends of liberty, more formidable than his creditors, threw him into prison, and would have guillotined him if he had not contrived to escape. In the subsequent confusion of his affairs, the bridge was ultimately taken back by the manufacturers, Messrs. Walker, and supplied part of the materials for T. Wilson's great arch across the Wear near Sunderland. This work was completed in 1796, and was long regarded as a world's wonder; it has indeed no longer the merits of novelty and rarity, but it well deserves the praise bestowed on it by Robert Stephenson, who pronounced it to be 'a structure which, as regards its proportions and the quantity of material employed, will remain unrivalled.' Contemporaneously with the construction of the iron bridge at Sunderland, the second actually completed, Telford was engaged in erecting another of the same material, two miles above the first—at Buildwas, to replace an ancient stone structure which had been carried away by the Severn in a recent flood; and so rapid was the progress which engineering had made in less than twenty years, that although the span of his bridge was thirty feet wider than that of Pritchard's, it contained less than half the quantity of cast iron. Since those days, there has sprung up another rival of the parent arch some miles lower down the stream at Coalport—where is really made the china which London chooses to call by the name of Coalbrookdale, while to complete the triumph of Tradition over Fact, the structure itself is known in the neighbourhood as the 'Wooden bridge.'

The largest cast-iron bridge is that of Southwark, built by Rennie in 1815–19, the principal arch of which has a span of 140 feet; but since their first invention, bridges of this material have multiplied so fast, that the enumeration of them would be tedious, and the skilfulness of their construction has ceased to excite wonder. Nor is it only where great spaces were to be traversed, that

cast-iron was employed; it has frequently formed the material of bridges of ordinary construction. But never, perhaps, was a greater compliment paid to iron than when it was selected to form the arches of the new bridge at Westminster, in immediate juxtaposition with the House of Parliament. From a very early date, Telford used it largely for the aqueducts of his canals, as also for lock-gates and other purposes connected with inland navigation: and in two instances where it was found a lock had been constructed on a stratum of quicksand, he lined the whole interior of the basin with cast iron.

For many years no satisfactory plan could be proposed for bridging over the Menai Strait. Rennie had sent in a magnificent design for a cast-iron bridge, to the centre arch of which he gave a span of 450 feet, but the cost was enormous. Long afterwards Telford sent in 'alternative' plans for two cast-iron bridges, to be carried across at a lower level—but obstruction to navigation was apprehended, and nothing was decided. At last when Telford published his design for a suspension bridge across the Mersey, the Commissioners of the Holyhead Road instructed him to prepare a plan for effecting the desired communication on this new principle. New, strictly speaking, the principle was not. In many parts of the world it might be seen exemplified in hanging bridges of rude construction and perishable materials, but it could not be applied to works of importance till the increased supply of iron afforded a material of the requisite strength and durability. And the difficulties of applying the principle of suspension to a structure so vast, and to a material so ponderous, were such as to entitle the man who overcame them to all the credit of invention. Telford felt the greatest anxiety as to the result, and spared no pains to ensure success. He made, we are told, an elaborate series of experiments to test the tenacity of wrought-iron bars (for wrought iron he ascertained to be the proper material for a suspension bridge), and fully aware of the difference of quality which even in those days distinguished the product of different districts, he finally bound his contractor to use none but the best Shropshire iron.\*

The Menai bridge has been followed by similar works of equal and even greater

magnitude in various parts of the world; and previously to its erection, the principle of suspension had much engaged the attention of our engineers. Captain Brown, who subsequently built the chain pier at Brighton, took out a patent for bridges on this plan in 1817. There is probably some variety in the methods employed by different engineers, there is certainly a considerable difference in the results. In no case, indeed, can the vibration, which is the great objection to this principle of construction, be wholly overcome; but in slighter works it is very perceptible, and its consequences are very serious. The Broughton bridge near Manchester gave way beneath the measured tread of a party of sixty men in marching order. In France several suspension bridges are said to have fallen. The great bridge at Angers, which had been built by the same engineers who constructed the bridge at Freibourg, gave way under the combined strain of a gale of wind and the passage of between four and five hundred troops. Troops in France are ordered to 'break ranks' in passing over these structures; but in this case the order was disobeyed for the purpose of military display, and the result was fatal.

When it was first designed to connect Eastern and Western Prussia by a permanent link of communication at Cologne, the Government in the first instance accepted a plan for a chain suspension bridge; but the flexibility of a bridge constructed on this principle rendered it unfit for the support of railway traffic, and the Chevalier Bunsen, then Prussian Minister in England, was able to report to his Government that bridges had been constructed in this country on a much larger scale than would be necessary at Cologne. The Britannia and Conway bridges had been recently opened, and were daily thronged with wondering visitors. On this representation, a Commission was sent over to inspect these new structures, and to make a report, and Mr. Fairbairn was invited to send in plans for a bridge on the same principle. The tubular bridge was, however, rejected, but the Commission did not revert to the original design of a suspension bridge; a modification of the 'lattice' bridge, a later invention, was ultimately adopted, and the result is one of the noblest works of the kind upon the continent of Europe.

It was the necessity of carrying roads at a dead level across wide spaces, so as to allow the greatest amount of head room below, and at the same time to impart to the connecting structure a degree of solidity capable of sustaining the force of a train at full speed,—it was, in short, the very need so conspicuously manifest at Cologne, that goaded R. Steven-

\* *Life of Telford—Smiles' Lives of the Engineers.* We have placed Mr. Smiles' work on the list which heads this article, because we have occasionally availed ourselves of the information it contains, and we are glad of the opportunity to recommend it to the reader's attention. But the work is not yet complete, and we hope it will eventually embrace the great achievements of the Stephenson and the Brunels.

son to the invention of the tubular girder and the tubular bridge. The tubular girder is a hollow rectangular beam, composed of four plates of wrought iron, of different strengths proportionate to the different strain on each. The tubular bridge is only the tubular girder expanded to such dimensions that the trains run in the inside of tubular beams, instead of running on roads supported by them; but the planes which form the top and bottom of the great tube are themselves tubular. For further explanation of this masterpiece of constructive skill, we must refer the reader to Mr. Fairbairn's interesting volume on the *Britannia and Conway Bridges*. Our business now is not with the mechanical contrivance of the engineer, but with his materials. Great inventions are usually followed by a host of others differing from them in detail and exhibiting more or less novelty of principle. Inflexible suspension bridges have been contrived by suspending the roadway beneath a large cast-iron arch. Various modifications of lattice bridges have been constructed, of which hitherto that of Cologne is the most considerable. But one of vast size is now in the course of construction for the Jumna. Bowstring bridges, in which the roadway takes the place of the string, have many advocates. The Saltash bridge, which carries the Cornish railway across the Tamar, is one of Mr. Brunel's most ingenious and imposing structures. But it would be endless to enumerate all the new plans of bridges which our rapidly extending railways have called forth, in almost capricious variety: we have only to note how largely iron enters into the composition of them all. Railway bridges must be calculated to resist forces very different from those which act on bridges designed for ordinary traffic; and it became important to ascertain the effect of violent concussions, and the passage of heavy bodies in rapid motion, in deflecting and fracturing the beams on which they are made to act; nor was it less needful to discover whether metal which has been exposed for a long period to concussions and vibrations undergoes any change in its cellular structure by which it becomes weakened. In 1849 a Commission, of which Lord Wrottesley was President, was appointed to inquire into these matters, 'with a view to discover such principles, and to form such rules, as may enable the engineer and the mechanic to apply the metal with confidence.' Their report is in the highest degree interesting and valuable. The general result is that a 'superabundant strength is needed in railway structures, but that the conditions of safety will be realised if the greatest load on a railway bridge does not exceed one-sixth of

the weight which would break the beam when laid on at rest in its centre.' Among many other useful practical suggestions the Committee recommend, that 'engineers in contracting for castings should stipulate for iron to bear a certain weight instead of endeavouring to procure a certain mixture.' In the experiments which were made by the Commission for the purpose of testing the strength of different kinds of iron, it is gratifying to find what superior qualities they selected for trial: we fear it is long since similar metal has been actually employed in any railway structure.

The experiments which Mr. Fairbairn conducted, in order to ascertain the strength of the materials to be employed in the tubular bridges, led him to the discovery, which he tells us he had not anticipated, that wrought iron answers better than cast iron for many of the purposes to which cast iron exclusively had hitherto been applied. The reader is doubtless aware that pig iron is the raw material of both wrought and cast iron; but, while the former is brought to its perfection by repeated working, the latter is produced by merely once more making the metal fluid in the 'cupola furnace,' and then pouring it into a mould of the form required. Hence, as the process of manufacturing is so much less laborious, cast iron is proportionably cheaper than wrought; but it must not be supposed that these two forms of iron resemble each other in kind, and differ only in degree. For all practical purposes they are distinct metals:—

'Cast iron differs from wrought,' says Mr. Fairbairn, 'in its physical as well as its mechanical qualities. It is a hard rigid crystalline unmalleable substance. It possesses great powers of resistance to compression, but comparatively small resistance to that of extension, and from its low degree of ductility it undergoes but little elongation when acted on by a tensile force. On the contrary, wrought iron is a flexible malleable ductile substance, which presents great resistance to a force of extension, but a somewhat less resistance to a force of compression; from its high degree of ductility it undergoes a considerable elongation when acted upon by a tensile force. And for a long time it was assumed that when applied to resist compression, it would crumple like leather.' (P. 47.)

Mr. Fairbairn gives a most interesting account of the experiments by which he disposed of the 'crumpled leather' theory. On the other hand, he gives excellent reasons why cast iron cannot be depended on. The unequal contraction of the metal which takes place when it is exposed to great variations of the temperature, causes it to snap. Moreover, the nature of the materials is treacher-

ous: 'all crystalline bodies are of a more brittle and uncertain character than those which are of a fibrous structure.' Flaws and imperfections are of frequent occurrence in the casting, which cannot be discovered by the minutest inspection of the surface.

'Repeated instances have occurred wherein castings presenting every appearance of perfection have been found to contain the elements of destruction, either in concealed air bubbles, or in the infusion of scoria, which had been run into the moulds and skinned over by a smooth covering of apparently sound iron.'

It is a fearful addition to all these causes of insecurity, that cast iron when it breaks gives not the slightest warning. No external crack, no admonitory sound, gave cause to doubt the soundness of the engine beam which caused the disaster at the Hartley pit; and the large flaw in the casting which was discovered after the fracture was not indicated by the smallest defect on the surface. These objections apply to all cast iron, as such; but the inevitable risks are greatly multiplied if the iron employed is of an inferior quality, or of a character not suited to the purpose. The iron of the Hartley engine beam was neither cheap nor bad, but it was composed of a mixture not well calculated to produce a tough quality of iron.\*

In the first instance, cast-iron exclusively was applied to the construction of fire-proof buildings. In the year 1801 the first cotton mill of this description was erected, by Messrs. Lee and Phillips, of Manchester, with cast-iron beams and cast-iron pillars. It was constructed with great skill, and for many years remained the model of all similar works. But since then the subject has been more carefully investigated. The account which Mr. Fairbairn gives of the experiments, chiefly conducted by himself and Mr. Hodgkinson at his works, by which he has established the theory, and improved the practice, of cast-iron architecture, is highly interesting, and very valuable to those who still continue to prefer that material; but he in some degree supersedes his own work by proving (quite, we own, to our conviction,) that not only strength, lightness, and roominess, but even economy, will be consulted by substituting wrought for cast iron. The difference in the weight compensates for the difference in the cost. A wrought-iron beam

of 18 cwt. Mr. Fairbairn sets down as equivalent to a cast-iron beam of 40 cwt. Moreover in many ways the expenses of construction are diminished by the use of wrought iron, and more especially the supporting columns may be retrenched with not less advantage of convenience than economy.

Mr. Fairbairn justly remarks that the construction of buildings of this kind must not be attempted without a considerable amount of scientific and practical knowledge. He mentions a mill at Oldham which fell down in the year 1844, and seems to attribute the disaster to some defect in the construction; but the date leads us to suspect there may also have been some fault in the iron. Long previously to the year 1844 cheap iron was common in the market, and the effect of cheapness upon quality was imperfectly understood by consumers. Would it were duly appreciated even now!

The late destruction of the iron fire-proof warehouses on the Thames has somewhat discredited this application of iron; but we think unreasonably. It is plain that if highly inflammable goods are stored in an absolutely incombustible warehouse, in which there is an unimpeded communication between the parts, and a free circulation of air, they will be much in the condition of fuel arranged for lighting in the grate. Mr. Fairbairn gives many valuable directions for excluding the external air, and dividing the various parts of the building; but sooner or later the skill of the architect is neutralised by the carelessness of the warehouseman. On some unlucky day the requisite combination of untoward incidents takes place, and a conflagration which no exertions can extinguish ensues. In such a case, no doubt, the iron-built warehouse will be destroyed, and as in the great fire at Liverpool, in 1844, the gutters will run molten iron—whereas a series of fire-brick vaults would remain in the state of a kiln when the contents are withdrawn. But the enormous expense of such a construction is hardly repaid by the preservation of the mere shell of the building. The wisest course is to store away all inflammable goods, and especially those which are liable to spontaneous combustion, in separate warehouses, or in vaults which realise Mr. Fairbairn's conditions of safety—exclusion of the external air and non-communication; and here fire-bricks should be the material. But most inflammable substances are far less easily ignited when compressed in bales or stowed away in casks; and they are safe if the building in which they are deposited is secured from the danger of combustion to which buildings of ordinary construction are exposed. Loose paper is high-

\* In our opinion the immediate cause of the accident was the contraction of the beam, caused by the cold, while the 'gudgeon' or shaft which passes through its centre was heated by friction, and consequently expanded; thus, in fact, acting as a wedge to split the beam in which it was inserted. A tougher cast iron *might* have resisted—wrought iron certainly would.



ly inflammable, but the closely packed treasures of the British Museum are perfectly safe in the new Library—the most commodious and the most beautiful of fire-proof magazines.

Iron is quite sufficient to ensure the safety of dwelling-houses; but unfortunately very little advantage of the plentifulness and cheapness of this material has as yet been taken in London, and few of the noble mansions which have been raised in the country within the last forty years are secured, by a fire-proof construction, from the casualties which have reduced so many of their predecessors within the same time to a heap of ashes. It is strange that in the seat of the iron trade, this most important application of iron should be the one (happily, we believe it is the only one) which is generally neglected. The popular dislike of innovation, and the additional expense of iron, are great obstacles to its introduction; but greater still, we suspect, is the unwillingness of our architects to meddle with a material with which they are not familiar. The objection that by the use of iron an architect is turned into a civil engineer no more appals us than the often-repeated threat that a late dinner may be called a supper. If it means that engineering skill excludes architectural taste, the best answer is supplied by Rennie's Waterloo and London Bridges, which are among the very best specimens of modern architecture. If it means that our architects are often deficient in the constructive skill of the engineer, there is only too much truth in the admission, and the sooner so lamentable a deficiency is supplied the better. We are persuaded that if any able member of the profession would bestow on the construction of private dwellings the study which Mr. Fairbairn has given to that of warehouses, he would discover the means of building houses, on a large or small scale, with fire-proof materials, at very little additional expense, and with as much increase of convenience as of security.

The development of the iron trade was indispensable to the introduction of railways, and, in its turn, was greatly stimulated by it. The quantity of iron which is required for the carriages, the engines, the machinery of all kinds, the cisterns, the roofs and supports of stations and warehouses, can hardly be calculated. There are upwards of 10,000 miles of railway in the kingdom, exclusive of loops and sidings; and merely to re-lay these lines, and keep them in repair, consumes a prodigious amount of metal, probably not less than 500 tons for every working day of the year. Everything connected with these establishments is on a colossal

scale. During the present stagnation of the iron trade, a temporary impulse was given to a branch of it by the introduction of the telegraphic wires, and of that crowning marvel of modern invention, the submarine telegraph.

It would be superfluous, even if it were possible, to trace the gradual metamorphosis which is going on around us of familiar objects into iron. We cannot chronicle the first introduction of iron hurdles, iron fencing, iron pumps, iron piping, window frames, spouting, stable fittings, mile and guide-posts, gutter kerbs, and a long list of *etcæteras*. Portable iron houses, schools, and churches are manufactured, 'for home consumption and for exportation.' But everything sinks into insignificance compared with the great wonder and puzzle of the day—the subject which is in every one's mouth, and which probably was in the reader's mind when he was induced to undertake the perusal of a paper on Iron—the conversion of our hearts of oak into iron plates.

The first attempt to realise the 'Great Iron Master's' prophecy that we should sail in iron ships was made by himself. He constructed iron boats, to carry goods on the Severn and the canals; but at what time, and how many, is uncertain. Mr. Grantham has found, in a journal of the year 1787, an account of the arrival at Birmingham 'of a canal-boat, built of British iron' (this point then required special notice), 'by John Wilkinson, Esq., of Bradley Forge;' and the writer then proceeds to describe the construction of this novel monster with as much care as the newspaper correspondents lately bestowed on the 'Merrimac' and the 'Monitor.' From this period, similar boats were frequently used in inland navigation; and some of the earliest specimens, Mr. Grantham tells us, are still in existence—an incontestable proof of the durability of the materials. The first iron boat that was ever launched in salt-water was a pleasure-boat, built under the direction of Mr. Jevons, of Liverpool, in the year 1815; but it might have been long before iron was adopted as the material for ship-building in good earnest, if, in the meantime, the art of propelling ships by steam had not been brought into practical operation. Without engaging in the attempt to penetrate the obscurity which besets the origin of the steam-boat, like that of most other great discoveries, we may claim for Scotland the merit of having first given a practical solution to the problem which so long engaged the attention of projectors. The first steam vessel applied to practical purposes was the steam tug boat which was launched on the Clyde and Forth Canal in

1802; and the first steam packet-boat established in Great Britain was the 'Comet,' which began to ply on the Clyde in January 1812.

The quantity of machinery required by this new application of steam greatly increased the demand for iron, and gradually accustomed the public to include that metal among the principal materials for ship-building.

'A series of experiments instituted by the Forth and Clyde Canal Company in 1829-30, to ascertain the law of traction of light boats at high velocities on canals, led to the application of iron for the construction of vessels; and the lightness of these new vessels, combined with their increased strength, suggested the extended application of the material in the construction of vessels of much larger dimensions.' (*Fairbairn, Lecture on the Properties of Iron*, p. 81.)

Iron, it was perceived, was better suited than wood to resist the strain of the engine, and would allow more space for the stowage, which was inconveniently curtailed by the coals and the engine. It was not till long afterwards that the employment of iron in the construction of a sailing vessel was attempted.

The first iron steamboat that ever put to sea, 'The Aaron Manby,' was built by the manufacturer whose name she bore, 'under a patent which was taken out in France for steamboats, in 1820. She was built at the Horsley works at Tipton, in Staffordshire, was sent to London in parts, and was put together in dock.' In September 1821, Captain, afterwards Sir Charles Napier, who seems to have been a partner in the speculation, 'took charge of her, and navigated her from London direct to Le Havre, and from thence to Paris, without unloading any part of her cargo—she being the first and only vessel that for thirty years afterwards sailed direct from London to Paris.' It is farther worthy of note that 'from 1822 to 1830 her hull never needed any repairs, though she had been repeatedly aground with her cargo on board.' (*Grantham*, p. 10.)

The iron vessels that were successively built are enumerated by Mr. Grantham in chronological order, and to most of them belongs some circumstance of interest. The 'Alburkah,' a little vessel, built in 1831, by Mr. M'Gregor Laird for the African expedition, which he conducted himself, drew only 3 feet 6 inches of water, and her success dispelled the prejudice which had previously existed as to the danger of going to sea with so light a draught of water. The 'Garryowen,' built in 1834, was the first that exhibited a 'regular arrangement of water-tight bulk-heads,' an

improvement the adoption of which has since been rendered compulsory by the legislature. The 'Nemesis' and 'Phlegethon,' built in 1839, whose names seem ominous of their future destiny, were the first iron steamers that were engaged in active warfare, and they took a conspicuous part in the first Chinese expedition. But, in our opinion, the greatest interest which attaches to these and all the other vessels mentioned by Mr. Grantham is, that whereas the average duration of wooden ships is thirteen years, they are all afloat at this day, with the exception of the first, the 'Aaron Manby,' and she was not broken up till the year 1855.

Notwithstanding this success, the advocacy of iron steamboats was but uphill work, Mr. Grantham tells us, in the year 1842, when he published his first work on the subject. The judgment of practical men was convinced of the superiority of iron, but the feeling of the public was still in favour of the old marine. From that date, however, iron vessels have rapidly increased, and for some years past no ocean-going steamer has been built of wood. In his first work, Mr. Grantham gives an account of the construction of the 'Great Britain,' which was then on the stocks, and which was, he says, at 'that time, the boldest effort ever made in iron ship-building, and formed the most remarkable feature in the history of that important science.' (P. 15.) The resistance which the 'Great Britain' offered to the beating of a violent surf, when stranded on the coast of Ireland, and the triumphant style in which she has kept the sea since, without receiving damage from the elements or needing repair from the injuries of time, have often been cited as proofs of the durability of iron vessels. To this Mr. Grantham adds many other instances, the most striking of which is that of the 'Persia':—

'On her first voyage, in 1857, she was preceded by the "Pacific," a timber-built steamer, and both seem to have fallen in unexpectedly with large floes of ice. The "Pacific" went down with her immense living freight; the "Persia," encountering a small iceberg when at full speed, split it in two, and received no injury, except by the fragments which floated into the wheels, and broke several of the floats.' (P. 97.)

We rejoice that the Great Eastern, after her disastrous trial trip, and her subsequent misfortune in the great Atlantic storm, has redeemed her character by two most successful voyages to and from the United States. Of no other material than iron could so gigantic a vessel have been constructed. The unfortunate 'President' was the largest wooden merchant steamer that ever put to sea, and we well remember how confidently it was predicted by the 'Old Salts,' as they are fond

of calling themselves, at Liverpool, 'that she *must* break her back.' But there is a difficulty in the construction of such a vessel as the Great Eastern which is not yet fully overcome. She is propelled by the combined action of screw and paddle; but when she is encountered by a storm, the action of the screw is not affected by the waves in the same way as that of the paddle; and we have not yet learned by experience what under such circumstances is the strain upon the paddles and other parts of the vessel, and what are the fit provisions to be made for resistance. In all fairness the 'Leviathan,' as she was called in the first instance, must be considered a great success, and the crowning triumph of her ingenious engineer, the late Mr. Brunel. But she is as yet only an experiment from which much is still to be learnt. The fatal accident which occurred on her first trip was caused by a piece of carelessness which it is impossible to excuse, but which, happily, can never occur again. No outlet had been provided for the steam generated in the casings of her funnels. The result was exactly what might be expected from putting a tea-kettle to boil on the fire after having soldered up the lid and the spout. We do not agree with those who think the Great Eastern will be the last vessel of the size ever constructed; we believe the contrary, and we earnestly hope she will prove the first of a race of Leviathans. It is well for us we have private companies to undertake projects which no constitutional Government could venture to entertain.

Mr. Grantham makes no allusion to iron rigging. The adoption of the chain cable was the first instance of the application of iron in the navy to any purpose beyond those for which it had been used from time immemorial. A patent for the invention of chain cables was taken out by a navy surgeon in the year 1808; and in 1811, for the first time, a vessel provided with a chain cable put to sea. But it is only lately that iron wire has been employed, to any extent, for the rigging, and more lately still that the idea has been seriously entertained of constructing iron masts.\* As yet there seem to be objections to the general introduction of iron for these purposes, but the analogy of the past justifies us in believing that iron will ultimately supersede all other materials for ship-building. We sympathise with those who regret the disappearance of the old marine, associated as it is with our ideas of picturesque beauty and national glory: but the inexorable march of improvement cannot be stopped. The noble and graceful vessels of modern days have supplanted the clumsy picturesqueness of the Spanish Armada. The Spanish

Armada reduced to insignificance the classic bark which Ulysses and his companions at the commencement of each short voyage drew down 'into the divine sea.' Utility must be the first great aim. The association of beauty will follow.

It is curious to find Mr. Grantham urging, in favour of iron boats, the saving of our national timber and the employment of native produce, much in the terms in which Dudley pleaded for his pit-coal iron 200 years ago. But the first question is, what material will produce the best ship; and the superiority of iron over wood, we think, is triumphantly established by experience in the eight points on which Mr. Grantham institutes a comparison, and which he arranges, though not perhaps in very natural or logical order, as follows: 1. Strength combined with lightness. 2. Capacity for stowage. This in large vessels is as 6 to 5; in smaller ones as 5 to 4, an advantage which may often make the difference between profit and no profit. 3. Safety in matters not immediately connected with strength, such as increased buoyancy, and comparative safety from fire. 4. Speed. 5. Durability. 6. Economy in repairs. It is calculated that in twelve years the repairs of a wooden vessel equal its prime cost. The ship carpenter, like the carriage builder, when he turns out his work secures to himself an annuity for years to come. But the iron shipwright must make his profit in the first instance. For about twelve years the iron boat ought to need no repairs at all; and when needed at last, or rendered necessary by an accident, the reparation is unexpensive and easy. Painting, it is true, must be frequent. We entirely agree with Mr. Grantham, that painting is preferable to galvanizing, which imparts rigidity to iron and impairs its toughness.\* A Commission has recently been appointed to inquire into the expediency of sheathing iron vessels with copper, and great use has been made of a patent metal invented by the late Mr. Muntz for the purpose. 7. Cost of construction, the saving effected by the use of iron being about 10 per cent. 8. Draught of water.

But on the other hand, there is a fearful drawback, which even in 1842 was beginning to make itself felt, and which Mr. Grantham thus rather obscurely indicates:—

'The public, and frequently builders themselves, are under considerable misapprehension in respect to the comparative expense of wooden and iron vessels. It is the general impression that iron vessels may be built at a much less

\* It is singular that on this point modern science has made no improvement. Pliny's recipe for preserving iron from oxidation is as good as any in modern use. (*Hist. Nat. cap. xxxiv.*)

expense than wooden ones; and some builders have, consequently, been induced to *take contracts at estimates too low to ensure them a remuneration for the use of adequate strength of material and for fidelity of workmanship.*

And he goes on to advise shipowners not to pursue 'this mistaken economy, the result of which may readily be foreseen.'

The matter, no doubt, is a delicate one for a professional man to handle; and in his present work Mr. Grantham contents himself with quoting his former guarded caution, although the unnamed result which he anticipated has already occurred—in plain English, many of the steamboats have been built of such bad materials that they have been lost at sea. If good iron is strength, bad iron is weakness; and Mr. Grantham indicates very clearly how the craft of iron ship-building has been corrupted, though he scarcely seems to see the full force of his own statements. Speaking of wooden vessels, he tells us that,—'The price of new ships is too much reduced to allow room for profit when labour and timber are so expensive as in this country; and I believe it is generally acknowledged our ship-builders mainly depend for subsistence on repairs alone.' (P. 117.) And he thinks that the supply of an abundant material, such as iron, will relieve the ship-builder from this unfair pressure. But this pressure arises from competition, and has nothing to do with the plenty and cheapness of the materials. The introduction of iron does indeed allow the ship-builder a relief, but unfortunately he obtains this relief at the expense of his customers and the public. He is enabled to economise in the quality of a new and comparatively unknown material. Every child knows the difference between oak and deal, and which is the fittest for ship-building. But probably not even the builder knows precisely the quality of iron which is necessary to ensure the safety of the vessel; and in another place, Mr. Grantham mentions a circumstance which may have contributed to mislead him:—'The angle and the rivet iron are subjected in using them to the action of the fire and the hammer; and if they are of inferior quality will show it; but the plates are not much tried in working, and their quality escapes observation.' And it is a natural mistake, especially when encouraged by self-interest, to suppose that the material which can be worked up conveniently will also serve all other purposes for which it is destined. Accordingly, it is the boat-plates that in recently-constructed vessels have failed; and so serious has been the consequent loss of life and property, that even a return to wooden vessels would be desira-

ble, if there were not an easier and more obvious remedy at hand. Let not the ship-owner plead his ignorance of the iron trade. There is no great mystery in the matter. Let him go into the market and inquire the price of ordinary 'boiler-plates,' and then the price of what are now called 'boat-plates.' The difference between the two, some 25s more or less per ton, gives the amount of saving for which the loss of crew and cargo is risked. 'Lloyd's rules' enjoin that 'the whole of the iron should be of good malleable quality.' But for this vague phrase should be substituted the specific stipulation that the quality of the plates should not be inferior to that of boiler-plates. A fixed intelligible standard is thus secured; for the quality of boiler-plates cannot be lowered without risking disaster and detection; nor is any hardship inflicted on the shipowner, for the strength enjoined is the very least that can be expected to bear the strain to which a sea-going ship is exposed.\*

When the Admiralty first turned their attention in earnest to the construction of iron vessels, they had the experience of the commercial marine to guide them, and they were fully aware of the importance of securing a good quality of iron. For many years the introduction of iron as the material for ship-building in the Royal Navy had been discussed. But the adverse opinion was not confined, as is commonly asserted, to 'naval men of the old school'; it was shared by many engineers and ship-builders. It was generally assumed that no sea-going ship could carry a weight of iron sufficient to turn a cannon-ball; and that iron plates of ordinary thickness would be more easily and more dangerously fractured than wood, and less easily repaired. Accordingly, we find that the authors of 'Metals and their Alloys,' and also Mr. Grantham, writing as late as in 1857 and 1858, gave up the project of employing iron as the material for ships of war. The proposal to case gunboats with iron was first made by the Emperor of the French in the Crimean war, and so far succeeded that his vessels, though scarcely seaworthy, proved invulnerable to all that the batteries of Kimbourn could bring to bear upon them. The English iron floating batteries were less satisfactory; they were hastily and carelessly constructed, of inferior material; and the result of the

\* A boat-plate should stand the test of bending to an angle of 30° when cold. No plate that will bend can be otherwise than good. The specimens to be seen at Chatham of 4-inch plates bent by hydraulic pressure give us an idea of the wonderful pliability and toughness of iron of superior quality.

experiments subsequently tried on their iron sides supplied another argument against the use of iron—against the use of *bad* iron it is an argument which ought not to be forgotten.

It is foreign to our present purpose to give the history of the controversy between iron sides and wooden walls. The Admiralty, whether thoroughly convinced or not, had already taken steps which must have led eventually to the reconstruction of the navy, when the naval duel in Hampton Roads—an event which excited the greatest interest in this country—occurred in the nick of time to assist the discussion. To practical men who had carefully watched the progress of events, and ‘to those,’ says Mr. Fairbairn, ‘who had gone through the whole series of experiments of the Iron Plate Commission, the engagement brought no fresh conviction.’ (Lecture, p. 10.) But it, at once and with the rapidity of lightning, brought popular opinion to the point to which it had already been slowly tending, and Mr. Fairbairn only expresses the general sentiment when he adds, ‘It is quite evident our navy must be entirely of iron.’ Whether it is preferable to construct vessels wholly of iron, or to arm wooden vessels, ‘at least their vital parts,’ with iron plates, is a less important discussion; for it seems inevitable that for some time both methods must be employed. To some extent a similar compromise is forced upon the respective advocates of iron guard-ships and an iron sea-going fleet. If England is to maintain her supremacy on the seas, she must, as Captain Reed says, build vessels that can keep the sea. But if the citizens of London and Liverpool are to sleep soundly in their beds in time of war, they must know that there are stationed in the Thames and the Mersey guardships carrying armour which no guns of the enemy can penetrate, and carrying guns which no plates of the enemy can resist. Subsequent events have, in some degree, modified the opinions which were formed on the operations of the ‘Merrimac’ and ‘Monitor;’ and there is no doubt we have still much to learn. Mr. Scott Russell’s iron target has been demolished at Shoeburyness, and the French artillerists have constructed a gun which pierces 4-inch iron plates at 1000 metres. In fact, the aspect of the case changes each time that the Ordnance Office and the Admiralty get a-head of each other—the one in perfecting the means of attack, the other those of defence. The Report of the Commission on Fortifications is grounded on the assumption that the ordnance will remain masters of the field—so far, at least, that ‘guns will be produced

of a sufficient power to penetrate, at a considerable distance, the heaviest armour plating that is compatible with the necessary qualities of sea-going vessels.’ And in the interests of peace and of England (we are proud to say that in the unaggressive position which England assumes these interests are identical), it is to be hoped the ordnance may ever maintain its supremacy. For the guns which nominally represent the power of attack, do in fact measure the power of resistance to the aggression of an armour-plated invader.

We meddle not with the question of national defences, farther than regards the *quality* of the material; but this is a part of the subject to which much too little attention has hitherto been paid. It may not perhaps be fully proved what is the limit of the weight of armour which may be put on a sea-going vessel: this is a nautical question. But still less is it ascertained what power of resistance can be imparted to a plate of given weight and thickness: this is a manufacturing question, and in fact depends mainly on the quality of the iron. It is now a race between the nations of the world which shall first get an iron-clad fleet. It is quite as important, though less obvious a matter of rivalry, which shall secure for its fleet the best iron, for on this point the victory will ultimately depend. In a state of rapid transition from one mode of warfare to another, involving a change in the art of war hardly less complete than that occasioned by the introduction of gunpowder, it is inevitable that the Government departments must often be compelled to do and to undo, in order to maintain that naval superiority which is the condition of our national safety. They have no alternative. They must adopt the discovery of the day, and take the chance of its being superseded on the morrow; but this chance of having to do their work twice over, becomes a certainty if haste or any other kind of pressure prevents their securing the best materials in the first instance.

The great need of the day then is good iron: and it is acknowledged to be so by the Government, who have appointed a Commission to inquire and report on the subject. But that it is no longer an easy matter to find good iron, every man’s daily experience tells him. If he goes into a hardware shop, he probably hears some complaint of modern iron. If he takes up a newspaper, his eye is caught by the account of some accident by sea or by land which is laid to the charge of iron. If his railway dividends decline, the necessity of prematurely replacing the rails which had been made of bad iron

bears the blame. In short, it is generally felt that notwithstanding all our boasted improvement, some deterioration of the manufacture, or some demoralisation of the trade, has taken place; and our anxiety to check this growing evil is painfully increased when we find that the national safety is staked on the quality of our iron.

The subject of the iron manufacture thus becomes of interest to many who had hitherto been repelled by its complexity and its technicalities; but it is less difficult than it appears at first sight, and by the exertion of a little patience, it will be easy to unravel one by one the threads of which the tangled tissue is combined—so far, at least, as to form some notion of the nature and extent of the evil, and of its remedy.

Let us take up one of the price lists which are published from time to time for the guidance of manufacturers and dealers. It is very vague, and is not intended to give information to those unacquainted with the trade, but it will serve as a string on which to hang our explanations. The first distinction it marks is between pig iron, the raw material, and 'wrought,' or finished iron. But in the list before us is mentioned a third state, 'puddled' iron. This is *half-manufactured iron*, and in ordinary times it is not included in the price lists, because it is needed for his own use by the manufacturer who makes it, and none of it is to be found in the market; nor should we perplex the reader by noticing it, but that there is a probability that Government may become a considerable purchaser of iron in this intermediate state. If pig iron is compared to flour, wrought iron will represent the loaf, and puddled iron is the dough. Dough is not usually an article of commerce, but if a demand were raised for it, the supply would not be lacking.\* Pig iron is next classified according to its uses. There is a column headed, 'for foundry purposes,' and another, 'for forge purposes.' This diversity is caused partly by the different property of the ores, but mainly by the difference of the fuel and of the treatment. The fluid iron needed for the foundry is produced by diminishing the 'burden,' as it is called, of the furnaces; that is to say, by increasing the proportion of the fuel to the mineral, and thus impregnating the produce with a greater amount of carbon; hence the foundry iron being the most costly to make, bears a higher price in the market than the forge iron, made with the same materials and by the same mode of

manufacture, and in that sense is better, but in no other.

The next distinction is between the hot and cold-blast iron. The existence of such a distinction has only lately been made known to the general reader; its nature is little understood, and as the explanation of it involves much that should be popularly known respecting the iron trade, it deserves our careful attention. The effect of this new and powerful agency, the hot blast, will be readily understood by the reader who remembers (as who does not?) to have passed many a quarter of an hour at a foreign inn in blowing his wood fire. He must have observed that where the blast of the bellows strikes the embers, it produces a black spot, and at the place and for the time checks combustion: of the same nature is the effect of the cold blast on the smelting furnace. But by previously heating in an oven to a very high temperature the air which is blown into the furnace, a prodigious increase of combusive power is obtained. The credit of this invention is due to Mr. Neilson, of Glasgow, who took out a patent for it in 1829, and by this means raised the iron manufacture of Scotland to its present important position. The coal usually employed was so unfit for coking that it lost 55 per cent. in the process. It was now sent to the furnace in its raw state, and less than a third of the fuel proved to be sufficient. It was found that the hot air expelled to a certain extent the noxious properties from the coal, which the process of coking had hitherto been employed to overcome, and in many districts it rendered available materials, some of great value, such as the incombustible anthracite, and some, on the other hand, of very inferior quality, all of which it had been inexpedient or impossible to employ in the making of iron. This discovery, as it slowly travelled southwards, brought timely aid to those parts of the old districts where the best fuel was becoming scarce, and it brought into general use a vast quantity of new mineral, and even a new material. On looking over the price list we see certain kinds of iron distinguished as 'cinder iron' and 'all mine' respectively. Cinder is the refuse of the puddling forge, containing a considerable percentage of iron in combination with the impurities which have been expelled from the pig iron by the process of puddling. The power acquired by the hot blast of extracting from the 'cinder' this iron is equivalent to the discovery of a new ironstone supplied for nothing; but the produce is much deteriorated by the admixture of this material. It is known as 'cinder iron.' 'All mine' is an assurance that no such deleterious ingredient has been admitted.

\* It is not necessary to embarrass the reader with the mention of malleable castings made from charcoal pig iron, and annealed by means of domes.

Of the two classes of ironstone which are found in connexion with the coal measures, the argillaceous or the clay ironstone, and the carbonaceous or the 'black band,' the former only can be worked extensively by means of the 'cold blast.' It is the most generally useful of all the British irons, and when a tough fibrous quality is required this one is indispensable. It alone produces iron which has the greatest of all merits, that of being neither 'red short' nor 'cold short;' that is to say, not being brittle either when red hot or when cold. It is found in many parts of England, Scotland, and Wales, but the chief seats of the old iron trade were South Staffordshire, Shropshire, and parts of Wales. The black band was at once brought into general use by the hot blast. It is chiefly found in Scotland, North Staffordshire, and South Wales. It supplies a vast amount of valuable iron, at a very cheap rate; but the produce has the defect of being cold short, and is not fitted for purposes where great strength and toughness are required. Of the ores not found in connexion with coal, the hæmatites, so called from their blood-red colour, are the most important. They abound in many parts of the country, but especially near Ulverstone, Whitehaven, and in the Forest of Dean. The hæmatite iron is of very superior quality, but it has the defect of being 'red short.' It should not be employed where much manipulation is to be undergone. Its chief value is for the new processes of steel, and for 'tin and black plates.' Some of the hæmatite ores have been worked from very early times; but they have been brought into general use only by means of the hot blast, and the increased facilities of traffic, which gave them what nature had denied, a ready connexion with the fuel needed to smelt them. It is singular that the discoveries of iron ore in the Cleveland or Middlesbro' district took place just when the complete development of the railway system and the general use of the hot blast made it most available; and so rapid has been the rise of this district, that already its produce more than equals that of the old South Staffordshire manufacture. The ores are of unknown, and for all practical purposes, of boundless extent; the produce is a valuable iron suited both for forge and foundry, but not of a tough quality. The Northamptonshire ore is of the same geological character, and of a somewhat similar quality. It has a tendency to red shortness, but the ore is in great request with the iron masters who make much use of 'cinder,' the defects of which it in some degree corrects.

These are all the varieties of British iron which for practical purposes we need notice at the present time. From them is derived

the supply for the prodigiously increased production of iron, which has acted reciprocally as cause and effect of the rapidly expanding civilisation of modern days. Between the years 1840 and 1860 the make of iron has actually trebled; in the former year it was a little less than 1,400,000 tons; in the latter it exceeded 4,150,000 tons. But the reader will have collected from the brief account we have just given of the ironstones recently brought into general use, that they do not supply iron equally available for all purposes, and that they especially fail to produce the best tough fibrous iron. It might, therefore, be anticipated that in spite of the great increase of production generally, the supply of this particular quality of iron would be insufficient, even though it were assumed to be still as considerable as it was before the new ironstones were introduced. But this, unfortunately, is far from being the case. Many of the manufacturers of the old district have been induced, or have been forced, in some instances by the exhaustion of the best materials, but more generally by the pressure of competition, to avail themselves of the hot blast to introduce inferior and cheaper materials, and the result has been, that the quantity of cold-blast iron, which by official returns is stated to exceed 770,000 tons in the year 1840,—and therefore at that time exceeded one-half of the whole annual make of the country—was in 1860 estimated (for there were no official returns) at about 150,000 tons, not much more than one-thirtieth of the whole make of that year.\* It is not contended that the cold blast exclusively produces tough iron of high quality. The precise effect of the hot blast is much disputed among practical and scientific men, nor has it ever been satisfactorily ascertained whether, if the materials were precisely the same, the quality of the produce would be deteriorated by the hot blast. But the hot blast may be applied to any materials, from the very best to the very worst; the cold blast can be applied only to the best, and hence its produce bears a higher price than the best of the hot blast in the market, either because practical men think it really better, or because they are willing to pay more for an article which is guaranteed by its very name. The introduction of the hot blast has conferred an infinite benefit on the iron trade and on the country, but it has brought with it a redundant supply of an inferior article, and an unlimited power (and with the power the temptation) to practise false economy and to commit fraud. Hence have arisen two results

\* Vide a pamphlet entitled 'What is good Iron, and How to get it' London: 1862. From which we have borrowed some of these curious facts.



which have generally been confounded, and which it is desirable to keep distinct. The one is, that there has taken place a notable deterioration in the manufacture. There is annually produced a larger quantity of inferior iron than can be used for reservoirs, cisterns, and the multifarious purposes to which inferior iron is legitimately applicable, and at periods of unusual demand the inducement to produce quantity at the expense of quality acts with irresistible force. At the first establishment of railways, for instance,—the time is now remote, and truth has oozed out—in the hurry and eagerness of the moment, the manufacturers were often urged by the surveyors to send ‘any rubbish,’ provided it were made smooth and looked nice, and were delivered quickly. But at all times the cheap and inferior quality is forced into use by competition. Competition acts feebly in an early state of society, and in a different direction from that which it takes in a more advanced stage of civilisation. Its first aim is to produce something more costly and more choice, to win the patronage of the few; its next is to bring the luxuries of the few within the reach of the many; cheapness becomes its chief object, and often ends in being its sole object. We long cherished the belief that no iron is so bad that it could not be turned to some account; but practical men affirm too confidently to admit of dispute, that iron is produced which is good for *nothing but to sell*, and woe betide those who fall in with it. ‘*Di meliora piis, erremque hostibus illum.*’ It is remarkable how little the danger of a deterioration in the manufacture seems to have attracted the attention of professional writers on the subject. Mr. Scrivener, in the second edition of his history of the iron trade, published in 1854, announces with exultation that in that year the annual make had reached the amount of 2,700,000 tons (since so much exceeded); but the only drawback he apprehends is that the resources of the country should not long suffice for so large a production, and no fear of possible falling off in the quality seems to cross his mind.

The second result to which we have alluded is not less important. Amid the vast increase of different qualities of iron, to which it would be an abuse of language to apply the word bad, as they are excellent for the different purposes to which they are specially applicable, there is a very insufficient supply of the best tough iron, the kind of iron which is needed when the material is to be subjected to much manipulation, and is required to maintain its toughness to the last—the kind which, above all others, is required for the manufacture of armour-plates.

The reader is aware that wrought iron is brought to its perfection by repeated working; but some kinds of iron reach their perfection after very few heatings, and all kinds after a certain number of heatings begin to decline in quality till at last they are utterly worthless. Mr. Clay tells us that in six workings iron of ordinary quality attained its highest degree of strength, improving at each stage, but after each of six subsequent workings it successively sustained an inferior test. (Metals and their Alloys, p. 317.) Superior iron would endure further manipulation; but it is only the very best which will bear the repeated heating and reheating to which the armour-plate is subjected, without losing its fibrous texture and its toughness. It is for this reason, moreover, that iron in the half-manufactured state of which we have spoken, the ‘puddled bar,’ is recommended as the proper material for an armour-plate. In a more advanced state, iron, however good in quality, has not enough vitality left in it to endure the manipulation to which it must be subjected.

In the use of the new ironstones great skill has been attained in devising mixtures, so as to correct the opposite defects of the several ingredients; but the correction is insufficient to produce a material that will answer purposes for which a high degree of toughness is required. For these purposes the only iron which is entirely suitable is that produced from the clay ironstones. We observe, with entire coincidence of opinion, that Mr. Fairbairn, in his lecture, assumes that none other can be thought of for the plating of ships. He confines his tests to these alone. When the value of the argillaceous ores for the production of tough iron,—which was the leading maxim of the old iron trade,—is thoroughly and practically recognised, the improvement which has been made of late years will be as solid as it is striking; but unhappily this recognition is opposed with all the zeal which interest combined with local attachments and prejudices can inspire. Most manufacturers are very much in the hands of their managers; the manager has a strong interest in keeping down cost; on this his credit depends, and no way of keeping down cost is so convenient to himself as economy in the quality of the materials. Moreover, he probably has come from one of the new iron districts, and he brings with him the practice and the maxims of the district where he has received his training. No stronger confirmation of this can be given than Mr. Fairbairn’s remark, that ‘*white iron* is almost always preferred for forge purposes.’ Now, in the same page Mr. Fairbairn tells us that ‘the pigs in which carbon most predomi-

nates (that is to say, the grey pigs,) have, as a rule, been least contaminated with other impurities during the process of smelting, and are in many respects preferable for the manufacture of wrought iron, and the grey forge iron bears a higher price in the market, because it is acknowledged to be the most valuable. But so many managers have been reared in districts where the materials will produce none but lighter-coloured iron for forge purposes, that, by habit, they have learned to prefer the inferior article even without reference to its greater cheapness.

Nothing would be more interesting than a series of well-conducted experiments to test the properties and qualities of the principal 'makes' of iron in the kingdom. But the work is one of great labour and expense, and would require a complete practical knowledge of the trade and the manufacture, which it would be difficult to find in combination with the requisite mechanical and scientific skill. Many insulated sets of experiments of great interest have been made. But the difference of their dates, and the want of this local and practical knowledge in the experimenters, much impair their utility as guides. The tabular statement of the strength of different kinds of iron which Mr. Fairbairn gives (Table VII.) in his work on the application of iron to building purposes, is interesting chiefly as a matter of history. Since his trials were made nineteen of the works he mentions have been abandoned (not all of them permanently it is to be hoped), three of them have been pulled down, and one has been converted into a railway station. Of those which are quoted as producing cold-blast iron, ten are now using the hot-blast. Moreover, as far as we can judge, all the kinds of iron are not of the same denomination; that is to say, some are more suitable for forge, and some for foundry purposes, and therefore are not such as can be fairly compared with each other. But the descriptions of the iron are somewhat vaguely given, and we presume that what puzzles us can be explained by the diversity of nomenclature prevailing at different times and in different districts. In the year 1858 the iron masters were invited by an advertisement of the Ordnance Office to send in specimens of their make, to be subjected to a series of chemical and mechanical tests. Unquestionably to comply would have been patriotic and politic too on the part of the iron masters, especially those who produced the best iron; but the invitation was clogged with conditions which excited jealousy, and manufacturers whose iron enjoyed the highest repute were precisely those who had the least reason for wishing to enter into the proposed competi-

tion. Out of more than two hundred iron masters only eighteen sent in specimens, and of this small number only four are among those whose iron Mr. Fairbairn selected as the subjects of his own experiments.\* The result is, that though the report of these experiments published by the Ordnance Office contains much important information, it is but a very slight contribution towards the great desideratum, a full account of the properties of the different kinds of pig iron which form the raw material of the iron manufacture of the United Kingdom.

To take a general survey of the products of the British manufacture, and to compare them with those of foreign lands, we turn to the International Exhibition. The most profitable object of such a comparison would be to note the many points on which we may derive some useful hints from the industry and skill of strangers; but at present we desire only to form some idea of our relative position with respect to the means of national defence. And, considered with reference to this object, the survey is highly satisfactory. The improvement in the iron department since the last Exhibition of 1851 is very remarkable. The dimensions of some of the specimens exhibited are such as we believe cannot be equalled by any other country; but we are not entitled to draw this conclusion from the absence of any foreign specimens of equal size, as the transport of such large masses would be both difficult and costly. Great progress has been made in the art of casting. The large pipes of 4ft. diameter, for the conveyance of the waters of Loch Katrine to Glasgow, would have gladdened the heart of James Watt, when in his early days he toiled so hard, and for long in vain, to get the cylinders for his steam engines cast 'straight.' And how great is the progress since those days when the benefit of Sir Hugh Myddleton's New River was almost neutralised by the foulness of the perishable wooden pipes by which its water was distributed! The forging of the large masses of iron for the engines of the war vessels is very superior. Nothing can be better than the work of the 'cross heads' and 'connecting rods' for the frigates, and the 'crank shaft' of the 'Achilles' is a masterpiece in respect of size and soundness.

In large rolled sections the superiority rests with our manufacturers. Neither in quality nor in size does any other country

\* A private manufacturer would have ordered 'trial lots' of iron from the firms who in his opinion manufactured the best iron of the description he wanted. The more nearly Government can assimilate its course to that of a private firm, the more efficient its operations will be.

exhibit iron so well adapted for the reconstruction of the navy. The great difficulty is to lay down mills for what are called in the trade 'extra sizes.' But the extra sizes of one period are the ordinary sizes of another; and the roll-turners of twenty, ten, or even five years ago, would be astonished at the specifications which are of everyday occurrence now; and when even larger sizes are needed, we do not doubt that mills will be found to execute the orders. Much of the improvement which has taken place must be ascribed to the energy of the new districts, where the iron was suited to fewer purposes than that of the old districts, and greater exertions were needed to bring it into general use. It is ever thus. It is the poorer soils and the less genial climates that call out the most active energies of the farmer. At this time we are assured that there is not a mill in Staffordshire that can roll an armour-plate, and scarcely more than one hammer to forge one. This should be amended.

A visit to the Exhibition makes it clear that we can produce steel of the very finest quality from native materials, and for inferior purposes can manufacture it as easily and almost as cheaply as merchant iron. Mr. Bessemer's stall is in the highest degree interesting. His process is new. Its value, and perhaps its capabilities, are not yet fully ascertained; but if the produce of his cupola is uniform in quality, there is no doubt it will force its way into general use. The steel ribs, tyres, and axles are excellent, and so are the 'homogeneous' plates,—so called (not very accurately) to denote that they are not formed of plates welded together. There are many new articles in steel, such as the steel wheels for heavy rolling mills, and steel rolls, which well deserve the iron-master's attention as being more efficient, and in the end more economical, than the machinery now in use. The frequent accidents which have been occasioned by the 'double-throw' crank axles of the locomotive engines suggest forcibly the propriety of substituting for the old 'faggotted' axles others of malleable steel. We earnestly recommend this subject to the consideration of engineers and railway boards.\*

\* If this is not done, it would be better to employ exclusively the ostriach cylinder engines. On the 24th of June last, when the Great Western Railway express was proceeding at full speed between Banbury and Oxford, the great driving wheel of the locomotive engine, carrying with it the end of the crank axle, detached itself from the engine, sprang from the line, and lodged itself in a pool below. The fracture showed that the pile had never been properly welded. Providentially no injury nor inconvenience beyond that of delay was occasioned to the passengers by the accident.

It would be foreign to our purpose, nor have we space, to dwell on the extraordinary variety, ingenuity, and beauty of the machinery exhibited; yet we must note how forcibly the perfection of the work proves the excellence of the material employed. But how is this triumphant catalogue to be reconciled with our complaints of deterioration and decay? Alas, it is but Regent Street masking the Seven Dials. The exhibition shows what the iron manufacture is in its sound and healthy parts, what it might be and would be everywhere but for those vitiating influences that infect all the works of man. It would indeed have been more instructive to the public and to the consumers of iron, if each district had sent specimens of its ordinary make, accompanied by lists of their present prices. We should have liked to see side by side the rails and bars of the Welsh district, the rails, tyres, and angle-bars of the North; the merchant iron, the sheets, the boiler-plates, and the boat-plates of the Midland district. It would be most desirable that ship-owners should be able to compare the difference in quality between boiler-plates at 9*l.* 10*s.* and boat-plates at 8*l.* 5*s.* Railway directors would learn why rails laminate and crush, and the members of Government boards would see the difference between tough and brittle iron. It would be well worth the while of the Government to make such an exhibition for their own use, in some one of the many docks or arsenals to which there is easiest access. Small specimen purchases made from time to time of pig iron, puddled, and manufactured iron would give most desirable facilities for comparing the products of different districts, and measuring the general progress of the manufacture. To estimate the value of such a collection for the future we have only to consider how precious to us now would be such an illustrated history of the iron trade for the last half century.

There is one point in the Exhibition which strikes very forcibly all who are practically acquainted with the iron trade. In every stall where the materials are exhibited, the same high class tenacious iron is displayed, as if every manufacturer employed the same quality; yet, in many cases, this is not the material of the district to which the contributor belongs, nor is it the material which he is known to employ in his ordinary operations. This tempts us to qualify our assent to the assertion we so often hear repeated, that the traditions of the old iron trade are really forgotten. It would seem they are not so much forgotten as neglected. The merit of tough iron is still as much acknowledged as that of virtue, and with as

little practical result. But it is plain that every one wishes to take credit for it; and to this we beg to draw the reader's attention.

There is only one weak point in our iron manufacture. The constant tendency to sacrifice quality to quantity is a disadvantage which it shares with every other manufacture exposed to the high-pressure system of competition. Its peculiar difficulty is, that the supply of the best materials, or of the materials best suited to certain purposes, is limited, and in fact is deficient. It is to supply this deficiency that the attention of scientific men, of manufacturers, and the Government should be directed. All writers on the subject admit that much remains to be done by a more cordial concert between practice and science. There are phenomena which the manufacturer has verified, but which science has not yet explained. There are many important discoveries of science which the manufacturer has not yet turned to profit. The chemical analysis of iron has been carried on to an extent which had never before been attempted, and much progress has been made in correcting the defects of various kinds of iron, by eliminating the chemical ingredients that injure the quality of the metal. Many new and ingenious devices have been invented for improving or abridging the ulterior processes of the manufacture. But many an ingenious project that promises well for future progress is of little present use. It cannot yet be made 'to pay,' and for our immediate urgent need there is a simpler remedy. It is only necessary that each district possessed of good materials should make the best quality those materials allow; and to effect this reform nothing more is needed than that there should be a clearly defined demand for good iron sufficiently extensive and sufficiently long continued.

Hitherto it has been a matter of very doubtful discussion whether it would be possible for the Government Boards to acquire the knowledge, or to procure the quality of iron that they will require, unless, to a certain extent, they become manufacturers. But since this point was first mooted, a material change has taken place in the circumstances of the case. At first the demand for iron or iron-coated ships was comparatively small. But now it is clear that sooner or later, whether the Admiralty have professedly admitted the necessity or not, the whole navy will be armed with iron. In such a case it is easy to prophesy, that by the force of circumstances, Government will be compelled to turn manufacturer; and it would do well to prepare itself gradually for the position which it must ultimately occupy. Without

the aid of the vast means now in their own hands, the Government departments will be unable to obtain the prodigious supplies of ship-building materials they will require; and if the magnificent dockyards and arsenals which have been the growth of centuries are not accommodated to the new requirements of the navy, they will be left without any adequate use. The same reasons which necessitated the creation and the extension of these gigantic establishments, will enforce on us their continuance, whatever may be the material which the advance of civilisation prescribes for ships. Whenever an English king built for himself his first ship of war, he had to encounter difficulties which in proportion were not less than those which beset the naval department now. With much exertion the Admiralty have gained the complete command of their own manufacture when the material was wood: there is no reason why they should not acquire the same mastery over iron. The difficulty of turning sailing vessels into steam boats, which has been successfully encountered, is not much less than that of substituting iron sides for wooden walls. Much, no doubt, may, and ought to be done in private yards; much of the iron work required must be supplied by private firms. Nay, more, all that can be well done ought to be done in this way. But that all is insufficient, and the Government must bring its own vast resources to co-operate. To repair, to refit, to maintain, must always fall to the share of the Government, and how is it to fulfil this task unless it also possess the power to construct? In the event of a naval action being fought within reach of our shores—a conflict which must be extremely damaging to both the fleets engaged in it—the future command of the Channel would belong to that Power which has the means of refitting and repairing iron ships with the greatest promptitude: and it must never be forgotten that in their preparations for docking large vessels the French are still ahead of us. Some administrative changes, no doubt, may be necessary; but in some way or other, the Government must secure to itself the supreme control over the great machinery of national defence and of English greatness. The navy of England cannot be left to the accidents of trade and the frauds of manufacture. Whatever present difficulties may be (and they are many and great), there can be no question what must be the ultimate result. The American Government has officially given it out, as the result of its own experience, that it cannot remain dependent on the private dockyards. It is about to employ the vast resources of an unlimited credit in establishing manufactures for the

supply of everything that can be needed for the construction of an iron navy; and the saving which will be thus effected, it estimates not by thousands, but by millions.

It is an important consideration how far the iron that can be brought against us by rival or hostile States surpasses in quality that with which we can oppose it, and we often hear it vaguely hinted that foreign iron, and especially French iron, is superior to the British. Undoubtedly very beautiful specimens from France, Germany, and Belgium, both of ores and of manufactured iron, are to be seen in the Exhibition; and there is an article in the Swedish department to which we would especially call the attention of the naval architect. It is the forepart of a paddle steamer, built at the Motala Works, of 200 feet in length, which struck on a rock when going at the rate of eight or nine knots an hour. The plates are bent into shapes from which a landsman would in vain try to guess their original form and purpose, but they are without a fracture, and the ship arrived in safety at Stockholm. There is nothing but the difficulty of obtaining the price for it, and in the first instance of inspiring faith in his power to produce it, that prevents the English manufacturer from exhibiting an equal quality of iron. But it must not be supposed that this iron, excellent as it is, is of the kind best fitted to resist shot at high velocities. The famous 'Bowling' iron, which approaches it nearest in quality, is not, in our opinion, the fit material for an armour-plate. 'It is not,' says Mr. Fairbairn, 'the iron which opposes the greatest resistance to a tensile strain, or to compression, that is most effective to resist impact. The presence of a small percentage of carbon causes brittleness; and toughness, combined with tenacity, are the qualities required.' For this resistance the fibrous English iron may defy competition. In the quantity of production Great Britain is without a rival. Ten years ago it was calculated that the annual make of the country, then about 3,000,000 tons, equalled that of all the rest of the world put together; and now there is no doubt that it might be raised to exceed the aggregate make of the world by half as much again.

If we are beaten by foreign countries, it will be by our own weapons. English managers have found employment abroad, and have carried with them the secrets of the English manufacture. England exports iron in large quantities to foreign countries; and if their armour-plates are superior to ours, it will be because our own War Departments have been less dexterous than their rivals in securing to themselves the best produce of the English manufacture. That foreign iron

is not superior to ours, and that, above all, no sufficient quantity of it is to be procured, is proved by the orders which are arriving from all parts for armour-plates. But fortunately the few machines for rolling and hammering plates which at present exist are engaged in the service of our own Government.

The whole of the disposable amount of iron best suited to the purposes of defence is all too little for the present scale of our operations. By the investigations of the Iron-plate Commission, the Government have acquired the knowledge, and obtained the sanction, to enable them to act with decision. The Report of the Commission is, for reasons which are no doubt sufficient, to be kept private. But the main fact which establishes the quality of iron best fitted to resist impact, Mr. Fairbairn has communicated in his interesting lecture, and it comprises all that the public in general are interested in knowing.

In the hopeful anticipation with which he concludes, we fully concur. 'I have every confidence,' he says, 'that the skill and energy of this country will keep us in advance of all competitors, and that a few more years will exhibit to the world the iron navy of England, as of old with its wooden walls, unconquerable upon every sea.'

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ART. VIII.—*The Remains of the late Mrs. Richard Trench; being Selections from her Journals, Letters, and other Papers.* Edited by her Son, the Dean of Westminster. London: 1862.

In the year 1772; and for some seven years afterwards, the Episcopal Palace of Waterford, in Ireland, contained two remarkable inmates. The one was a learned and pious prelate, who had had the singular fortune of engaging and retaining the friendship of the man of the world whose name is the symbol of the worldliest, without in the slightest degree impairing the dignity of his professional offices, or soiling the simplicity of his Christian character. The other was a little girl of remarkable beauty and intelligence, on whose fair orphan head the old man poured out the last love of a life which had been cheered and adorned by the exertions of public benevolence and the intercourse of domestic affections. Her father, the Rev. Philip Chenevix, only son of the bishop, had married Mary Elizabeth, daughter of Archdeacon Gervais, and both had passed away within a twelve-month, leaving their child under the devoted,

but inappropriate, guardianship of the aged ecclesiastic. His selection of attendants and instructors for her was so unfortunate as to have transmitted to later life the painful recollection of her early sufferings, consoled by the consciousness that the strange self-control, which is not unfrequent in superior children, had withheld those complaints and remonstrances, which would have harassed the failing senses and declining energies of her grandfather. Although he probably took little part in the practical business of her education, yet the influence of his large, charitable, and gentle nature seems to have fallen with an enduring force on the lonely girlhood which was deprived of its natural sympathies and resources. In her own words:—

‘His love for literature tinctured perhaps too strongly the system he formed for my education. He condemned ornamental accomplishments, lest they should seduce me from severer studies; and insensibly books became my business and my only pleasure. At seven years old, after reading Rollin as a task, I turned to Shakspeare and Molière as an amusement; and though debarred from most of the enjoyments of my age, was happy while in my grandfather’s presence. When absent from him, I longed for young companions, unrestrained exercise, childish sports, and fresh air; for I was deprived of all these from an excess of care and apprehension for my health. My grandfather’s having survived all his children and grandchildren, rendered him so timid with regard to my preservation, that his good understanding in this single instance had not fair play; and I was brought up with so much delicacy that nothing but naturally a strong constitution and uncommon high spirits could have saved my life. I was thus bred up in ignorance of all modern accomplishments—no music, no drawing, no needlework, except occasionally for the poor; no dancing, except the “sweet austere composure” of the minuet, which was admitted as favourable to grace and deportment.

‘My grandfather, called to his rest and his reward while I was yet a child, left an impression of love and reverence never to be erased from the hearts of those who witnessed the daily beauty of his life; least of all from mine; and perhaps I owe to the strength of this first attachment a tenderness for declining age, a power of understanding its language, and a pleasure in anticipating its wants and wishes, which have accompanied me through life.’ (P. 12.)

The relation to which we have already alluded between Lord Chesterfield and the Bishop of Waterford may deserve a moment’s notice. It was at the recommendation of Lord Scarborough that Dr. Chenevix was appointed Chaplain to the Embassy Extraordinary to the States General in 1728; a post which of itself meant little, but which brought him into daily contact with the great politician. It may be that neither had as

yet met with a man so different to himself in whom he found so much to honour and to esteem. In the affectionate disposition that underlaid a cynical view of life, in the unvarying good sense that checked all excess of opinion or sentiment, in the maintenance of high aims and just perceptions through the experiments of pleasure and a systematised frivolity, the clergyman may have understood the philosopher where he only expected to find the voluptuary. On the other hand, where Lord Chesterfield at the most looked for an accomplished and pliant ecclesiastic, it may have been to him an agreeable surprise to have discovered a mind that could appreciate his own talents and graces, and enter freely into his political and religious speculations without in any degree relinquishing the stricter standard of Christian doctrine and practice that was all-sufficient for its own spiritual and moral life. However this may be, the friendship which then began endured till death.

Dr. Chenevix’s elevation to the Irish bench was the first demand made by Lord Chesterfield on his acceptance of the Lord-Lieutenancy; and when the King, who had been prejudiced against him by Sir Robert Walpole as a client of Lord Scarborough’s, objected to the nomination, Lord Chesterfield made it clear in a word that his friend’s appointment and his own must go together. Dr. Chenevix died in the see of Waterford, having refused to be translated to the Archbishopric of Dublin, on the plea that he could not leave his spiritual children.

Lord Chesterfield’s letters to him form a considerable portion of the last volume of his correspondence. They indicate a sincere and respectful friendship, but at the same time wear an air of philosophic patronage that is very characteristic. He is not the least displeased at some religious counsel which the Bishop proffered; ‘indeed, I expected it both from your affection and your character: those reflections are never improper, though too often unwelcome, and consequently useless in youth; but I am now come to a time of life both to make and receive them with satisfaction, and therefore I hope with utility.’ And he proceeds to congratulate his friend on being the only man he has ever known who, ‘without compliment,’ is not the worse for having been made a bishop. There is throughout a sort of determination to keep up his intellectual dignity while ‘tottering on the brink of this world and with his thoughts employed about the other;’ although in a later letter he speaks of himself as ‘hobbling on to my journey’s end, which I think I am not afraid of, but will not answer for myself when the object draws very near and

is very sure. That moment is at least a very respectable one, let people who boast of not fearing it say what they please.' The last letter published, and probably the last written, is one of condolence to the Bishop on the death of his only son. He writes:— 'When your son was with me here just before he embarked for France, I plainly saw that his consumption was too far gone to leave the least hopes of a cure; and if he had dragged on this wretched life some few years longer, that life could have been but trouble and sorrow to you both. This consideration alone should mitigate your grief, and the care of your grandson will be a proper avocation from it.' There was no grandson—it was the little granddaughter, whom we now present to our readers.

The remaining portion of the girlhood of Melusina Chenevix was spent under the care of several relations, leaving no very agreeable reminiscence except one year of residence with Lady Lifford, where she experienced for the first time those delights of companionship which revealed to her the intensity of her social temperament. 'How delightful was it to me to find myself caressed, *applauded*!' There is the future woman in this ingenuous confession. She was accustomed in after-life to speak of her education as having been much neglected; but this must have been in reference to an unusually high ideal, for she had some acquaintance with Latin, and became a mistress of the French language, such as in those days of unfrequent intercourse with the Continent must have been rare. She also laid the foundation of her choice and ready diction in a real familiarity with the best English writers. At the age of eighteen she was married to Colonel St. George, an Irishman of fashion and great personal attractions, and she entered with full zest into a society, which, if frivolous, was thoroughly festive, and where the levity was at any rate palliated by the natural hilarity of the Irish nature, and by that genuine taste for social pleasures which elevates them into an exercise of wit and sympathy. Young as she was, her opinions must have already attained some notoriety, for she alludes to a conspiracy on the part of certain gay ladies, who, thinking they had earned her criticism, opened a sealed letter of hers, and being unable to keep the secret of their treacherous curiosity became the subject even of public reproof—an incident not unworthy of those excellent representations of national manners, the early novels of Lady Morgan.

Whether the continuance of such an existence would have produced the deteriorating effects that our fair journalist presupposes, it is useless to inquire, for the pleasant

dream was soon dissipated by the declining health of her husband, and some embarrassments in family affairs. He twice tried in vain the resource of a foreign climate, and died at Lisbon, leaving his young widow with an only child to trace her own path through the world.

After expressing with an imaginative pathos the misery of her bereavement, she proceeds:—

'The day which completed my two-and-twentieth year found my mind in this disordered state, and saw the remains of my husband placed on shipboard to be deposited at Athlone in the tomb of his ancestors. I soon followed those precious relics. The scene of my misfortune was hateful to me. The spring was advancing with charms of which a more northern climate had given me no idea; but I saw with displeasure beauties *he* could not enjoy, and longed to remove, as if I hoped to fly from grief. In vain did the Warres intreat me to pass the summer with them, and promise they would themselves conduct me to Ireland in the beginning of the autumn. Without motive or object, without even a home to return to, I felt a vague desire of wandering, and I sailed for Dublin about a month after my misfortune. As I crossed the bar, which half a year before I had passed with the gayest and most lively hopes, the large waves rolled solemnly towards the vessel, and I often wished it were possible that one of them might receive me into its dark bosom and all my inquietudes.

'Contrary winds forced our vessel to take shelter in Cork harbour. There I landed, and was taken to an inn, and was put to bed more dead than alive. Next morning I arose to pursue my journey to Dublin, as rest was hateful to me. I longed to be with Mr. St. George's nearest relations and dearest friends. A magazine lay on the table; I took it up, and mechanically turned towards the Deaths. There my grandfather's name was the first I saw. At any time nature must have spoken to the heart of a child thus shocked with the intelligence of a parent's loss; but in my position the incident was doubly affecting.' (P. 19.)

Youth, sympathy, and a cheerful temperament in due time had their natural effects, and within two years we find Mrs. St. George established in England in good society, and evidently producing a very agreeable impression. There is a little entry in her journal of 1798, the truth of which many persons will still recognise:—

'Sept. 16th.—Dined at Lord Palmerston's. Broadlands is very beautiful, both from Nature and from Art; to the latter it is most indebted. The river winds just before the house, and the trees are luxuriant and well grouped, but its distinguishing feature is a species of rich unsullied verdure which I have never seen before.'

Again, when she returns to town:—



'Dec. 3.—Went with Lord and Lady Yarmouth to a private box, to see Mrs. Siddons in *Isabella and Blue Beard*. I think Mrs. Siddons is less various than formerly, and is so perpetually in paroxysms of agony that she wears out their effect. She does not reserve her great guns, as Melantius calls them, for critical situations, but fires them off as minute guns, without any discrimination.' (P. 27.)

'Dec. 4.—Dined at the Duke of Queensberry's. He is very ill—has a violent cough, but will eat an immense dinner, and then complains of a *digestion pénible*. Sheridan's translation of the "Death of Rolla," under the name of "Pizarro," has brought him 5000*l.* (£) per week for five weeks. The sentiments of loyalty uttered by Rolla are supposed to have had so good an effect, that on the Duke of Queensberry's asking why the stocks had fallen, a stockjobber replied, "Because at Drury Lane they have left off acting 'Pizarro.'"" (P. 28.)

She soon, however, seems to have felt what Madame de Staël expresses as '*la monotonie qui fatigue l'esprit dans le grand monde*.'

'Dec. 17.—I have been, and still am, confused by a violent feverish cold. The solitude of my apartment is not disagreeable to me, but tranquillity and reflection strengthen my desire of living in the country, because I think I could there adopt a consistent plan of doing good, and see its effects. In town one may be of use in a desultory way, but not to the same extent, or with the same pleasure. One is divided from the objects one serves. Those times are past when everything I saw, every person I met, every employment I engaged in, amused, improved, or interested me. I no longer study character and seek friends; an indifference is creeping over me. I was made for a better life.' (Pp. 28, 29.)

We have been favoured with the sight of some letters of about this date which we believe will appear in another edition, and we give two extracts, one relating to the Prince of Wales and the other to a lady who conceived herself to be no less royal in the realm of literature.

'Feb. 22, 1797.

'Know also that I have spent four and twenty hours with Miss Seward, to whom I brought a letter from Llangollen, and I vote her the female of greatest powers of mind with whom I ever conversed. Her superiority so completely awed me, that I was not quite at ease, and of course lost some even of my natural mental advantages. She does not "bear her faculties very meekly," for there is a lofty swell in her language that makes us around her appear like the *confidantes* in white linen, though to do justice, this is only on suitable and serious subjects. You are not to judge of her solely by her poetry. Her talents for criticism, her prose, for I have seen several of her letters, and her conversation, are all infinitely beyond her verses. She is fifty-four, but appears younger; has a large per-

son, a stoop, and walks with difficulty from the effects of an accident in her three and twentieth year. Her dress is rather showy than simple, but perfectly within the bounds of propriety and fashion. Her hair is auburn, eyes of a most brilliant hue, neither blue nor black, but a fine warm painter's brown; they have great fire and expression. Her countenance is in general highly animated, her complexion fair and florid. She has been the most flattered woman I suppose in the world, and seems queen of Lichfield.' (MS.)

July 27, 1799.

'I went with Lady Buckingham to the opera, and the Prince was very gracious in the coffee room. She then insisted on presenting me to Mrs. Sturt, and took me there. Mrs. Sturt, who last year affected to say that it was impossible to add to her list of female acquaintance, was now all civility—such is the force of a respectable chaperone. The Prince was there also; talked a vast deal to me, and returned twice to resume the conversation. He pressed me to go to Brighthelmstone. I said I hated a place without wood. "Yes, but it has every other perfection, and after all, *one has seen so many trees!*" He spoke of the Llangollen ladies, and said, such a party must be composed of either two men or two women, for no pair of friends or lovers of different sexes could have existed together so many weeks without being tired of each other. I mention this to give you an idea of the absurd importance attached to every word of his—you know 'tis what everybody says, though perhaps no one thinks; yet a person who overheard came up and said to me, "I thought he was tired of Lady Jersey before; but I am sure of it from his speech. Did you ever hear anything so marked?" The Prince's civility ridiculously tickled the civility of others; and Mrs. Sturt followed me to the door, pressing me to supper, as if I was her dearest friend; but we went away about one.' (MS.)

In the autumn of this year, she undertook what at that time really must have been an undertaking for a solitary lady, a journey to the principal cities in Germany, the diary of which was printed last year for private circulation, and excited so much attention and interest as to have produced the publication of the present volume.

We at once meet with familiar names: she is consigned to the care of young Mr. Hudson Gurney, the banker at Yarmouth, by his London partners, who conceived her to be a decrepit elderly lady travelling alone for her health, and she describes the expression of his surprise as 'conceived in a very good strain of flattery.' On her arrival at Hamburg, she is immediately visited by Baron Breteuil, the noted diplomatist of Louis Quinze, and at his house she meets Lady Edward Fitzgerald and her lovely little daughter, whose eyes and eyelashes are celestial. She arrived at Hanover early in November; and in a few days Prince Adolphus, then acting there as Regent, called upon her,

and appointed a lady to take her the round of the Court, and introduce her to the wife of Marshal Walmoden, son of George II., who occupied a semi-royal position. Here is the portrait, in his youth, of the Prince whose genial and green old age as Duke of Cambridge is still dear to the memory of the people of England :—

‘His exterior is highly prepossessing. He is extremely handsome, tall, and finely formed. His complexion fair, yet manly; his features regular, yet expressive. His manners bear that stamp of real goodness, which no art can imitate, no other charm replace; and though he presents himself with suitable dignity, his address immediately inspires ease and confidence. His conversation is fluent, various, and entertaining.’ (P. 87.)

She adds: ‘He cannot speak of his father without tears in his eyes. He rises at six, and takes four lessons daily in study and science.’ The Irish stranger clearly made a sensation, and we may not uncharitably suppose that the agreeable variety of the presence of such a person in an uneventful society may have had something to do with the extreme good-nature of the Hanoverian ladies, who evinced no sign of displeasure at the Prince’s continued favours. In truth, although the Dean has modestly refrained from telling the story, the charming widow made so deep an impression on the Prince, that nothing but the stern provisions of the Royal Marriage Act debarred her from an alliance of the highest rank. A correspondence ensued; and it was only upon the subsequent marriage of Mrs. St. George with Mr. Trench, that the Duke returned her letters and her portrait by the hands of Lady Carysfort, intimating with great delicacy that he thought he had no longer the right to keep them. At Brunswick Mrs. St. George was presented to the Dowager Duchess, who distinctly remembered her grandfather, George the First, and who ‘appeared a model of agreeable old age turned in ivory, a softened resemblance of her brother Frederic the Great.’ The lively old lady remarked, ‘Vous n’aimez pas beaucoup en Angleterre le Roi de Prusse;’ ‘I frankly owned to her we did not.’ ‘But,’ said she, ‘il n’est pas assez riche pour faire aux dépenses d’une guerre contre les François et d’ailleurs il ne pourrait pas s’unir avec l’Empereur. Les François ont bien voulu lui donner Hanovre, mais il l’a refusé.’ She expressed great regret at not having learned English, saying, ‘she much preferred Pope to Voltaire.’

In the days of universal politics in which we live, we can hardly comprehend how this and two or three other allusions are all that this wise and witty woman gathers up and

thinks noteworthy with relation to the tremendous contest then actually in progress between the French Republic, with its great ‘child and champion of Revolution,’ and the constituted order of Europe. How thick the cloud was gathering which was to reduce these German Courts and peoples into vassalage to a power which they had abhorred and contemned; and yet here we merely see the hereditary Prince, the ‘Black Brunswick,’ as making foolish love to the attractive traveller, who receives his attentions with a playful *malice*!

She remained a short time at Berlin, where she had the opportunity of making the acquaintance of another member of our Royal Family, whom she thus describes :—

‘Ten P.M.—I have just had a visit of two hours from Prince Augustus. He is taller and larger than Prince Adolphus, and much resembles the Prince of Wales. His hair is too scientifically and studiously dressed to be very becoming, but on the whole his exterior is to be admired. He appears to have a fund of conversation and great fluency. His vanity is so undisguised that it wears the form of frankness, and therefore gives no disgust. I mentioned to him that I had heard of his excellence in singing, and he agreed that he possessed it without the least hesitation, adding, “I *had* the most wonderful voice that ever was heard—three octaves—and I do understand music. I practised eight hours a day in Italy. One may boast of a voice, as it is a gift of nature.” Yet his vanity is so blended with civility and a desire to please, that I defy any person with a good heart to dislike it.’ (P. 15.)

Her residence at Vienna lasted many months, and afforded her much matter for observation on men and manners. She was pleased with the cheapness, the air of calm and dignified existence under a mild but vigilant police, and the absence of all importunity and servility. There was an universal appearance of good-nature. On the other hand, ladies dressed without taste in gaudy and ill-assorted colours; the young men danced and rode, and had scarcely any beauty. Political discussion, she somewhat vaguely remarks, is forbidden ‘by the laws, which are exactly obeyed;’ frequent regrets for the loss of Joseph II. are the only expressions of the kind that ever escape, and then he is said to have been so ardent in his desire to *faire le bien* that he did not give himself leisure to *le bien faire*; the nobility did not disdain any branch of commerce or mercantile speculation, not even usury, selling their wine, a florin’s worth at a time, and single trees out of their gardens; scandal was totally unknown, the main object of it among women not carrying the slightest disgrace, and being always spoken of without

censure and exaggeration; an uniformly virtuous life, however, did receive some commendation. The only allusion to art or literature is a visit to the painter Füger, an enthusiast who illustrated Klopstock, and who thrust an Italian translation of the Messiah into her hands, exclaiming, 'Lisez, lisez, cela vous tournera la tête et vous échauffera le sang.' We should have rather regarded it as an intellectual febrifuge. Classical knowledge was not thought essential to education, and reading was scarcely considered as an ordinary occupation or amusement. Our ambassador, Lord Minto, lived very much to himself; she says, 'he is very pleasing when he does converse, but, like a ghost, will rarely speak till spoken to, unless to his most intimate friends.' He seems to have carried his absence of mind to the extent of forgetting his appointments with the Emperor, and of going out when he had invited parties to dinner; and she cites, as applied to him, a phrase which, however, is of older date, 'il se fera présenter quelque jour chez lui.' All this time Moreau was crossing the Rhine, conquering at Engen, at Möskirch, at Bibrach; Nice had surrendered to Melas; Buonaparte scaling the Great St. Bernard, entering Milan, and by the battle of Marengo winning Genoa and all the fortresses of Piedmont and Lombardy. And around Vienna there were women only in the fields, and not a piece of gold coin seen by our traveller during her four months' sojourn. No wonder that the people ardently desired peace, unconscious through how many more sufferings and sacrifices it was to be permanently attained.

Passing on to Dresden in the autumn, she was cordially received by our minister, Mr. Elliot, whom she found 'wonderfully amusing'; 'his wit, his humour, his discontent, his spleen, his happy choice of words, his rapid flow of ideas, and his disposition to playful satire, make one always long to write shorthand and preserve his conversation.' At his house she met Lord and Lady Holland, the description of whose merits and foibles will be recognised by many as a faithful picture of scenes and persons that are still fresh in the memory of our time. But the great event was the arrival of the Conqueror of the Nile, accompanied by Sir William and Lady Hamilton, and their auto-biographical friend, Miss Cornelia Knight. Mrs. St. George's judgment of the personages and incidents of this visit has already called forth some painful exclamations from the family of the hero, who have asked whether such extravagances could possibly have occurred? Upon this point we do not think that the distinction has been properly drawn, between what she

gives as the result of her personal observation and what she received through the playful but caustic criticisms of Mr. Elliot. That Lord Nelson was a little man without any dignity, that Lady Hamilton had absolute possession of him, that her beauty was of a coarse and colossal character, and her movements in common life ungraceful, that Sir William never spoke but to applaud his wife, that Miss Knight wrote, 'Britannia's leader gives the dread command,' and other bombastic strains, which were sung after dinner by Lady Hamilton and chorussed by the hero himself, with 'Hip, hip, hurrah!' and the *supernaculum*\*,—we believe to be accurately true. That Lord Nelson proposed bumpers to the Queen of Naples, adding, 'She is my Queen, she is Queen to the back-bone,' and that Lady Hamilton said, 'She had much rather have half Sir William's pension than be received by our Queen,' there cannot be the slightest reason to doubt. But there may, perhaps, be some exaggeration in Lord Nelson having said, with regard to her reception by the Elector, 'Sir, if there is any difficulty of that sort, Lady Hamilton will knock the Elector down,' or in Sir William's having performed feats of activity, 'hopping round the room on his back-bone, his arms, legs, star and ribbon all flying about in the air,' or in the scene on board the frigate at Hamburgh, when 'there was an end of the fine arts and attitudes,' and 'Lady Hamilton began bawling for an Irish stew, and her old mother set about washing the potatoes,' Mr. Elliot being evidently much disgusted with the whole party, and with the ridicule they cast on the English glory and the English name. We know, from other sources, that he used to speak of Lord Nelson's mixture of sheepishness and vanity as something incredible; and two distinguished ladies still remember their childish terror when they were there fiercely handled by Lady Hamilton in the character of Medea. Let any reader of Lord Nelson's Memoirs turn to that astonishing piece of laudatory doggerel which he indited to himself in his 'angel's name,' dated 'nine o'clock at night, after a hard-fought battle,' that battle being the memorable battle of Copenhagen, won by his skill and genius, and in which he exhibited a curious care of the national dignity in continuing the contest till he could formally seal the letter containing the acceptance of the terms of capitulation,—and then ask himself whether

\* Mrs. St. George misapprehends this ancient ceremony, which she says she had never heard of or seen before. It is not merely 'a bumper with a last drop on the nail,' but the ring of the nail of each guest on the inside of his glass, to show that it is empty, and ready to do duty again.

anything here related is more incongruous in the moral composition of that singular man. It is with historical characters, less perfect than those of Agricola, that we often feel the opportuneness of the fatal blow which removes them from the frailties and inconsistencies of our meaner natures, and purifies, while it consecrates, the greatness of their name.

Mrs. St. George returned to Berlin, notwithstanding Mr. Elliot's discouraging remarks. 'The King is a fool,' he said, 'and the Queen a doll. The Berlin people are false and unprincipled. You will lose a winter, and probably repent your journey.' She seems, however, to have been well entertained, and to have lived with some notable people, although Berlin reminded her of a provincial town with a large garrison, and manners pretty much on a par with its morals. 'The women are *borné* to a degree, and do not even possess ornamental accomplishments. I forgive this, as a consequence of their bad education, but I cannot excuse their failure in dress and dancing, which are the study of their lives.' She was duly impressed by Frederic von Gentz, just rising into importance in the Prussian service.

'He strikes me as possessing more energy than any man I had ever seen. His head seems to be organised in a very superior manner, and his conversation bears the stamp of real genius. He is one of those who seem to impart a portion of their own endowments; for you feel your mind elevated while in his society. In argument he is irresistible; but it seems to be from fair and honest force, unassisted by trick or artifice. His voice rises, and his eye kindles, yet his warmth never becomes displeasing, nor degenerates into either violence or sharpness. In his writings he proposes Burke for his model, and walks boldly beside him, for we cannot say he is a copyist, though a successful imitator.' (P. 121.)

This allusion to Burke is interesting, for it has always seemed to us that it was in the triumvirate of Burke, Gentz, and De Maistre that the French Revolution found its most formidable and characteristic opponents, in the separate aspects of politics, philosophy, and religion. It was hardly necessary for our clerical editor to have reviewed the recollection of what the veteran statesman called his 'Indian summer' under the influence of Fanny Elsler, rather than that of the patriotism and eloquence with which, in 1805, he invoked an united Germany as the only power which could throw off the foreign yoke and give freedom to Central Europe.

Mrs. St. George was witness to the strange catastrophe of the sudden death of a young officer at a ball, in consequence of his tight lacing, which her friend Prince Adolphus writes to her, he hopes 'may serve as an

example to other young men, that they may not likewise fall victims to their dress.' It does not seem certain whether Mrs. St. George accepted the pressing invitation to revisit Hanover with which this letter concludes, the journal closing abruptly; but, at any rate, she returned to England in the spring, and soon passed over to Ireland, where the accidental circumstance of a crowded inn was the means of introducing her into the family of Mr. William Shackleton, the Quaker philanthropist and schoolmaster of Ballytore, in the county of Kildare, with whose daughter, Mrs. Leadbeater, she formed a most intimate friendship, and commenced a correspondence that lasted a quarter of a century.\*

In the spring of 1802 France was opened by the Peace of Amiens to English travellers, and Mrs. St. George started with her son to spend a few weeks in Paris. What was intended for a holiday excursion resulted in two important events, her second marriage to Mr. Richard Trench, a young lawyer of the Ashtown family, and her detention for above four years by the useless cruelty of the French despot.

She was struck with the general sadness and worn aspect of the country people, and not very much attracted by Paris:—

'I have never seen a spot where I should more grieve at fixing my residence, nor a nation with which I would find it so difficult to coalesce. A revolution does not seem to be favourable to the morals of a people. In the upper classes I have seen nothing but the most ardent pursuit after sensual or frivolous pleasures, and the most unqualified egotism, with a devotion to the shrines of luxury and vanity unknown at any former period. The lower ranks are chiefly marked by a total want of probity, and an earnestness for the gain of *to day*, though purchased by the sacrifice of that character which might ensure them tenfold advantage on the morrow.' (P. 145.)

The Louvre, where the spoils of the world were then collected in a permanent triumph, filled her with delight; and it is quite in accordance with the general classic tone of her mind and precision of her thoughts and style, that she writes, 'When I walk among the best Grecian statues, I feel a sort of dignified calmness take possession of my soul.'

\* The 'Leadbeater Papers' have been recently published, including 'The Annals of Ballytore,' by Mary Leadbeater, perfectly justifying Mr. Trench's description of 'a highly finished Dutch painting, where one is not only struck by the general effect, but amused and interested by the details, which all bear to be separately examined,' and a most interesting correspondence between the young Edmund Burke and Richard Shackleton.

A secret influence seems to overshadow me, and keeps off all little and agitating ideas. Pictures please, but statues both please and elevate.'

Mr. Trench was confined on *parole* to Orleans and its immediate vicinity, but his wife was permitted to visit Paris as often as she chose, and probably might have obtained a passport without difficulty, had she been willing to return to England alone. In the correspondence that spreads over this period, we are certainly disappointed at finding so little matter of public interest; but it must be remembered that these letters had to go through the French Post-office, and that therefore, just the information respecting men and things, that we should have wished for, is what Mrs. Trench would be least able to communicate. Nor was the society into which she was now cast, such as to supply any available material. The imperial government kept watch and ward over the *salons* of Paris, and so charging a *déténue* would hardly have been permitted to become an *habituée* in what still remained of good society. She was therefore constrained to live with people she did not like, and cannot help contrasting her present position with the former sway of her wit and beauty. Isabey keeps her a long time waiting for a sitting; and she recalls the days when artists vied with each other to paint her for their own advantage, adding, 'I will write a poem, called the Progress of Woman, a fine occasion to show one's skill in the degradation of the tints.' The official people whom she sees on the subject of her own and Mr. Trench's detention were civil, and the Empress to whom she presented her *placet*, very kind, saying, she remembered her at Court, and would herself present her petition to the Emperor. The following passage is remarkable, as it will remind our readers of the recent restoration of the ground in front of the Tuileries, when the malcontents said, 'On voit bien que ce n'est pas *Lenôtre*.'

'Paris, July, 1806.

'The Emperor has adopted an idea which I admire very much, of having a small garden under his windows, into which no creature ever enters, except himself and the Empress. I think the idea of having a little sacred spot, very beautiful; and I wonder it has never been thought of, as it is almost as practicable as it is refined.' (P. 172.)

It must be confessed that in the art and mystery of letter-writing, English women cannot be said to have attained the eminence that has been won by our Gallic neighbours. In the old days, when letters were literature, we can indeed enjoy, with Charles Lamb, the magnificent conceits of the 'Sociable Letters'

of Margaret Cavendish, Duchess of Newcastle, which referred to such a sociability as never existed here or elsewhere, but we have nothing to compete with those wonderful exercises of feminine grace, wit, and ingenuity which originated with the society of the Hotel Rambouillet, under the example of Balzac and Voiture, and passed on in uninterrupted succession, through the *salon* of the Marquise de Sablé, in the Place Royale, down to the Hotel d'Albret, and the last days of the Grand Monarque. We have no English noble lady who occupies the literary position of Mme. de Sévigné and no companion of Royalty who can be classed with Mme. de Maintenon. It is needless to say how much this depended upon a peculiar condition of society, and the high controlling authority exercised by women in France, where *la vieille femme* never meant 'an old woman,' and where men of the highest station and intellect looked upon female companionship, not as a diversion, but as a fair intercourse of mind with mind, with differences of superiority, but parity of intelligence. The correspondence of Ladies Hertford and Pomfret, the letters of Lady Mary Wortley Montague, of Mrs. Montague, of Miss Seward and Mrs. Carter, have each their merits, the last perhaps the greatest, but they none of them can be said to possess that undefinable charm which accompanies the flow of good thought and pleasant expression from the pen of a woman who is writing to a person she loves or likes, without a notion of fame or interest beyond. Mme. de Sévigné, no doubt, knew well that Bussy bound up her letters in quarto volumes, and that many important eyes, it was said even those of divine Majesty itself, had lighted upon them. But this did not apply to those addressed to her daughter and more intimate friends, which form the real foundation of the affectionate celebrity she has inspired. Heinrich Heine somewhere lays down the proposition 'that every woman who writes anything does so, with one eye on her subject and the other on some particular man (always with the exception of a certain Countess, who having only one eye, is compelled to cast it alternately from one to the other).' The best female correspondence fully accepts this conclusion, and the letters of an accomplished woman to a man in whom she has entire confidence, will always afford a scope for the use and play of all her faculties that she can never find elsewhere. Thus many of us are acquainted with women, of no especial social endowments or vivacity of disposition, who come out upon paper in confidential correspondence, with a readiness, neatness, versatility, and wit, which no one would otherwise suspect to belong to them.

It will therefore excite no surprise in those who have entered into the peculiar qualities of Mrs. Trench's mind, to find in her letters to her husband and her son as perfect specimens of this form of composition as our language can supply. There is a certain foreign, or may be Irish, manner about them, which checks a tendency to small moralisings and stilted sentiment that were characteristics of the ethics of her time, while a large amount of English good sense and a real purity of heart control a somewhat petulant spirit that might otherwise have degenerated into flippancy and cynicism.

In the spring of 1807, Mr. and Mrs. Trench obtained the long-sought for permission to return to England. From this period to her death in 1827, she kept up the lively correspondence which occupies the rest of this volume. Her spirits had been sadly depressed by the death at Paris of her much-loved boy, the offspring of her second marriage. It is evident that she derived some consolation from the facility of the utterance of her grief which she pours out with unreserved eloquence both in English and French. But her animation fully returned when she found herself back again in the London society she loved so well; still she says with much feeling, 'You know I have no weak, vain pride in being inconsolable, on the contrary, no sooner did anything divert my thoughts than I adopted and cherished it, neither do I profess at all moments to feel the wound, although I always feel its general effects on my mind.'

She does not seem to have resided much in Ireland, and thus ingeniously defends her absenteeism, writing in a letter from Cheltenham to Mrs. Leadbeater:

'You are kind in wishing us in Ireland. A superior education for our children, the power of enjoying all the innocent pleasures of life without injuring their future prospects by expense, and my own health, all conspire to detain us here. We leave no gap, and interrupt no course of duty. No deserted mansion claims us within its ruined walls; no ancient followers look in vain for our protection. Had my husband been an elder brother, our case would have been different. As it is, we have acted from serious, and I hope conscientious, motives. Setting our case aside, nothing has been more mistaken by the friends of Ireland than the effects of the occasional residence of some of her children in the sister country. Who are most anxious for her prosperity? With some brilliant exceptions, we must say—Those who have mixed with English society, who have visited England, witnessed the humanity of her landlords, the prosperity of her peasantry, the smiling neatness of her cottages. To improve a country by forbidding her inhabitants to know by experience what is done in those foremost in the race of virtue and civi-

lisation, is a solecism. Already has much been done by the infusion of English society.' (P. 800.)

But Mr. Trench appears to have been frequently engaged with the management of their estates, and hence some of the most delightful letters of this volume. Here is a short specimen:—

Bursledon Lodge, Dec. 1810.

'None of us have been out of the house since Monday, and there was a fresh fall of snow to-day. How I thank my *young* self for having cultivated such a taste for occupation that my *old* self never knows *ennui*. That I prefer society to loneliness, is quite another thing; and I am glad to see clearly that I do so, and no longer to be cheated by the false ideas a warm imagination picks up on the subject from books, or an impatient spirit from the momentary disgust inspired by unpleasant company.

'I think to be excellent as a husband a man must be excellent in many other points; and if women were more convinced of this than they are in general, there would be fewer marriages, and perhaps more happiness; or else, in hope of pleasing us, men would improve themselves. The greatest fault our sex can be accused of, is being too easily pleased by yours; who seem to take an unfair advantage of it in being as much *over*, as we often are *under*, nice; since the smallest fault of temper, manners, or even person, is thought a sufficient apology for your breaking loose; while *poor we* —; but this is too copious a subject, and my poor baby is crying. I hope Bonaparte may have a sick child, as I think the cry of an infant, whose pain one cannot know or assuage, would make him feel his want of power, though nothing else has done it.' (P. 238)

Another series of familiar letters is addressed by Mrs. Trench to her son by her first marriage. They combine the best maternal counsel with an almost lover-like tenderness, a determination at once to hold his respect and to win his friendship. Of course, in so close a relationship the public cannot be admitted within the innermost circle of family affairs, but we are permitted to give one example which any young man might be proud to receive:

To Charles St. George, Esq.

Bursledon Lodge, 1814.

'The most beautiful and the most superb Brussels veil—the prettiest, the best chosen, the newest, in short a present in the most excellent taste. It is admired by all beholders, and accepted with cordial pleasure, as a proof, among ten thousand others, of my dearest Charles's vigilant and perennial affection. It came just in time to appear at the music meeting the bustle of which was combined with the private fuss of a removal from James's Square to the dear old house where Charles and his Mother were so merry and happy together.

'These united bustles prevented me from

writing for some days, but I know you will not be uneasy, because you are well assured that if I were ill or unhappy, I have one with me who would most certainly give you the earliest information. I was *triste* on first coming here at seeing your empty room, and I miss you at the Piano-forte, and everywhere else. Think of my going to six concerts, three of them in the morning and three in the Abbey, in the space of five days. I began to speak in recitative, and all this public music has awakened the taste for private performance. Thank you for your news, which was very diplomatic as it had appeared three days before. I am not sorry to hear you propose remaining in your present situation some time longer, long enough to prove your steadiness and your ability for a more ostensible place. I hope you really feel satisfied, and do not place everything in the fairest light in order to give me pleasure. Excuse my having mistaken Japan for Dresden. Your beautiful present is my A. B. C. as to China, in which I am deplorably ignorant.

'I cannot help wishing you would give one hour—look at your watch—I ask no more—to writing to your affectionate grandmother, and your still more affectionate brothers. These are in the two extremes of age when kindness is most sensibly felt. There are some exceptions to this rule, warm exceptions, I think, in the hearts of your mother and her mate, not to mention my dear son Charles, but the rule is tolerably general notwithstanding. Adieu, my dear inspirer of present pleasure and future hope.' (MS.)

Interspersed with graver matter, we meet with free and humorous pictures of London society. There is a joust of talk between Jekyll and Rogers, in which the latter ingeniously prevents any of the jokes of the former from coming to maturity. There is Rogers, when Mr. Wilmot has left the room, addressing the remaining circle, 'That Mr. Wilmot is a sensible man. I don't say so from my own knowledge; not the least. He wrote a book too. That you'll say was nothing. And printed it. I don't say that from my own knowledge either, for I never read it. Never met anybody that had.' And we think the following, if not perhaps accurately true, at any rate an ingenious explanation of the very unfavourable change which has taken place within the last thirty years in the social habits of the higher classes of this country.

Dec. 31.

'It is not wholly our refinement, as we are apt to think, which has banished social and sprightly amusements from our drawing-rooms. Commerce, contracts, loans, and war prices have poured an influx of wealth into hands not hitherto in contact with the Corinthian pillars of society. Many persons were suddenly raised, as well by wealth as by alliances, places, and Court favours, to mingle with those, of whom some boast a long line of distinguished ances-

tors, others all the advantages of the best education, and not a few unite both. The patri- cians were not delighted with the intimacy with such persons which playing at cards for a low stake, private acting, domestic dancing without the formality of previous preparation, or small plays, naturally produced; nor in general could the merely wealthy shine, where ease, spright- liness, and accomplishment were required. Ac- cordingly they invited their noble friends to splendid dinners in apartments of Eastern mag- nificence; and from the moment these invita- tions were accepted, our English nobility de- clined from those habits of simple enjoyment by which they were formerly distinguished. They were disinclined to be much inferior in *recherche* and expense to these new acquaintances, and in- vited them to entertainments more luxurious and more formal than they had themselves habitually given—more luxurious from con- tagion, more formal, in part to preserve their own dignity—thus adding insensibly to the far- sought delicacies of the table, and the ornament of their houses; till at last all society, saving Almack's, which is a "bright particular star," and that dignified delightful scene of dozing, the Ancient Music, has taken one uniform colour. The duke, the commoner, the contractor, all *entertain*, as it is called, in gay apartments, full of pomp and gold;

"And one eternal dinner swallows all."

(Pp. 411-12.)

We have hitherto allowed Mrs. Trench's literary merits to be inferred from her writ- ings, and we would not now press into spe- cial notice the specimens of her composition in prose and verse that are here before us. They are always graceful and expressive of the mind of the author in correct and feeling language, but they never would have won of themselves the high and lasting repute which we believe to be the destiny of this volume.

There is an Eclogue entitled "*Mariæzell*," probably written during her tour in Ger- many, which has quite a Wordsworthian sim- plicity and tenderness about it, and the fol- lowing stanzas show that she could occasion- ally take a still higher range:

'Their eyes have met. The irrevocable glance  
Stamped on the fantasy of each a face,  
That neither weal nor woe, nor meddling  
chance,  
Shall ever pluck from its warm resting-place:  
There it shall live, and keep its youthful  
grace,  
Time shall not soil a single glossy tress,  
Nor lightest wrinkle on that surface trace;  
In life, in death, remains the deep impress,  
Through all eternity endures to curse or bless—

'Eternity! sweet word to lover's ear,  
For love alone unfolds a sudden year  
Of thy long vista and immortal view;  
All other pas-sions do some end pursue,  
And in fruition die—to live anew,



And seek the food that kills. Love's finer frame  
Turns all to aliment and honey-dew;  
Of past, of future, hardly knows the name,  
Exists self-poised, and wishes all its days the same.'

The following self-criticism expresses her own judgment on her writings:—

'I should write much better if I had ever been criticised. The heaths and many other flowers require wind (not merely air, but blasts of wind) as well as sunshine; and it would have been both a stimulus and an improvement, if I had ever heard the voice of truth. But alas! that was impossible; and my little attempts *can* have no merit but that of showing to those who love me, what I might have done had I not been deprived of the advantages of classical learning; had I not been flattered in my youth, as one to whom mental acquirements were unnecessary; had I not been the fond mother of nine children and the troublesome wife of one whom I do not much like to have out of my sight;—four very unfavourable circumstances to the cultivation of any art or science whatever.' (P. 482.)

Her French style is evidently founded on the elder models with which she was so familiar. It would now perhaps be considered somewhat formal and constrained, but it is usually correct and sometimes rises to eloquence. Mrs. Trench's estimate of the books of her day is generally far from indulgent. She is enthusiastic about no contemporary poetry except 'Childe Harold' and Rogers' 'Human Life.' She gives Walter Scott's later novels a very cool reception, and while she enjoys 'The Corsair' and 'Lara,' and indeed suggests that the only way in which posterity can account for Jacqueline appearing in company with the latter will be by supposing that Rogers was Lord Byron's dissenting chaplain, she thus accurately analyses 'The Giaour,' and its defects:—

'1813.—"The Giaour" is a trial of skill how far picturesque, animated, and eloquent description will please, without dignity or delicacy of character, novelty of scene or manners, interesting narrative, or elevated sentiments. Events similar to those recorded in this tale have not only been thrice told, but three hundred times; and in point of manners, every one who has read a book of 'Travels in Turkey,' knows too well all of which he is here reminded, not to feel a certain disappointment at being carried so far and shown nothing new.'

'The story of "The Giaour" could hardly be comprehended by human ingenuity, if it did not turn on circumstances the most commonplace, as we are only presented with unconnected fragments from the lips of two nameless narrators, who ask a variety of questions, and whom we should be glad to question a little in our turn.

Fragments of this uninteresting story are tricked out in gaudy colouring, and amidst a greater proportion of indifferent lines than are fairly admissible in so short a production, we meet occasional proofs of originality and genius. Still "The Giaour" ranks far below any former production of the same author. It contributes, as far as its mite goes, to injure the taste of the age, by reducing poetry merely to an amusement for a vacant hour, instead of employing it to elevate our minds, soften our hearts, and refine our pleasures. Whether these effects are produced by sentiments, by characters, by imagery, is immaterial. When they are not produced, when poetry addresses herself chiefly through the ear to the eye, she must be on the decline; and this decline works like "The Giaour" at once accelerate and proclaim.' (P. 279.)

The following are somewhat severe but not injudicious strictures:—

'Oct. 1816.—I am reading Mrs. Marcet's "Political Economy." It is all *Say*, thrown into dialogue, with the objections which might be made. This is a good plan for chemistry, where a well-educated and thinking person *may* begin the book entirely ignorant of the subject. But it is a bad plan for political economy, on which every one has some information, more or less. One has not patience to be stopped every minute by a foolish objection, to which one knows the answer. It may do as an elementary book; but though I could read her "Chemistry," I cannot read this; and I should suppose the effect would be similar on all *grown people*. It shows a laudable spirit of industry, but I think it unfair to Say, of whom it is a sort of unavowed translation; for though she professes it to give the quintessence of other authors, all of it which I have read, except what is avowedly quoted, is cribbed from him without even changing his phrases.' (P. 348.)

'July, 1817.—We are now reading Miss Edgeworth's "Ormond and Harrington." The Edinburgh Reviewers have done her much mischief; first, by persuading her to stick fast to the bogs, after she has exhausted all that was comic, pathetic, or striking in the peculiar distinctions between England and Ireland; next to objecting to her morality being so apparent. Now she never writes half so well as when she evidently endeavours to illustrate a moral or prudential axiom; and in this case, as ships sail best with ballast, she always walks more firmly and gracefully, instead of being impeded in her course.' (Pp. 370-1.)

'Nov. 7, 1820.—I have just finished Southey's "Life of Wesley," a book one cannot read without some religious improvement; but what a trimmer poor Southey is, bowing to right and left. I have looked into Croker's translation of Fontaine's "Fables." I grieve to see my dear old French friend in a masquerade Court dress, a Windsor uniform. It is a coarse and bad translation. He leaves out the sweetness, *finesse*, and simplicity of his author, and substitutes a vulgar jollity of phrase, quite intolerable on comparison with the original.' (P. 437.)

'July, 1821.—I should ask if you had seen "Mrs. Delany's Letters." They are too much

alike, and, short as is the volume, it might be shortened with advantage; but some of them give a most pleasing and minute picture of the interior of Windsor Castle in the happiest days of our late Sovereigns. They are valuable historically, as a faithful, though slight sketch of that branch of history, detailing the private life of the great, of which the French have too much, and we too little.' (P. 449.)

What would Mrs. Trench have said, had she lived to see the six portentous volumes of this elderly lady's Correspondence which are now before the public!

'Nov. 13, 1825.—"Moore's Life of Sheridan" lowers the biographer and the subject. He is a great motive-monger, and usually selects, among a variety of probable motives, those which are least dignified and meritorious. He does not appear to love Sheridan; and he alters the complexion of facts in his domestic life, so as to make him appear blamable in a point where the plain truth would have been highly to his honour. That truth could not have been all told, but Moore ought not to have employed language which leads us to form an opposite conclusion.' (P. 518.)

As to the character of the mind of the authoress herself, it becomes us to touch with discretion on a person whose memory is still held sacred by many of the living. But we may be permitted to notice certain peculiarities which illustrate, perhaps, quite as much the generation in which she lived, as any individual idiosyncrasy. Her religion was plainly undoubtingly orthodox, a practical consolation in all her sorrows, and in its public services a positive enjoyment. Yet this did not prevent her from recognising the superiority in many serious aspects of a Society of Friends to which her beloved Mrs. Leadbeater belonged, nor from speaking of her attendance at a Dissenting chapel as a very suitable, 'rational,' and pleasant way of passing an evening. Her social morality was generous, some might think even too liberal, but she had so clear a sense of the temptations and calamities of mankind, that she could afford to be compassionate, especially to women, without lowering her own standard of virtue. She tries to find excuses for both parties in the Byron separation, and in another family difficulty she writes—

'— is going to receive his wanderer again. I cannot laugh at him, as others do. In a man, not otherwise deficient in sense and firmness, so much confiding love for a wife,—against experience,—against probability,—against hope,—against advice,—against all but affection,—is in my eyes interesting, and partakes of the feelings a superior being might have for erring mortals.' (P. 849.)

We know how unfavourable an impression

both Lord Nelson and Lady Hamilton left upon her, but when his letters to Lady Hamilton were published, she speaks of them as 'though disgraceful to his principles of morality on one subject,' not appearing to her, 'as they do to most others, degrading to his understanding.'

'They are pretty much what every man, deeply entangled, will express, when he supposes but one pair of fine eyes will read his letters; and his sentiments on subjects unconnected with his fatal attachment are elevated—looking to his hearth and his home for future happiness; liberal, charitable, candid, affectionate, indifferent to the common objects of pursuit, and clear-sighted in his general view of politics and life.' (P. 291.)

In these our days, a lady of Mrs. Trench's intelligence, information, and interest in all about her, would have her theological and ethical speculations, her schemes of philanthropy, and her, perhaps, partial or extravagant ideas as to her duties and mission in the world. But Mrs. Trench had no 'views;' she accepted without remonstrance the conditions of thought and of society in which she found herself placed; she extracted as much advantage as she could from them, both for herself and others; she criticised the shortcomings and laughed at the foibles of her time, but she never looked at herself as a reformer or as in a position to dictate to her contemporaries. Thus to some earnest persons her life, sincere as it was, might bear an aspect of occasional frivolity, and of a too ready conformity to manners which she would in her graver moments condemn. To others, again, there may seem something commonplace, and even pedantic, in her general adherence to established forms, and her submission to the public opinions of her own class, though she had the courage to think for herself, whenever her feelings were engaged, as was shown in her hearty sympathy for the unfortunate Queen Caroline.

One word in conclusion as to the task which the learned and accomplished Dean of Westminster has undertaken in the publication of this volume. It required some courage to project, and much delicacy to execute as he has done, the design of bringing before the public the history of the mind and heart of one so near and dear to him. His materials were her journal, which had shared the frequent fate of private papers—some portions unaccountably lost, and others perhaps intentionally destroyed—and such letters as had happened to be preserved by family affection, or the tender admiration of friends. He has connected these by scarce half a dozen pages of narrative and explanation, and has printed them with conscientious accuracy,

without apology, without eulogy, without vindication. He has let the book tell its own story, in its free and simple relations and in the candid exhibition of thoughts and feelings. Nor can we doubt that the result has justified his most ardent expectations, and that this volume will long be dear to all lovers of observant anecdote, of the wit that springs from the union of common sense and vivid fancy, of womanly sensibility combined with a masculine understanding, and of powers of expression, which, had they been seriously applied to objects of more general interest, would no doubt have ranked the name of Mrs. Richard Trench with those female worthies of which English literature is so justly proud.

She died at Malvern in May 1827, after some years of illness. She reproaches herself in a letter to Mrs. Shackleton for not having sufficiently appreciated the danger of her friend Mrs. Leadbeater's condition, adding: 'I have been so long in a state of suffering that it seemed to me the most natural thing in the world to be ill, and though I heard your dear mother was so, the idea of danger never passed through my mind.'

The last record in her journal is an expression of gratitude for the kindness of her neighbours, which 'must never be forgotten by me, be the time long or short during which I remember it here.' She left five sons, the eldest being the editor of these interesting memorials, which only came into his hands on the decease of Mr. Richard Trench, about two years ago.

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ART. IX.—1. *Kirche und Kirchen, Papstthum und Kirchenstaat. Historisch politische Betrachtungen.* Von JOH. JOS. IGN. v. DÖLLINGER. München: 1861.

2. *The Church and the Churches; or the Papacy and the Temporal Power. An Historical and Political Review.* By Dr. DÖLLINGER. Translated, with the Author's permission, by WILLIAM BERNARD MACCABE. London: 1862.

OUR readers will not blame us for seizing the opportunity of the appearance of Dr. Döllinger's learned work to recall their attention to a subject we have already more than once had occasion to refer to, and which is still a question of pressing European interest. 'The Roman Question,' said Baron Ricasoli, while speaking in his place in the Chamber of Deputies, as Prime Minister of Italy, 'is essen-

tially a moral question;' and he proceeded to explain that it must be decided, not by physical force, but by appealing to the moral convictions of Italy and of the Catholic world. It is in this sense, as a moral not a controversial question, and, consequently, as one vitally affecting the interests of European society both within and without the pale of the Roman Catholic Church, that we would deal with it here. While ultramontane zealots are denouncing almost as heresy every attempt to discriminate between what is essential and what is accidental in the double attributes of the 'Pope-King,' and Exeter Hall fanatics are confidently predicting the downfall of Popery as necessarily coincident with the downfall of the temporalities of the Pope—both extremes apparently agreed in this—there is a large middle class, including the devoutest and most intelligent thinkers, alike amongst Catholics and Protestants, who, because they differ from both the others, feel only more deeply the gravity of the situation which disturbs scrupulous consciences, hinders the moral development of the Italian kingdom, and, by imperilling the influence of the spiritual chief of the larger half of Christendom, imperils also the influence of the religion which he represents.

Apart from its intrinsic merits, which are considerable, there is much in the circumstances connected with the appearance of this work which gives it a peculiar importance at the present time. Dr. Döllinger is far the most eminent Roman Catholic theologian of Germany, the worthy successor of the late Dr. Möhler, and has a school of disciples growing up around him; indeed, unless Father Passaglia is to be considered an exception, we might say that he is the most eminent Catholic theologian living. He also completes the trio of the three greatest Catholic divines of France, Italy, and Germany respectively, who have, with more or less distinctness, though with some minor shades of difference, expressed themselves in a sense adverse to the essential nature of the temporal power for the welfare of the Church, and have very unmistakably denounced it, in its present shape, as an evil. And if it be objected that Passaglia speaks rather as an Italian patriot than as a Catholic priest, no such insinuation can be made in the case of a writer who not only is no Italian himself, but who obviously has little sympathy for the Italian people, and still less for Italian unity, while the strong conservative temper which betrays itself throughout the volume would naturally incline him to adopt the view most favourable to the old régime. The circumstances attending the delivery, last year, at Munich, of the two lectures which are here

reprinted in an appendix, and the excitement caused by them in the Catholic religious world, give additional interest to a work originating under such conditions. It is stated, moreover, on good authority, that the Pope has been made acquainted with its contents, and has expressed his approval of them. How far the declaration introduced into a recent Allocution, that the temporal power is 'not a dogma,' may be due to this influence, we are unable to say.

Dr. Döllinger has entered a protest against being identified in sentiment with Passaglia and Tosti, and we are bound to accept his disclaimer on a point of which he must be necessarily the sole judge. But we shall do him no injustice if we may say that the main drift of his book is to impress on his co-religionists that the temporal sovereignty of the Pope is in no way essential to the integrity of the Church, and that there is no Divine promise that the successor of St. Peter 'shall always remain monarch of a temporal kingdom.' He has, in fact, said much more than this; for if he has not felt himself at liberty to draw the inference, he has given us abundant data for inferring (as we shall by and by have occasion to show), that the loss of the temporal power, so far from being a serious injury, would, in many ways, greatly increase the moral and spiritual force of Catholicism. He sets out with the statement of three possible results of the present complication: viz., either that the temporal dominion will be restored, or partly restored, after a temporary alienation; or that the independence of the Holy See will be secured by some other means; or, lastly, that we are on the eve of a general European catastrophe, involving the whole edifice of existing social order in a common ruin. And he tells us that of these three possibilities, he regards the first as most probable, viz., the restoration of the temporal power, though under very altered conditions; for a continuance of its present state, he adds, is not desired 'by any intelligent friend of the Papal See.' Perhaps we had better let him give, in his own words, what he considers to have been the substance of his lectures. The italics are our own.

'Let no one lose faith in the Church if the temporal principality of the Papacy should disappear, whether it be for a season, or for ever. It is not essence, but accident; not end, but means; it began late; it was formerly something quite different from what it is now. It now justly appears to us to be indispensable, and so long as the existing order lasts in Europe it must, at all cost, be maintained; or, if it is violently interrupted, it must be restored. But it is possible to suppose a political condition of Europe in which it would be superfluous, and then it would be only a clogging burden.' (P. 5.)

But the only reasons he has urged for considering the temporal principality indispensable under existing circumstances, or for anticipating its restoration, are so slender and unconvincing, and he has supplied so many cogent arguments for thinking it unnecessary, if not undesirable, that it is difficult for his readers not to believe his cautious reticence on that part of the question which has been elaborately treated by Passaglia, due rather to an exaggerated sense of ecclesiastical etiquette than to any strong convictions antagonistic to those of the great Roman divine. Be this as it may, however, the value of his testimony, especially as addressed to members of his own communion, cannot be depreciated or denied.

Before referring to it more in detail, it will be as well to glance briefly at the prevalent phases of sentiment among ultramontane supporters of the temporal claims. Allowing for many lesser shades of difference, they may be broadly divided into two classes. There are those—and we fear Count Montalembert must be numbered among them—to whom it does not appear unreasonable or immoral to assert that the sacrifice of the freedom, and, if it be so, the happiness of three million Italians, is a necessary, and therefore a legitimate condition of the welfare of the universal Church. We need not wonder at such a theory being maintained. To do evil that good may come has been the darling temptation of religious partisans in every age and of every creed, nor are the advisers of Job the only theologians who have thought it an acceptable service to lie for God. But those who have an intelligent faith in Catholicism will be slow to defend its interests by so suicidal a paradox. *Fiat justitia ruat cælum* is a principle true for all times and all circumstances, and of only the more imperative obligation the more sacred are the interests at stake. There cannot be a greater dishonour to Christianity than to insist that its welfare is implicated in the maintenance of a corrupt and superannuated despotism, for which we vainly seek, even in Turkish maladministration, an adequate parallel. A second class, including probably all, or nearly all, the English champions of the Papal Government, while holding with the former its necessity for the interests of the Church, if not indeed in some cases, as with Dr. Manning,\* almost for the integrity of the faith, maintain that its existence is also beneficial to its subjects, and that the alleged disaffection is both grossly exaggerated, and entirely the result, so far as it is a fact, of secret societies and foreign propaganda. It is difficult to argue on such a

\* See two sets of Lectures by him on 'The Recent Crisis,' and 'The latter Glories of the Holy See greater than the first.'

strange view of the matter as this. The sincerity of many who maintain it cannot be questioned, but the significant silence of all the more influential Catholic members in the Italian debate provoked by Sir G. Bowyer in the House of Commons, sufficiently indicated that his views were far from being shared by all his brethren in the faith. Were those who think with him open to such evidence, we should remind them that the silent demonstration of the Romans at the last Carnival, when nearly the whole population, in obedience to the National Committee, absented themselves from the Corso, with which may be contrasted the enthusiastic reception of Victor Emmanuel at Naples, were strikingly indicative of the universal feeling among both Romans and Neapolitans in favour of Italian unity.\* For these, be it remembered, are not isolated expressions of feeling, but are in entire accordance with what we should otherwise be led to anticipate, and take place in cities stated by the friends of the Papal and Bourbon power to be deeply attached to the old governments. It must be a strong religious conviction which can lead men so utterly to ignore either the elementary principles of justice or the clearest evidence of fact, as to maintain, with one class of advocates, that the former must be sacrificed, or, with the other, that no sacrifice is required for the continuance of the temporal power. We shall therefore go on to inquire, under the guidance of a Catholic theologian, what is the teaching of history as to the action of that power on the spiritual interests of the Roman Catholic Church.

For upwards of seven centuries—the age of the Martyrs, the Œcumenical Councils, the Fathers of the Church, the Creeds, the conversion of the greater portion of Europe—there was no temporal power. It began at the close of the eighth century with the donations of Pepin and Charlemagne, suggested probably in part by the fabulous ‘donation of Constantine.’ Seven centuries more had to pass away before it became a recognised and substantial fact. ‘The Roman See subsisted seven centuries without possessing in sovereignty a single village. . . . In fact it was not till the time of Leo X., about 350 years ago, that the Popes held quiet possession of the State, with its three million of inhabitants.’ (P. 457.) With the fall of the Carolingian dynasty fell also the ecclesiastical policy which its founder had originated; and for more than two centuries, till about 1060, ‘the greater portion of the Papal States

had fallen into the hands of laymen.’ For most of that period the Papacy itself became the catspaw of the Roman nobility, and its moral influence was discredited by a rapid succession of impotent or flagitious *faintants*, the creatures of the dominant faction of the day at Rome; for some time the favourites of two abandoned women, Theodora and Marozia, were thrust into the Papal chair, among whom was John XII., whom our author euphoniously designates a ‘good-for-nothing Pope,’ and who was in fact the veriest incarnation of all the darkest vices which can defile humanity. The Emperor Henry III. did much by a succession of German Popes to elevate the position of the Roman See. At the end of the eleventh century Gregory VII., one of the most powerful ecclesiastical rulers who have ever sat on St. Peter’s chair, never held in a firm grasp the sceptre of his temporal sovereignty. ‘During the whole of the twelfth century, the Popes had no fixed settled territory of their own in Italy.’ At its close, Innocent III., the next most powerful Pope after Hildebrand, ‘was not so much the restorer as he was practically the first actual founder of the Papal States.’ From this period dates the formation of the Guelph and Ghibelline parties, which involved the cause of the Church with the divided interests of political partisanship, and ranged the subjects of the same spiritual father under the opposite banners of the champions of the Emperor and the champions of the Pope. Henceforth the Popes, though still ‘in such a position that no city was really subject to them,’ became the leaders of an Italian party, and began to employ against their political enemies the spiritual weapons of ban and interdict, and the temporal arms of foreign mercenaries. Indeed, it is remarkable throughout the Middle Ages that the terrible weapons of excommunication and interdict are far more frequently resorted to for secular than for spiritual ends, and become the recognised method for quelling a revolted city, or enforcing a disputed salt tax. A new era for the Papacy and for Italy opens with the succession of the House of Anjou to the Sicilian throne; French influence predominates over the Guelphic party and the Popes themselves, who had hitherto been its undisputed leaders, till at the commencement of the fourteenth century they removed their court to Avignon, whence a succession of French pontiffs ruled over Rome, like one of the provinces of the old empire, as a distant dependency, through the instrumentality of French legates, whose oppressive government kept the city in a state of almost chronic revolt, which was met by the old weapons of ecclesiastical censures and brutal foreign mercenaries. At the end

\* It is worth observing that the proclamation of the National Committee here referred to closed with the words, ‘Viva Pio Nino, ‘*Pontefice non Re.*’

of the seventy years 'grass was growing in the streets of Rome, and the number of its inhabitants was only 17,000.' Then the demand for a Pope, who should be 'a Roman or at least an Italian,' became too strong to be resisted. It was gratified in the election of Urban VI., an Italian, but a man of infamous character, as were most of his immediate successors, and with the opposition made to his appointment by the French Cardinals begins the schism of the Anti-Popes, which did so much to discredit Papal authority in Europe, by exhibiting two rival claimants for divine jurisdiction over the Church hurling anathemas at each other, and thus indirectly paved the way for the greater schism of the sixteenth century. At this period the Papal States were almost in dissolution, and Boniface IX., Urban's successor, even sold to their various owners the sovereign rights of which they were already in actual possession, in consideration of an immediate payment and a yearly tribute. It must be remembered that all along nepotism had been one of the crying grievances of the Papal rule, the more so as very many of the Popes had, besides other relatives, their own illegitimate children to be enriched out of the revenues of the Church. This evil practice culminated at the close of the fifteenth century under Sixtus IV., and the wretched Alexander VI., who alienated the greater part of his dominions in favour of his son, Cæsar Borgia. Julius II., a brave soldier and a man of vigorous and statesman-like capacity, though of immoral life, recovered forcibly what his predecessor had frittered away, and thus became, in the words of our author, 'the third founder and restorer of the Papal States;' the work of internal consolidation was successfully inaugurated by the next Pope, Leo X., who was at once a statesman, a voluptuary, and a sceptic. The dismemberment of the Papal States by nepotism was not brought finally to an end till the reign of Pius V., who prohibited, under threat of excommunication, every alienation, temporary or permanent, of the property of the Roman Church, or any part of it; and from his time dates the oath, of which we have heard so much lately, taken by every Pope at his coronation, which did not, however, prevent Pius VI. from succumbing to political exigencies, and alienating, in the Treaty of Tolentino, the three legations of Ravenna, Ferrara, and Romagna. Since the Reformation dynastic interests have over and over again led the Popes to adopt a line of policy incongruous with their ecclesiastical position as heads of the Roman Catholic Church. Thus Clement VII. aided the friends of the Smalkaldic League against Charles V., who, though his political opponent, was a zealous

and even vehement champion of Catholicism; Urban VIII. countenanced Gustavus Adolphus in his invasion of Germany, undertaken in the interest of Protestantism; Innocent XI. gave his concurrence, if not his open sanction, to William III. in his claims on the English throne. A more striking instance of the Papal States being used 'as a fulcrum' to extort from the Holy See measures uncongenial to its religious instincts is mentioned by our author, when the French Government, by seizing part of the States and threatening the rest, enforced on Clement XIV. the suppression of the Jesuits—at that time the great missionary power of the Roman Church—just as six centuries before the Emperor Henry V. had by similar means compelled Paschal II. to yield the right of Investiture, which had for thirty years been the critical question contested between the Papacy and the civil power, and had been the turning point of St. Anselm's career in this country as Archbishop of Canterbury. Indeed it is difficult to say to what period of its chequered history the words applied by Dr. Döllinger to the temporal sovereignty in the eighteenth century do not apply:—'Times in which the States of the Church, so far from aiding to serve the Papal independence, were on the contrary regarded and treated as the very means by which a Pope could be forced to adopt measures which otherwise he never would have assented to.' Pius VI. and Pius VII., we are told, though excellent and conscientious men, felt bound to postpone the interests of their spiritual to those of their secular kingdom; 'they regarded the quality of a territorial prince more highly than that of the head of the Church.' And so we are brought down to the French Revolution, and the restoration of the Papal Sovereignty in 1814 by the Treaty of Vienna, a treaty which ignored any rights but those of princes, and which since then forms the sole basis and guarantee of the secular claims of the Holy See.

What then is the verdict of history on the relations of the temporal power to the spiritual authority of the Papacy? That the chief pastor of Christendom, on whom as such devolves 'the care of all the churches,' should be distracted by the toils of civil government, and involved in the tangled skein of European diplomacy, is of course implied in the very fact of his being also an earthly sovereign. But much more than this may be gathered from the foregoing sketch, which is mainly extracted from the pages of Dr. Döllinger's book, and partly expressed in his own words. We have seen that from the beginning of the temporal power in the time of Charlemagne, it has entailed on the Popes an almost uninterrupted

condition of warfare, to retain or recover some portion of their nominal dominions, of which, for above seven centuries, they cannot be said to have enjoyed peaceful possession. As a result of this, grew up the Guelph and Ghibelline parties, and the spiritual influence of the Papacy became strangely mixed up in the complications of secular politics, while 'the hateful employment of spiritual, combined with temporal, weapons,' went far to break down all respect for ecclesiastical authority. To this may be added the infliction on the Roman Church for lengthened periods of a series of incompetent or infamous pontiffs, through the interest or ambition of political factions, and in total disregard of the sacredness of their office. Of the systematic prevalence of nepotism we have already spoken, and although for the last century or more the Popes have, with one exception, been free from this charge, 'it is otherwise,' says our author, 'with the nepotism of cardinals and prelates.' Last, but not least, we have found that what was designed as a guarantee of independence, has again and again, under most varied circumstances, been used by foreign courts as a lever for bringing their influence to bear on the Holy See, and extorting concessions which would not otherwise be granted. To an ordinary apprehension it would seem hard to imagine a more damning case against the temporal power from a purely Roman Catholic point of view. Nay, we can hardly wonder that the preservation of the Papacy through so tremendous an ordeal, which struck Lord Macaulay as a masterpiece of human ingenuity, should be urged by Baronius in proof of its divine origin. And if from the external history we turn to the internal administration of the Papal States, the argument becomes stronger still. We cannot follow our author through all the details of this portion of his subject, which he has traced with a minuteness and an outspoken candour greatly to his credit as a writer and as a man. The most important circumstance to notice here, and that on which all else ultimately depends, is the administration of the State by ecclesiastics, which dates from the middle of the sixteenth century. From that time also dates the jealousy, or rather hatred among the laity of the *governo dei preti*—a government which has abundantly illustrated the truth of Lord Clarendon's famous observation, that 'of all mankind none form such a bad estimate of human affairs as churchmen.' For it would be a great mistake to suppose that this jealousy of clerical government is of recent origin, though it may have received a fresh impetus from recent events—such as the Achilli or Mortara

cases, or the edict of Airaldi, ordering all maid servants, under pain of excommunication, to inform against their masters for eating meat on fast-days. Equally idle is the argument sometimes based on an arithmetical calculation of the relative numbers of ecclesiastics and laymen employed in the executive. It may be quite true that, 'in the year 1848 there were 5,059 lay employes to 109 ecclesiastics;' but, inasmuch as all offices of trust and importance have ever been held by the latter, except during Count Rossi's brief administration and the period immediately preceding it, it would be as absurd to infer from such a numerical proportion, were it constantly preserved, that the government was not essentially an ecclesiastical one, as to say that the Court of Arches is a civil court because Dr. Lushington is a layman. That any fundamental change in the Papal administration in this respect would be found a practical impossibility we fully believe, notwithstanding Dr. Döllinger's contrary opinion, and on this point Mgr. Dupanloup is agreed with us. But, were it otherwise, the history of the Papacy previous to the last three centuries is sufficient evidence that only one out of many injurious concomitants of the temporal power would be thereby eliminated, not to add that the Papal Sovereignty in any form would be inconsistent with Italian unity.

Since 1814 the government has been more bureaucratic after the French model, though, unlike the French, the highest offices have still been in the hands of ecclesiastics. Indeed, a more complicated or more inadequate machinery of red-tapism than is described by our author in his chapter on the Papal States, from 1814 to 1846, could hardly be conceived, or one more radically corrupt. Nor can it be doubted that the same influences have reacted on the ecclesiastical policy of the Holy See, too. Cardinal Consalvi, who was denounced by the ultramontanes of his day as a dangerous innovator, not only restored but greatly strengthened the clerical power in the State, placing under it the whole control of education, and a strict censorship of the press. Leo XII., a member of the party of *Zelanti*, not only restored the hated Inquisition, with its obligation of secret denunciation imposed on all citizens alike, but established besides an elaborate system of *espionage*, both for political and moral offences. The last was indeed abolished by his successor, Pius VIII., but again restored under Gregory XVI., in whose reign many promises of reforms were made, in reply to the Memorandum of the Great Powers, but little or nothing was really accomplished. Irritation has sometimes been caused in this



country when clergymen have discharged the duties of magistrates; but what are we to say of an absolute government where the whole powers of police are normally vested in the priesthood? What of the odious *privilegium fori*, as it is called in the canon law, whereby priests are exempted from the jurisdiction of civil tribunals, and reserved for the milder punishments or complete impunity accorded by ecclesiastical courts, of which the notorious Achilli is an instance, who, after being convicted of the grossest crimes, was not only left unpunished, but actually made an Associate in Visitations, a Professor in the College of Minerva at Rome, and a preacher at Capua? What are we to say of the *preti di piazza*—the multitude of ignorant and needy priests who congregate in the streets and coffee-houses of the ecclesiastical metropolis, and do what in them lies to break down all reverence for the order to which they belong? A darker blot on the Papal Government is the derival of income from the official lottery, described by Mr. Dicey in his 'Rome in 1860,' thus making capital out of one of the worst vices of the Italian people—their passion for gambling. Can we wonder that pious Italian laymen, like Tommaseo and D'Azeglio, should use such words as these: 'It is the gross faults and abuses of the civil government that make the people falter in their faith, and shake their confidence in the Papal guidance of the Church. The unfavourable opinion fostered by the condition to which the government of the Papal States has reduced them, opens a path for erroneous doctrines in religion.' (P. 408.)

It would be beyond the scope of this article to enter at any length on the history of the Papal States since the accession of the reigning Pontiff. It is natural that Dr. Döllinger should speak of Pius IX. with that reverence and affection which his blameless life, his benevolent character, and his many personal virtues have justly merited; nor have we any wish to detract from his praise. To apportion with critical accuracy the merits or demerits of those who have been concerned in carrying on his government, would be an ungracious and useless task. Still less do we question the purity of his own motives, or the sincerity of his aims. He desired to effect a reformation; but he failed because, from the nature of the case, it was simply impossible he should succeed. A pope with the very best intentions can do little when it is the interest of all about him to maintain the existing state of things, and where, too, the very character of the government precludes any efficient action of public opinion. Never, perhaps, was the Papal

Chair occupied by a more unselfish and single-minded Pontiff than Pius IX.; yet seldom have the Papal States been worse governed than since his restoration in 1849. Were it not so, the Piedmontese could never have entered his States with the tacit acquiescence or open approval of nearly all Europe. But the question lay deeper than that—something more than reformation was needed, for the whole system was rotten to the heart's core. Of that we need seek no further evidence than is supplied by the volume before us. It is due, indeed, to the author to say that he professes to desire and to anticipate a continuance of the Temporal Power; but then it is due both to him and to the interests of truth to add, that he only desires it on conditions so completely new as shall make it the model government instead of the standing scandal of Christendom, and shall put an end to the ecclesiastical administration of the States. How far such a change is conceivable, we may leave safely to the judgment of our readers. We hail certainly with satisfaction the assurance of a Catholic divine, that the Canon-Law and the mediæval policy of the Church is a mere variable and temporary accident, and that her infallibility is pledged to nothing beyond the development of her abstract dogma. But we think him more than sanguine, when he supposes that the traditional instincts of centuries are likely to be abandoned, and the Papal States governed, under the autocracy of the Popes, on principles accordant with modern liberal ideas.

What is required of them is, not that they should undertake the hopeless task of reconstituting a civil government radically corrupt, but that they should surrender it to the exigencies of the times, and throw themselves heartily and generously into the altered conditions of society. Everywhere else the combination of civil and spiritual power in the same hands has been condemned. The German prince-bishopricks, though administered through lay officials, have yielded to the public opinion of the day, and we have yet to learn that the Church has suffered by their fall. In England the last relic of spiritual sovereignty—existing, indeed, more in name than in reality, except as to its princely revenues—was suppressed within our own memory, and no regret has been manifested at its loss. In other ways the Church of England has been stripped during the last half-century of much of her political power and prestige; yet there probably has never been a time since the Reformation when her hold on the affections of her members was stronger than it is now—and for this obvious reason, that her clergy have, on the whole,

though not perhaps at first without complaints and misgivings, accepted frankly their somewhat altered position, and regained by the exercise of moral energy far more than could be guaranteed by the enactments of the Statute-book. That the change has worked beneficially for the Catholic Church in Germany may be learnt from Dr. Döllinger's account of its present state.

'If the Court of Rome should reside for a time in Germany, the Roman *Prelati* will doubtless be agreeably surprised to discover that our people are able to remain Catholic and religious without the leading-strings of a police; and that their religious sentiments are a better protection to the Church than episcopal prisons, which, thank God! do not exist. They will learn that the Church in Germany is able to maintain herself without the Holy Office; that our Bishops, although, or because, they use no physical compulsion, are revered, as if they were princes, by the people; that they are received with triumphal arches, and that their arrival in a place is a festival for the inhabitants. They will see how the Church with us rests on the broad, strong, and healthy basis of a well-organized system of pastoral administration, and of popular religious instruction. They will perceive that we Catholics have maintained for years, straightforwardly and without reservation, a struggle for the deliverance of the Church from the bonds of bureaucracy; that we cannot entertain the idea of denying to Italians what we have claimed for ourselves; and that, therefore, we are far from thinking that it is anywhere an advantage to fortify the Church with the authority of the police, and with the power of the secular arm.' (Pp. 453-4.)

Noble words, and worthy of a Christian divine of the great Germanic race. That such should be also the condition of the Church in Italy must be the desire of every sincere and enlightened Catholic. But most persons will consider such a result more likely to be brought about by the cessation of the temporal power of the Holy See than by any attempt to remodel its administrative machinery. 'The Church in danger' has always been a favourite cry with churchmen whose zeal outran their wisdom, but they have frequently had occasion to learn that the danger of clerical privileges may be the salvation of the Church. It is inconceivable that what everywhere else is felt to be a glaring anachronism should in Italy be a first necessity of spiritual independence and life. We have already observed that Dr. Döllinger's testimony receives additional weight from his unconcealed contempt, as a German, for the Italian people, and his dislike, as a strong conservative, for the revolutionary character of the unitarian movement. We cannot but feel that he has suffered himself to be misled by prejudice when he speaks of

the 'Piedmontese beast of prey,' and of 'a Ricasoli or a Ratazzi, or above all of those lawyers and *litterati*, those land plagues that, with trumpety pompous rhetoric and hollow-sounding phrases, are now—and mayhap for some little time longer may be—permitted to swim upon the surface of society.' He ought to be aware that the Italian parliament is, both in composition and character, much more like the English House of Commons than those French assemblies with which he is mentally comparing it. Neither does he seem to have taken the trouble to estimate carefully the extent and vitality of unitarian sentiment in Italy, and the peculiar aptitude of the country for passing from a geographical expression into a compact and well-organised State. But on these points we have had opportunities of speaking before, and we are well content to leave so clear-sighted and honest an observer to correct his theory by the gradual teaching of events. The last three years have won unlikelier converts to the cause of the new kingdom. It is more to our present purpose to point out some further collateral advantages to the moral influence of the Roman Church which would accrue from the cession of her political power.

There are many institutions bound up with the Court rather than the Church of Rome which have long been an occasion of scandal to her enemies and a drag upon her inner life. Such is the *Index Expurgatorius*, instituted originally by Alexander VI. to screen a corrupt court from hostile criticism, but which has been too often used to check the course of scientific and religious thought, and has only of late years ceased to be odious because it is felt to be impotent. It has succeeded, however, in union with the censorship, even more completely than the Spanish Inquisition in its own country, in preventing the creation of a native literature at Rome, or even the desire for it. Latin theology and French novels are the staple commodity of Roman booksellers; and the latter, which however immoral do not often dabble in heresy, form the staple reading of such Romans as care to read at all. 'Ninety-nine in every hundred,' says Dr. Döllinger, 'had never, either before or after the revolution, taken a book or newspaper in their hands;' and he thus describes the intellectual condition of the Papal States:—'The state to which we are brought is this—that in the finest, and, mentally, most richly endowed part of Italy, we are absolutely without any literature—nothing now appears but a few volumes on archaeological subjects and local histories—not a line of the slightest importance upon science and general literature.' He might have add-

ed, that the best works on Catholic theology emanate from Germany, not from Rome. Can we wonder, after this, at the intellectual condition of exclusively Catholic as contrasted with Protestant countries? The whole working of the '*prelatura*' system is another case in point, but to that we have alluded elsewhere. So again the method of training in the Roman ecclesiastical colleges may be admirably adapted to produce willing and submissive tools, mere passive instruments of a centralised theocratic bureaucracy, but it is very ill calculated to inform the intellect or mould character. It makes machines, not men; and when tried on minds of a higher order, whether of genius or individuality, is apt to drive them not only from the ministry but the communion of their Church, as was exemplified in the person of the late Dr. Wolff (who has told the story in his own characteristic way), and more recently in the case of the distinguished philologist, M. Rénan, who was educated for a priest. The mark of intellectual depression may be traced on the very faces of the ecclesiastical students as they pace, two and two, along the streets of Rome. There is another point which we would touch with a delicate hand, but which cannot altogether be passed over here. We are not going to enter on any discussion of the theory of asceticism or the relative value of the contemplative and active life. But we think most educated Roman Catholics will agree with us, that a great multiplication in any country at the present time of monastic establishments, richly endowed and with no active duties attached to them, is not only a drain on its material and moral resources, but an element of weakness rather than of strength to the Church herself, by the encouragement held out to idleness or other secondary motives short of what would be considered a real 'vocation,' to evade the service whether of Church or State. Dr. Döllinger is severe, in common with other writers of his communion, and not without some justice, on the forcible suppression of monasteries under Henry VIII. But he should remember that nearly every Catholic country has subsequently followed the example of Protestant England. The wealthy abbey of France fell in the first Revolution, and not too soon if we may trust the unexceptionable testimony of Montalembert. Religious endowments in Spain and a great part of Italy have been confiscated; and those best acquainted with the moral state of the rich Benedictine monasteries which still survive in the Austrian Empire will not be disposed to quote the exception in disparagement of the wisdom of the general rule. Nor is the reason far to seek. Many of the functions discharged by

the mediæval abbey have passed into other hands, since knowledge has no longer been confined to the university or the cloister. Schools, institutes, almshouses, and all the varied appliances of modern instruction and modern charity share the work once performed, so far as it was performed at all, by the monks. Numberless openings, again, for secular enterprise and talent exist now, whereas in the Middle Ages the army was almost the only profession for a layman. These, and other causes which need not be dwelt upon here, have materially changed the relation of the monastery to the nation and the Church. It is a fact, that the immense number of such establishments of the Papal States, and the extent of landed property belonging to them, has converted great part of the country into a wilderness, and is one main cause of the extreme unpopularity of the Government. The release of the lands held in mortmain, which has recently contributed to restore prosperity to Spain, is even more urgently needed in Pontifical dominions. It is an economical reform which ought to precede all others. But economical reforms cannot be separated from that moral reformation which is not less needed in the monastic establishments of Rome. We happen to know on good authority that scarcely a single Dominican monastery in Italy—and the same is probably true of others—keeps strictly to its professed rule. If devotional retirement be the highest ideal of Christian perfection—a point we are not concerned with here—an otiose seclusion from the active duties and responsibilities of life, where religious observances are neglected too, is certainly one of the lowest. We shall not rake up the foul insinuations often made against the internal condition of these communities, but it is obvious to remark, that nowhere is the Aristotelian alternative (we purposely leave it untranslated), *ἢ ἐν πρὶν ἢ ἐξ ὅς*, more surely verified than here. In what Roman Catholic divines have termed the 'angelic life' there can be no middle position between the ardour of intense devotion and the miserable littlenesses, both moral and intellectual, which sink beneath the dignity of human nature, to say nothing of those darker currents of feeling which are apt to run riot in the vacant heart. Blanco White's terrible experiences as a nuns' confessor show that such possibilities are something more than a surmise. On the whole, then, we conceive that if the fall of the Papal temporalities should involve a considerable diminution in the number and wealth of their monastic establishments, such a change would brace more than it would cripple the active energies of the Church.

Another point connected with the Papal

*Curia* is the dominant Italianism, if we may use the word, which for the last three centuries has increasingly prevailed in the Latin Church, shaping her theology, her policy, and her whole religious life. And the reason is clear enough. The Teutonic and Romance races, though descended from a common Aryan stock, represent two opposite poles of national character, or rather the two principles which, under various forms, have in every age striven for the mastery. To the Teutonic race belongs energy, self-assertion, a keen sense of individual rights and duties; the passive virtues of reverence and submission are the inheritance of the Romance nations. Dr. Döllinger has insisted so strongly on the benefits which accrue to the Church from the infusion of fresh blood, as each new nationality enters her pale and contributes another element to the common life, that he will probably admit the comparative withdrawal of the Teutonic element at the period of the Reformation (for broadly speaking, the Romance nations alone continued Catholic,) to have been even more injurious as a moral than as a numerical loss. The Western Church, it is true, had inherited much, both of her canon law and her traditional polity, from the Roman Empire, whose indelible impress is also stamped on the civil law of every European State. But previously to the Reformation, this Latin influence had been counterbalanced by the successive accretion of various new elements of national life. Since then it has almost exclusively predominated, and naturally finds its stronghold in an absolute bureaucratic court, at once the centre of ecclesiastical government, and at the head of a petty Italian State. It is clearly unsuitable that the spiritual chief of a 'world-church,' as our author is fond of calling it, should always be chosen from one nation, and he has himself pointed out how in the Middle Ages the German Popes were the salvation of the Church. But it is natural that a Pope who is also an Italian Sovereign should be an Italian, and that the Cardinals who are to form his court should be mostly selected from the same nation. We cannot pause to trace out this Italianism into its detailed results, affecting the political action, the devotional and theological literature, of the Roman Church, especially moral theology, and giving to all the colouring of a particular national temperament. To take but one instance, it has been matter of regret to many of her own members that the theology of Liguori should have given its tone to her whole moral teaching,—a writer who is, to say the least, singularly lax on questions such as strict veracity, to which Englishmen are accustomed to attach a high importance. We do not say that any change in the internal policy of the Ro-

man Catholic Church would wholly repair the moral losses of the Reformation, but she still retains her hold over a considerable part of Germany, and a certain proportion of the Anglo-Saxon race both in England and America; and there would obviously be room for other than Italian influences, when the necessity had ceased to exist for an Italian *Curia* and an Italian Pope.

No one who has carefully watched the march of events in Italy, both before and since the campaign of 1859, can doubt that the interests of religion there have been seriously compromised by its seeming identification with civil despotism. It is not a little remarkable that the most strenuous advocates of the temporal power of the Pope have also been the clamorous apologists of the dethroned Italian sovereigns, especially the Neapolitan Bourbons. Yet the late Government of Naples, justly described ten years ago by a conservative statesman as the 'negation of God,' was anything but submissive to the Holy See, of which it was on canonical theory a feudal dependency. Ecclesiastics were in high honour at Court, but their services were used much as our own Stuarts used the Church of England, as an instrument of police. It is a fact that the wretched inmates of the crowded Neapolitan dungeons refused the consolations of religion at the hands of Jesuits, not, as was insinuated, because they were unbelievers, but because they distrusted men supposed to be in league with the Government, while they gladly accepted the ministry, when it chanced to be offered, of priests not labouring under a similar suspicion. Nor can we be surprised, when it is known that the confessional at Naples was prostituted in the interests of the reigning despotism, and even the seal of secrecy imposed under most awful sanctions on the Roman Catholic confessor could not always be relied upon. To attempt to bolster up religion by an alliance with despotic power is indeed to lean upon a broken reed; but it has been the unwisdom of a certain school of churchmen in every age to do so, and the ultramontane admirers of Francis II. are but re-enacting on a less respectable platform the character of a Laud or an Atterbury. It is peculiarly inconsistent in them to do so, considering that what Pius VII. in the Bull *Ecclesia Christi* in 1801 implied, Gregory XVI. in 1831 expressly declared in reply to the legitimist clergy, viz., that the Church recognised none but *de facto* Governments. What is indifferent in France cannot be matter of principle in Italy, nor can the rights of legitimacy become divine from their accidental coincidence with the supposed interests of the Church.

But the evil lies deeper still. There are times—as Count Montalembert had occasion three years ago to remind his ultramontane countrymen who were exulting over the cruelties perpetrated by heathen sepoys on the heretic English—when orthodox Catholics might hear with advantage a course of lectures on those ‘virtues of the natural order’ which underlie all forms of revealed religion.\* A terrible responsibility rests on those who help to put asunder what God has joined together. And in Italy at present there is an unnatural divorce between the highest ideal of human excellence and the holier aspirations which inform the Christian heart. It is this which gives point to the leading argument of Father Passaglia’s pamphlet, and will tell on those who care little for his patristic authorities or his political views. For it is no light thing that the millions of Italy should be practically told to choose between fidelity to their moral convictions and allegiance to their Church; that patriotism should be placed in antagonism to piety, and devotion to the cause of freedom be made to look incompatible with adherence to their ancestral creed. That land is in evil case whose greatest men are by the very fact of their greatness alienated from their religious faith.

We spoke just now of the exclusive Italianism of the Roman Catholic Church since the Reformation. But it must not be forgotten that Latin Christianity had its origin in a protest, not against the freedom and flexibility of the Teutonic spirit, but against the rigid immobility of the East. To a great extent, as Dr. Döllinger has shown in his sketch of the Oriental Communions, this contrast still holds good. But at the beginning the very speciality of the Latin Church lay in its vigorous and liberal adaptation of its whole method of teaching, ritual, and life, to the varying exigencies of place and season. This has been so fully exhibited in Dean Milman’s History, that to all acquainted with it (and what educated man is not?) the very briefest reference will suffice. The abolition of infant communion, the postponement of confirmation to the age of reason, the substitution of pouring for immersion in the baptismal rite in the

Western Church, are cases in point. A more conspicuous illustration of the difference may be found by comparing the history of Greek and Latin monasticism. The latter contains much indefensible to Protestant convictions, but it differs far more widely from the passive abstraction of the old Egyptian Laura, or the dull illiterate routine of the monasteries of Mount Athos. What they were from the first they are still. Empires and civilisations have risen and passed away; the existence of Christendom has been threatened from without and its unity broken from within; but the lapse of a thousand years has brought to their changeless solitudes no newer mission, no fuller light. Eastern monachism has lasted from the days of St. Antony to our own, but it has reckoned amongst its legislators no Benedict, no Dominic, no Francis; it reverences no Barnard, no Anselm, no Abelard, no Aquinas among its doctors or its saints. The last grand exhibition of this creative energy in the West was displayed in the institution of the Order of Jesuits in the sixteenth century, alternating or omitting almost everything hitherto reputed a distinctive badge of the monastic state; but their day has gone by, and as yet no successor has appeared to claim the inheritance of the future. When we ask, then, that in points which none of her members can profess to regard as essential the Roman Catholic Church shall consent to accommodate her action to the altered conditions of the modern world, we are simply asking her to fall back on her own truer and better instincts. Her champions point with a justifiable pride to her earlier triumphs in proof of her superiority to the schismatic East; let them learn to deserve that praise, and not be content to reap where they have not sown. Let them strive to emulate the temper of the thirteenth Gregory, who, in his famous reform of the Calendar, adopted gradually and after not very creditable misgivings by all the Protestant nations of Europe, placed himself in the vanguard of the civilisation of his own day.

Dr. Döllinger’s idea of the reformation essential in the Papal States, and the manner in which it may be most probably accomplished, shall be summarised in his own words from the second of his Munich Lectures:—

\* The passage itself is worth putting on record. ‘Pour ma part, je le dis sans détour, j’ai horreur de l’orthodoxie qui ne tient aucun compte de la justice et de la vérité, de l’humanité et de l’honneur; et je ne me lasserai pas de répéter ces fortes et récentes paroles de l’Evêque de la Rochelle; “ne serait-ce pas bonne chose que de faire à plusieurs Catholiques un cours sur les vertus de l’ordre naturel, sur le respect dû au prochain, sur la loyauté même envers ses adversaires, sur l’esprit de l’équité et de la charité.” Les vertus de l’ordre naturel sont des vertus essentielles, dont l’Eglise elle-même ne dispense pas.’—(*Débat sur l’Inde*, p. 13.)

‘The thought here forces itself upon me, that the Church State had its beginning with the German Empire; and it may well be affirmed that the fall of that empire inflicted a wound on the Roman State from which it is still bleeding. The Emperor was the armed “Protector” of the Papal See—on him lay the duty of wielding the sword, and when the Popes took this on themselves it was either a mistake or an act of the direst necessity. And although the Empire had long presented only the shadow of the old idea

and purpose, yet was it to the last the prop and centre of the ancient political order of Europe, and covered with its majesty the Papal See as a member engrafted upon the United Roman Empire. If, with the Empire, an outward stay has fallen, inwardly the State is sickening under the false relations in which "an ecclesiastical administration" necessarily stands to a modern system of statesmanship. It is difficult to reject the opinion that lay hands are better suited to direct the action of state and police, with their manifold increasing material wants and cares,—they are better suited than those of priests for a police and administrative omnipotence, a care for lotteries, theatres, gaming-houses, and houses of public entertainment, for managing passports and manufactories. It is, indeed, frequently asserted that the Pope, as an ecclesiastical prince, *must* commit the administration to ecclesiastical officers. This necessity, however, is not very evident. At least, the ecclesiastical sovereignties of Germany, to which Bellarmine appealed in justification of the Pope's temporal dignity, afford no parallel. The prince-bishops and ecclesiastical electors never hesitated to govern their countries through the instrumentality of lay ministers, chancellors, councillors, employés, and judges.—(Pp. 464-5.)

And for the method of bringing about this change:—

'That the Pope should be obliged to quit Rome, and take up his abode for a time in some other Catholic country. Rome, and the remainder of the States of the Church, would be forthwith incorporated with the new Piedmontese kingdom. It is self-evident that all those arrangements which the Papal Government thinks it cannot grant would be immediately introduced—the secularisation would be complete. The whole present order of things would be passed over as with a sponge; the clergy, as in all other parts of Europe, with the abolition of all privileges burdensome and offensive to other classes, would, like other citizens, be placed under the common law; and herewith the main source of the dislike of the people to the priesthood be put an end to. Then, when the germ of decay which the new Italian Kingdom bears in its bosom develops itself, and the return of the Pope to Rome, and the resurrection of the whole State of the Church, or a part of it, takes place, the Pope will find "accomplished facts;" he will enter upon an entirely altered position; he will be the head of an administration entirely, or in great part, secular in its members, and whose precedent condition, or the forcing back into forms now dead, it would be as unwise as difficult, if not impossible, to accomplish.' (P. 468.)

From another passage, already referred to, we gather that the author would wish the Papal Court to take up its residence during this interregnum in Germany. No doubt if any such sweeping reform as is here sketched out were ever to be accomplished, it could only be after a temporary interruption of the Papal Government. But, differing as we do widely from the writer as to the 'germ of decay' supposed to be inherent in the Italian

Kingdom, we see no reason to believe that an interruption, if it once took place, would not become permanent; nor does the experience of the past at all bear out his confident expectation that, were the old government to be restored, the old abuses of the ecclesiastical administration would not reappear with it. Everything was 'passed over as with a sponge' at the deposition of Pius VII., but the policy of Consalvi was as little marked as Antonelli's by that wisdom which is learnt in the school of adversity.\* Dr. Döllinger has hinted, though without approving it, at the possibility of the question being submitted to a Congress of the Catholic Powers. Whether Rome, or at least the ecclesiastical portion of the city on the right bank of the Tiber, might be put somewhat in the position of Frankfurt or Washington, as a free city exempt from the jurisdiction of the King of Italy, in which the Pope might hold his court and retain the dignity and *status* of a sovereign; or what other arrangements might be entered into for securing his independence of action as head of the Church, and an ample revenue for sustaining the expenses of his court at home or abroad, is a question which it would be premature to discuss here, till the two contracting parties, the Holy See and the Italian Government, have themselves come to some understanding about it. What is essential is that the independence and dignity of the Papal See should be placed on a fixed and permanent basis secured against constant fluctuations of sentiment in the Italian Parliament; and this, as a matter of European interest, might fairly be guaranteed by the European Powers. The civil government of the Papal States is an Italian question, and one which the Italians alone are competent to decide upon. Should they desire to replace it in the hands of the Pope, nobody will have any right to object; but till they manifest such a desire, nobody has the right to demand it. And they, it may be presumed, are not likely to forget that the experiment of an unreformed and a reformed Papal Government have been successively

\* It is worth bearing in mind that three of the points made special matter of complaint in the Exposition attached to the famous Allocution of January 1855 against the Sardinian Government were: 1. The introduction of freedom of the press. 2. The toleration of Protestant worship. 3. The subjection of the clergy in secular matters to the ordinary jurisdiction of the civil or criminal courts. The last point was established in the Siccardi law, for assenting to which Santa Rosa was on his death-bed deprived of the sacraments. Yet Dr. Döllinger considers that all these reforms, which a few years ago elicited excommunications against a neighbouring government, might without difficulty be introduced into the Papal States themselves. See pp. 424, 432-3, 398, &c.

tried, and both alike have failed. From the restoration of Pius VII. to the death of Gregory XVI. it was sought to perpetuate the old traditional *régime*, deteriorated as it was by the admixture of some of the worst features of modern French bureaucracy. The statesman-like genius of Consalvi, and the single-minded energy of Leo XII., a despotic sovereign but a reforming Pope, did but leave to Gregory XVI. a kingdom honey-combed by secret societies, and a reign disturbed by almost ceaseless conspiracies. 'From the accession of Pius IX. in June 1846,'—we are quoting from Mr. Gladstone's Preface to his Translation of Farini's History of the Roman States,—'a second era commenced; and the question now became this; whether it was possible to remove the crying oppressions and abuses of the old system and to establish constitutional freedom, retaining at the same time any effective sovereignty in the Papal chair.' How that ended we all know; and the excesses of the Roman Revolution in 1848 are a significant comment on the results of the former system of government. We have already said that the ecclesiastical independence of the Holy See must in any case be properly secured, but those who maintain that it cannot be otherwise secured than by the material guarantee of the temporal sovereignty would do well to remember that the present Pope was preparing the definition of the Immaculate Conception, the most remarkable dogmatic act of the Church of Rome since the Tridentine Council, while an exile at Gaeta; and was scarcely resealed by French intervention on his temporal throne, when he achieved, in his edict constituting the Papal hierarchy in this country, an exercise of ecclesiastical jurisdiction unparalleled since the Reformation, unless perhaps by the somewhat similar act of Pius VII. in redistributing the dioceses of France.

We have already more than once had occasion to refer to Father Passaglia's pamphlet 'Pro Causa Italica,' and we may as well give our readers a sketch, though it must be a very brief one, of the contents of so singular a document. After a preface occupied in vindicating the right of priests, and even laymen, by testimony both of Scripture and Fathers, to speak on matters affecting the general interests of the Church, no less than bishops, he proceeds to describe, on the authority of St. Augustine, in what the proper unity of the Church consists. This unity is endangered by the hostility of the Italians, not to the doctrines or rulers of the Church, as such, but to the line adopted by the latter in temporal policy '*in scandalum gubernandorum ut membra Christi crudeli divisione lanientur*,' inconsistently with their pastoral

duties, and forgetful that bishops were ordained for man and not man for the bishops. He then traces the source and centre of unity to the divine primacy of St. Peter, giving the usual patristic quotations. But unity requires the adhesion of flocks to their pastors, and in Italy they are separated; the prelates have forgotten St. Augustine's warning that excommunication should only be used, even against notorious evil-doers, where there is no danger of schism, and that an unjust excommunication recoils on him who pronounces it. And why do they fight against the new kingdom? Because it is accused of injustice in disregarding the rights of the Italian princes, and of impiety in attacking the temporalities of the Holy See. But the injustice of the revolution is, to say the least, *doubtful*, and moreover it has always been the principle of the Church to recognise *de jacto* Governments. As regards the impiety of attacking the temporal power, the author maintains that the declarations of Pius IX. on the subject are of a mutable not a dogmatic character; and that the obligation of his oaths to preserve it may be modified or suspended by circumstances, such as impossibility of keeping them, or inexpediency for the good of the Church, for which alone they were imposed. He ends by strenuously repudiating on religious grounds the notion that the civil sovereignty is necessary or even beneficial for sustaining the dignity and independence of the Supreme Pontiff. Such, in a few words, is the substance of Passaglia's pamphlet, which is garnished with copious extracts, chiefly from the Scripture and St. Augustine. We may add that a very considerable section of the Catholic priesthood of the Kingdom of Italy has actually given in its adhesion to the opinions of which Father Passaglia is the chief representative; and we are informed that a declaration to this effect has been signed by no less than *eight thousand* Italian priests of different orders in the Church.

'A free Church in a free State' is Passaglia's ideal; to the Prince de Broglie it is an idle dream.\* We may of course readily admit that the manifold and complicated relations of Church and State cannot be reduced to an exhaustive formula, and may even be said to comprehend, under one or other of its various aspects, almost every important department of moral and social life. From the days of Constantine to our own this same question, ever recurring in some new form, has perplexed the brains and distracted the policy alike of statesmen and divines. But M. de Broglie does not appear

\* See an article in the 'Correspondant' for October 25, 1861, 'La Souveraineté Pontificale et la Liberté.'



to recollect that it is worse than folly for the belligerents in an internecine domestic strife to refuse even to listen to proposals for negotiation because it may be found troublesome to settle the details. We are not concerned, as we said before, to draw up the terms of a Concordat between the Holy See and the Italian Kingdom; but if it is difficult to arrange the conditions on which the two rival Powers shall consent to dwell peaceably together, it is far worse that they should remain in a state of chronic hostility; nor do we see what the Church has to gain by 'contesting the shreds of a power which is escaping her grasp.' To our mind a writer who professes himself at once a liberal in politics and a devoted adherent of the Papacy would be better employed in smoothing than in seeking to exaggerate the difficulties of a crisis which involves the dearest interests of political liberty and of the Roman See. Moreover, the line of argument he has adopted, if it proves anything proves too much. It is not in Italy alone but in every Christian country that the civil and ecclesiastical authority are brought into contact, and it may be collision, with one another; and we do not see how, for instance, the marriage law of Holland, or the exemption of the French clergy from the conscription, can be affected one way or the other by the temporal sovereignty of the Pope. We are far from ascribing to so able a writer a theory which he has explicitly disclaimed, and which, probably, the extreme ultramontanist in the present day would shrink from openly avowing, but what his reasoning really implies is, that the Pope should be the sovereign not of the Romagna but the world. As every question on which the State adjudicates may also be brought within the range of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, we must recur to the famous mediæval argument about the 'two swords,' and the 'greater and lesser light,' and add to the authority of scriptural types the plea of human necessity to prove that the kingdoms of this world are of right the kingdoms of the Pope. But many difficulties which look insoluble on paper find a ready solution when brought to the test of practice. Let us instance a point M. de Broglie has referred to, and which, from its double character of a civil contract and an ecclesiastical sacrament, is confessedly one of the standing causes of quarrel between Church and State—we mean the law of marriage. In England, as in many other countries, the law of the land allows divorce *a vinculo* in certain cases; Roman Catholics are precluded by the rules of their Church from availing themselves of that permission. But the

religious obligation rests, and can only rest in the last resort, on their own consciences. The day has gone by when the dogmas or the laws of the Church could be enforced by civil penalties, nor is reverence for them likely to be increased by the spectacle of an exceptional Inquisition bearing rule in one region of Italy.

But then, we are told, 'in modern Europe the whole legal state of the Catholic religion rests upon Concordats.' Be it so, though we believe the Roman Catholic Church is nowhere so free as in the British Empire, where there are no Concordats. But when it is added that 'the chief basis of these Concordats is the Pontifical Sovereignty' (of the Papal States,) we demur to such a plea. Why cannot Concordats be made with a Pope whose independence is secured without his being the ruler of an earthly kingdom? Which was most powerful in Europe Gregory I. or Gregory XVI.? Who made his spiritual influence most widely felt, Pius VII. in his prison, or Leo X. on his throne? As long as some two hundred million Catholics recognise the Pope as their common father, it will be not the duty only but the obvious interests of States to guarantee his ecclesiastical independence against the reality or the suspicion of improper influence; and to say that no other security can be devised but a temporal sovereignty is in flat contradiction both to reason and experience. Papal States have not once but often been invaded; and pledges may surely be enforced which it is the common interest to observe, though destitute of the 'material guarantee' of a State dependent for its defence on foreign arms. It is no answer to say that other Governments would not accord to the Roman Catholic hierarchies in their respective countries the independence and inviolability claimed for the Papal Court. The cases are not parallel. A Concordat made by any State with the Holy See is made for the sake of its own Catholic subjects, and is therefore, in fact, made with *them*. If it included demands deemed inconsistent with national welfare, it would be rejected whether by a French or an Italian Government, and rejected equally whether the Pope had or had not a civil sovereignty of his own. His independence is required, not to insure the acceptance of his demands—that would require him to have a universal monarchy—but to insure his freedom in proposing them. It is said that the Italian Government cannot be trusted, because the Archbishops of Turin, Pisa, and Naples, and some fifty other bishops, have already incurred civil punishment. And why have they incurred it? Not on any spiritual ground, but because

they obstinately adhered to a political course, which Prince de Broglie considers essential to the weal of the Church, but which placed them in direct antagonism, not to the religion but the patriotism of their countrymen. It was as impossible for the Italian Government to tolerate such a course in them as it was for the Government of William III. to tolerate Archbishop Sancroft while persisting in his allegiance to the Stuarts.

The notion that a Pope who had ceased to be a sovereign would be regarded as more of a 'stranger' by foreign governments, scarcely seems to require serious refutation. He might, no doubt, misuse his influence or his resources in the interest of the Italian Kingdom, just as the present Pope is popularly believed to have given moral and material support to Francis II. against the wishes of other States. The writer cannot be ignorant that subjection to a foreign potentate has always been one of the main causes of jealousy against the Papal hierarchies of other countries.

A Free Church is, no doubt, a difficult idea to realise in a state governed on that bureaucratic system, the bequest of the *ancien régime* to the French Revolution, which the Prince de Broglie confidently assumes to be spreading, in imitation of France, over the whole of Europe; in strange oblivion, surely, of that portion of Europe comprised in the British Empire, where Napoleonic ideas are far more consistently repudiated than in the United States, to which he refers as the sole exception in the present day. We cannot wonder that, with his recent experience of the arbitrary action of his own government in religious concerns, he should shrink from the prospect of the French Church becoming 'a great Society of St. Vincent of Paul, and nothing more.' It is not easy to reconcile either corporate or individual freedom with French principles of administration; but even so, we are unable to understand why agreements, Concordats if you will, between the Government and the Holy See should be less possible, if the latter, though still representing the Church of Rome, had ceased to represent a small Italian kingdom. Of the imminent dangers and crying evils of the *status quo* of the Roman Question, from whatever point of view it may be looked at, M. de Broglie says not a word. But we may venture to remind him that it is *not* to 'a philosophical formula, an abstract principle,' that the Holy See is invited to sacrifice its temporal sovereignty, but to the demands of a whole people yearning for national unity and independence, and already beginning to be estranged in sympathy from the only religion they really believe in, by the political attitude of their Church.

This essay is throughout a homily on the oracular fallacy first uttered in the French Chambers, 'that the temporal and spiritual power must be united at Rome, in order that they may be separated everywhere else;' and its whole argument is based on the assumption—a strange one for a zealous Catholic to make—that with the fall of the temporal power the Roman See, or rather the Roman Catholic Church, would cease to have any corporate and substantive existence as an authority which could hold its own against the encroachment of the civil power in religious matters. If this is what constitutes the leading distinction between Catholic and Protestant Churches, as seems to be implied in one passage, we hardly expected to be told so by a believer in the supremacy of St. Peter and the divine perpetuity of the Roman Church. To sum up in one word our reply to Prince de Broglie, we would say this:—The Papal independence must ultimately rest upon the convictions of the Catholic conscience, for no guarantee which does not presuppose this basis is even conceivable in the present state of society. As long as those convictions support the Roman See, it has nothing to gain from the possession of a temporal sovereignty; and if they failed to support it, a contingency not very likely to occur, no temporal power could galvanize it into a second life. By these means Christianity conquered its place among the nations of the earth, and by this test every religion must be content to stand or fall. Its moral influence is the measure of its spiritual authority.

To return to Dr. Döllinger. It forms no part of our design to enter on theological controversy, and we shall therefore touch but cursorily on his 'panoramic survey' of the different extra-Papal Communions of Christendom. Before doing so, however, we gladly seize the opportunity of extracting the following passage on the spirit in which all such controversies should be carried on:—

'Upon the day when, on both sides, the conviction shall arise, vivid and strong, that Christ really desires the unity of his Church—that the division of Christendom, the multiplicity of Churches, is displeasing to God—that he who helps to prolong this situation must answer for it to the Lord—on that day four-fifths of the traditional polemics of Protestants against the Catholic Church will, with one blow, be cast aside, like chaff and rubbish; for four-fifths of it consist of misunderstandings, logomachies, and wilful falsifications; or relate to personal, and therefore accidental things, which are utterly inconsistent where only principles and dogmas are at stake. On that day also much will be changed on the Catholic side. Thenceforward the personal character of Luther and of the Re-

formers will be no more dragged forward in the pulpit. The clergy, mindful of the words "*Interferte errores, diligite homines*," will ever conduct themselves towards members of other Churches in conformity with the rules of charity, and will therefore assume, in all cases where there are no clear proofs to the contrary, the *bona fides* of opponents. They will never forget that no man is convinced and won over by bitter words and violent attacks, but that every one is rather repelled by them. Warned by the words of the Epistle to the Romans (xiv. 13.), they will be more careful than heretofore to give to their separated brethren no scandal, no grounds of accusation against the Church. In popular instruction and in religious life they will accordingly make the great truths of salvation the centre of all their teaching; they will not treat secondary things in life and doctrine as though they were of the first importance, but, on the contrary, they will keep alive in the people the consciousness that such things are but means to an end, and are only of inferior consequence and subsidiary value. Until that day shall dawn upon Germany, it is our duty as Catholics, in the words of Cardinal Diepenbrock, "to bear the religious separation in a spirit of penance, for guilt incurred in common." We must acknowledge that here also God has caused much good, as well as much evil, to proceed from the errors of men, from the contests and passions of the sixteenth century; we must, too, admit that the anxiety of the German nation to see the intolerable abuses and scandals in the Church removed was fully justified; and that it sprang from the better qualities of our people, and from their moral indignation at the desecration and corruption of holy things, which were degraded to selfish and hypocritical purposes. We do not refuse to admit that the great separation, and the storms and sufferings connected with it, were an awful judgment upon Catholic Christendom, which clergy and laity had but too well deserved—a judgment which has had an improving and salutary effect. The great intellectual conflict has purified the European atmosphere, has impelled the human mind on to new courses, and has promoted a rich, scientific, and literary life. Protestant theology, with its restless spirit of inquiry, has gone along by the side of the Catholic, exciting and awakening, warming and vivifying; whilst every exalted Catholic theologian will readily admit that he owes much to the writings of Protestant scholars. We have also to acknowledge that in the Church the rust of abuses, and of a mechanical superstition, is always forming afresh; that the servants of the Church, sometimes, through indolence and incapacity, and the people through ignorance, brutify the spiritual in religion, and so degrade and deform and misemploy it to their own injury. The right reforming spirit must therefore never depart from the Church, but, on the contrary, must periodically break out with renovating strength, and penetrate the conscience and the will of the clergy." (Pp. 16-18.)

We are very far from intending to charge the writer with oblivion of his own principles, but we must, nevertheless, point out some of

the more glaring inaccuracies into which he has fallen in dealing with the religious and social condition of England. In doing so we do not forget that it is always difficult for a foreigner to estimate correctly the state of a country with which he is not personally acquainted, and this is perhaps especially true of our own. To those who know the realities of English life, not from books and newspapers, but from their own experience, much which Dr. Döllinger has written on the subject will read rather like a clever but broad caricature than a simple sketch. Thus, to tell us that the religion of the Established Church is that of 'deportment, of gentility, of clerical reserve,' language which reminds us strongly of some of the more epigrammatic passages in Dr. Newman's controversial lectures, may be effective sarcasm, but is hardly in place in a sober historical sketch by a German professor. There might be some truth fifty years ago in saying that the Anglican clergy were 'lecturers and nothing more,' but Dr. Döllinger ought to be aware that it is the reverse of being true now; neither is his inference from the absence of the Confessional that there is no intercourse between the clergyman and the lower classes of his flock, at all more correct. That great masses of the town population are still untouched by any spiritual influence is unfortunately true, but that no attempts have been made to grapple with them, or that there has not been a very marked increase both in zeal and actual results of late years, is not true. In another respect the writer is entirely mistaken, when he supposes that the lower orders in this country prefer the ministrations of men taken from their own class to those of gentlemen. The contrary is notoriously the case. Just as our soldiers prefer to obey officers who are gentlemen, so do the English poor prefer the services of ministers taken from a higher social class; and it must not be forgotten that in England the class of gentry extends over a much wider area than in continental countries. If the poor often flock to the Dissenting chapel rather than to the parish church, it is not because they like to listen to a preacher of their own rank, but because the sermon at church is too often (by no means universally as our author seems to imply) 'a speech or essay,' which shoots over their heads and fails to touch their hearts. Those very persons, however, who resort to the Dissenting chapel will in most cases, even towns, send for the Anglican parson when they are sick or dying. They know the value of a man of education and refinement in their greatest trials and emergencies. It is a further misapprehension to imagine that curates are a distinct order from

the beneficed clergy and derived from a lower class, instead of its being a stage of clerical life through which all, with a few exceptions, must pass, though many remain in it to the end. And Dr. Döllinger should remember that our worst abuses of church patronage were more than equalled in the Church of France before 1789.

If he has a keen eye for the weak points of the Establishment, he has failed to do justice to the real merits of the Dissenters. A writer so familiar with English periodical literature should know that the 'Saturday Review' is not the most impartial authority on Mr. Spurgeon's preaching, nor the 'Union' on the 'semi-fidelity' of Broad Church theology. Nor can a pamphlet on 'National Holidays,' by Lord John Manners, written twenty years ago in all the fervour of Young Englandism, be quoted as evidence of the degraded condition of the English poor. We must observe further that the Doctor's strictures on the moral condition of England cannot fairly be urged in a controversial sense, unless he is prepared to contrast them with the phenomena of Catholic countries. In candour, courage, enterprise, and self-reliance, our author seems to admit that we conspicuously bear the palm. On the whole we feel sure that should he have opportunities of becoming personally acquainted with our social and religious life, and of mixing freely with both Anglicans and Dissenters, while his view of the ecclesiastical position of those bodies would remain unchanged, he would see reason to retract, or at least greatly to modify, much that he has written of their actual state, and would be willing to admit that, whatever may be the defects of English society or English morality, we should have little to gain and much to lose by exchanging them for the happy equality of France, or the moral purity of Naples.

His sketch of Protestant Germany has more intrinsic evidence of reality, and is founded doubtless on a deeper knowledge. So too in all probability is his brief account of the Russian and Oriental Churches, which is too well borne out by general testimony, though conceived in a less generous and hopeful spirit than Dr. Stanley's recent volume on the subject. It is due, however, to him to say, and it is one of the happiest signs for the future of religious controversy, that he has generally manifested a laudable desire, in conformity with his own professed principles, to treat opponents with candour, and in defending the cause of his own Church, neither to press unreal and fictitious claims, nor to sacrifice to ecclesiastical interests the laws of morality and justice. We have already noticed his method of dealing with the Canon

Law. Another example may be found in his pointed disclaimer of the right or duty of persecution as a principle of the Church; in this sense he quotes both Leo the Great, and the present Catholic Archbishop of Baltimore, who affirms summarily as an axiom, that 'the Pope only addresses conscience.' Similarly, the deposing power and the detestable notion that oaths made to heretics are invalid, are expressly rejected. And it is gratifying to find an eminent Catholic divine insisting that the German Reformation owed its origin not to what was worst but to what was best and truest in the feelings of the people, and was a chastisement deserved by the practical corruptions of the clergy, and in part beneficial; for the 'reforming spirit must never depart from the 'Church.'

Our readers will have perceived that we have here treated this question rather as it affects the interests of the Roman Catholic Church, and therefore of Christian society, of which that Church forms so considerable a moiety, than from the stand-point of historical right and justice, or in its immediate bearings on the future of Italy. We have done so advisedly, both because we have on two former occasions dwelt separately on those aspects of the question,\* and because everything that can be said has been said over and over again, and said too conclusively to admit of adequate reply, in defence of the Italian national movement. One argument alone could be urged against it with any shadow of reason, and that was the plea of the interests or exigencies of the Church. To this argument we have addressed ourselves now. And here it may be well to notice, in conclusion, an objection sometimes urged from the opposite side; which appears to us to betray an extraordinary misconception of the real state of the case. The fact, we are told, that all things continue at Rome as they were a twelvemonth or two years ago, and that the Pope still retains possession of his capital, is a striking confutation of the fears of his friends and the confident predictions of his enemies. Both parties had anticipated a speedier issue, and continued possession, under such adverse circumstances, is in itself an augury of eventual triumph. To ourselves such reasoning seems something more than infelicitous. As a material fact, it is true, the Temporal Power survives, though in a mutilated form; but, as a moral influence, it grows weaker every day while the Pope allows himself to be maintained by French bayonets, against the muttered disaffection of his subjects and the deep-

\* See Art. on 'Patrimony of St. Peter,' Ed. Rev. July 1860; 'Kingdom of Italy, January 1861.

ening indignation of the Italian people, whose righteous claims can be met with no more intelligible rejoinder than the eternal '*non possumus*' of Antonelli. The French army remains at Rome, and therefore the nominal sovereignty of the Pope continues; but its bitterest enemies could desire for it no more fatal predicament than a temporary maintenance of the *status quo*. Though it would be hazardous to conjecture the secret springs of action which guide the policy of Louis Napoleon, it may safely be assumed that he is not actuated by any special devotion to the Papacy for its own sake. It is highly probable that the French occupation of Rome will be indefinitely prolonged: but who does not see that it is prolonged not for any papal or spiritual object in Rome, but for party and political purposes in France? No other Catholic Power has come forward with offers of effective aid in this hour of extremest need. No voice, save from a clique of French and English obscurantists, has been raised in its defence. The collection of Peter's pence which at best can only be regarded as a precarious make-shift, is the expression of a spiritual allegiance. The greatest theologians of the Roman Church are coldly silent, or give open utterance to their disapprobation, or their doubts. One champion, indeed, has appeared from an unexpected quarter, in the person of the distinguished Protestant statesman, M. Guizot. But never was that brilliant writer less persuasive in his words. His remarks on the religious condition of modern society, and the anxieties it must cause to a sincere believer in Revelation, will come home to many hearts; but when he goes on to base on those considerations a plea for the temporal sovereignty of the Holy See, it is difficult to trace the connecting links of the argument; and it becomes evident, as it proceeds, that if the author speaks as an earnest Christian, he speaks also as a Frenchman jealous for the honour and aggrandisement of his country, who foresees a possible rival or antagonist in united Italy. With this solitary exception, we are not aware that the Temporal Power has made a single fresh convert to its cause. The Italian clergy, secular and regular, are divided, and many of the most devoted and learned among them are openly opposed to it.

The friends of the Papacy may rest assured that they cannot do it a greater disservice than by staking its future as a spiritual Power in Christendom on a retention of its secular claims. That a great future lies before it is still possible, if only it will accept the new conditions imposed by modern society and modern thought, and adapt itself to the requirements of the nineteenth century, as it did,

under Gregory the Great, to the wants of the sixth, and under Hildebrand, to the wants of the eleventh. We are no believers in a coming ecclesiastical millennium, and can neither hold out to the zealous Catholic hopes of the reconversion of Protestant Europe to his faith; nor do we anticipate, with Professor Goldwin Smith, the fusion of all rival churches in a common Christianity by the downfall of the spiritual supremacy of the Roman See. But though the distinction of Catholic and Protestant is never likely to cease, we do trust a day is approaching when the withdrawal on either side of exploded sophistries and obsolete claims will breed a more generous rivalry and a closer sympathy of action, if not of faith; when there will be as little disposition on one side to clothe the expressions of honest conviction in the distorted imagery of apocalyptic wrath, as on the other to 'reunite the chain of the past,' as was proposed the other day by the Archbishop of Toulouse, by a solemn commemoration of former religious massacres. 'For one hundred years past,' says Dr. Döllinger, 'the whole course of development in Europe has led to this—and we may see in it the hand of Divine Providence—that Protestants and Catholics are approaching each other more and more.' Nothing is likelier to contribute to such a result than the cessation of the Temporal Power. It will remove from the Roman Catholic Church many causes of heart-burning and jealousy, and of scandal to those without her pale, without weakening by one iota her spiritual influence—indeed, it will probably increase it.

The importance of the present crisis to the religious interests of Europe it would not be easy to exaggerate. Let it be borne in mind that, while during the last few years vigorous attempts at proselytism have been made, with more zeal than discretion, no inclination towards Protestantism has manifested, or seems likely to manifest itself in Italy. On this point Protestant and Catholic testimony is agreed. All that has occurred there has but given additional force to Lord Macaulay's observation made many years ago, that, 'since the period of the Reformation, no Catholic country had lost its Catholicism without losing its Christianity too.' Let this be borne in mind, and then let it also be remembered, that for every month and every week the Pope remains at Rome, guarded by foreign bayonets against the legitimate political aspirations of an indignant people, reverence for his person and office, and, what is still more serious, for the faith of which he is the representative, is losing its hold on the Italian nation, and, in a lesser degree, on the Catholic populations of Europe.

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ART. I. — 1. *Researches on the Solar Spectrum, and the Spectra of the Chemical Elements.* By G. KIRCHHOFF, Professor of Physics in the University of Heidelberg. Translated by HENRY E. ROSCOE, B.A., Professor of Chemistry in Owens College, Manchester. Cambridge and London: 1862.

2. *Chemical Analysis by Spectrum Observations.* By Professors BUNSEN and KIRCHHOFF. *Memoirs I. & II.* POGGENDORFF's *Annalen* (Philosophical Magazine, 4th Series, vol. xx. p. 89., vol. xxii. p. 1.). London, Dublin, and Edinburgh.

It is unnecessary to insist, at the present day, upon the incalculable value of discoveries in natural science, however abstruse they may be, or however far-distant may appear their practical application. If we put aside for the moment that highest of all intellectual gratifications afforded by the prosecution of truth in every form, the perception of which is one of the chief distinctions of human from mere brute life, and if we look to the results of scientific discovery in benefiting mankind, we find so many striking examples of the existence of truths apparently altogether foreign to our everyday wants, which suddenly become points of great interest to the material prosperity and the moral advancement of the race, that we are less apt to utter the vulgar cry of 'cui bono' respecting any scientific discovery; and if we are not advanced enough to love science for the sake of her truth alone, we at least respect her for the sake of the power she bestows. Not once, but oftentimes in the annals of science, it has turned out that discoveries of the most recondite truths have ere long found their application

in the physical structure of the world, and even in the common interests of men; for in the range of scientific investigation, it can never be said how near the deepest principle lies to the simplest facts.

A great discovery in natural knowledge, for which no equivalent in direct benefit to mankind has as yet been found, but which nevertheless excites our liveliest interest and admiration, has lately been made in the rapidly advancing science of Chemistry. This discovery, which is one of the grandest and most important of all the recent additions to science, consists in the establishment of a new system of chemical analysis—of a new power to investigate the constitution of matter. This is of so delicate a nature, that, when applied to the examination of the substances composing our globe, it yields most new, interesting, and unlooked-for information. At the same time it is of so vast an application as to enable us to ascertain with certainty the presence in the solar atmosphere—at a distance of 95,000,000 miles—of metals, such as iron and magnesium, well known on this earth, and likewise to give us good hopes of obtaining similar knowledge concerning the composition of the fixed stars. Here, indeed, is a triumph of science! The weak mortal, confined within a narrow zone on the surface of our insignificant planet, stretches out his intellectual powers through unlimited space, and estimates the chemical composition of matter contained in the sun and fixed stars with as much ease and certainty as he would do if he could handle it, and prove its reactions in the test-tube.

How can this result, at first sight as marvellous and impossible as the discovery of the elixir vitæ or the philosophers' stone, be arrived at? How did two German philo-

sophers, quietly working in their laboratory in Heidelberg, obtain this inconceivable insight into the processes of creation? Are the conclusions which they have arrived at logical consequences of *bonâ fide* observations and experiments—the only true basis of reasoning in physical science—or do they not savour somewhat of that mysticism for which our German friends are famous? Such questions as these will occur to all who hear of this discovery; and it will be our present aim, in reviewing the publications which are placed at the head of this article, to answer these and similar questions, and to show that, far from being mystical, these results are as clear as noon-day, being the plain and necessary deductions from exact and laborious experiment. And here we may express our satisfaction at the change which has occurred within the last few years in the direction given to the powerful intelligence and the indefatigable industry of Germany. The labours of the Germans in physical science have far surpassed in their results those speculative researches which had rendered ‘German philosophy’ the synonym of all that was unintelligible and perplexing: and it is impossible to overrate the services which men like Liebig and Bunsen (the chemist) and Kirchhoff have rendered to mankind. In chemistry, Germany may now be said to take the lead of England, of France, and of Italy: already she has paid an ample contribution to the common stores of human knowledge. It is a remarkable circumstance that although for several years the once productive fields of German literature have been comparatively barren, or have at least presented us with no work of the highest order, the supply of German works on natural science is immense, and the quality of these works excellent.

The only channel through which we on the earth can obtain information of any kind whatever concerning the sun and stars, consists in the vivifying radiance which these luminaries pour forth into surrounding space. The light and heat which we receive from the sun not only supply the several varieties of force which we find in action upon the surface of the earth, thus rendering the whole human family truly children of the sun; but a knowledge of their nature enables us to ascertain the chemical composition of those far-distant bodies upon which the existence of our race so intimately depends. The examination of the nature of sunlight and starlight has led to the foundation of a science of stellar chemistry; and it is likewise upon the examination of the light given

off by terrestrial matter, when through heat it becomes luminous, that the new method of spectrum analysis is founded—a method so delicate as to enable the analyst to detect with ease and certainty so minute a quantity as the  $\frac{1}{100,000,000}$  part of a grain of substance.

The world owes to the great Newton its first knowledge of the nature of sunlight. In 1675 Newton presented to the Royal Society his ever-memorable treatise on Optics; and amongst the numerous important discoveries there disclosed and recorded, was one demonstrating the constitution of white light. He describes what he observed when he passed a beam of sunlight, from a hole in the shutter of a darkened room, through a triangular piece of glass called a prism. He noticed that, instead of a spot of white light corresponding to the hole in the shutter, a bright band of variously coloured lights, showing all the tints of the rainbow, was thrown on the wall of his room. Newton concluded that these colours were no peculiar effect of the prism, because a second prism did not produce a fresh alteration of the light. He showed that the white light is thus split up into its various constituent parts; and by bringing all these coloured rays together in the eye, and again obtaining the white image of the hole in the shutter, he proved that the kind of light which produces on the eye the sensation we term *whiteness*, is in reality made up of an infinite number of differently coloured rays.

The coloured band thus obtained by Newton did not, however, reveal to him all the characteristic beauties of solar light, because in his spectrum the tints were created by the partial superposition of an infinite number of differently coloured images of the round hole through which the light came. It was not until the year 1802 that Dr. Wollaston, by preventing the different coloured lights from overlapping, and thus interfering with each other, discovered that great peculiarity in solar light which has led to such startling discoveries in the composition of the sun itself. Dr. Wollaston noticed, when he allowed the sunlight to fall through a narrow slit upon the prism, that a number of dark lines cutting up the coloured portions of the spectrum, made their appearance. These dark lines, or spaces, of which Wollaston counted only seven, indicate the absence of certain distinct kinds of rays in the sunlight; they are, as it were, shadows on the bright background.

It is, however, to the celebrated German optician Fraunhofer, that we owe the first accurate examination of these singular lines. By a great improvement in the optical ar-



rangements employed, Fraunhofer, re-discovering these lines, was able to detect a far larger number of them in the solar spectrum than had been observed by Wollaston. He counted no less than 590 of these dark lines, stretching throughout the length of the spectrum from red to violet, and in the year 1815 drew a very beautiful map of them, some of the most important of which he designated by the letters of the alphabet. Fraunhofer carefully measured the relative distances between these lines, and found that they did not vary in sunlight examined at different times. He also saw these same dark fixed lines in reflected as well as direct solar light; for on looking at the spectrum of moonlight and of Venus-light, the same lines appeared quite unaltered in position. But he found that the light of the fixed stars was not of the same kind as direct or reflected sunlight, as the spectra of the starlight contained dark lines entirely different from those which are invariably seen in the solar spectrum. From these observations Fraunhofer, so early as 1815, drew the important conclusion that these lines, let them be caused by what they may, must in some way or other have their origin in the sun. The explanation of the production of these lines was reserved for a subsequent time; but Fraunhofer opened the inquiry, and all his conclusions have been borne out by recent and more elaborate investigations.

Since the time of Fraunhofer our knowledge of the constitution of the solar spectrum has largely increased. Professor Stokes, in his beautiful researches on Fluorescence, has shown that similar dark lines exist in that part of the spectrum extending beyond the violet, which require special arrangements to become visible to our eyes; and Sir David Brewster and Dr. Gladstone have mapped with great care about 2000 lines in the portion of the spectrum from red to violet.

But it is to Kirchhoff, the Professor of Physics in the University of Heidelberg, that we are indebted for by far the best and most accurate observations of these phenomena. In place of using one prism, as Fraunhofer did, Kirchhoff employed four prisms of most perfect workmanship, and thus enjoyed the advantage of a far greater dispersion, or spreading out, of the different rays than the Munich optician had obtained. The lines were observed through a telescope having a magnifying power of 40, and when the whole apparatus was adjusted with all the accuracy and delicacy which the perfection of optical instruments now renders possible, Kirchhoff saw the solar spectrum with a degree of minute distinctness such as had

never before been attained; and of the beauty and magnificence of the sight thus presented those only who have been eye-witnesses can form any idea.

Kirchhoff's purpose was not merely to observe the fine vertical dark lines which in untold numbers crossed the coloured spectrum, stretching from right to left. He wished to measure their relative distances, and thus to map them, exactly as the astronomer determines the position of the stars in the heavens, and the surveyor triangulates and marks out the main features of a country; so that future wanderers in this new field may find fixed and well-recognised points from which to commence their own excursions. Professor Kirchhoff is far from thinking that his measurements, delicate and numerous though they be, have exhausted the subject. The further we penetrate into the secrets of nature, the more we find there remains to be learnt. He saw whole series of nebulous bands and dark lines which the power of his instrument did not enable him to resolve; and he thinks that a larger number of prisms must be employed to effect this end. He adds—'The resolution of these nebulous bands appears to me to possess an interest similar to that of the resolution of the celestial nebulae; and the investigation of the spectrum to be of no less importance than the examination of the heavens themselves.' True, indeed, does this appear, when we learn that it is by the examination of these lines that we can alone obtain the clue to the chemical composition of sun and stars!

The exact measurement of the distances between the lines was made by moving the cross wires of the telescope from line to line by means of a micrometer screw with a finely divided head, and reading off the number of divisions through which the screw had to be turned. The breadth and degree of darkness were also noticed, and thus the lines were mapped. In order to give a representation in the drawing of the great variety of the shade and thickness of the lines, they were arranged according to their degree of blackness, and drawn of six different thicknesses. First, the darkest lines were drawn with thick black Indian ink; the ink was then diluted to a certain extent, and the lines of the next shade drawn, and so on to the lightest series. As soon as a portion of the spectrum had been drawn in this manner, it was compared with the actual spectrum, and the mistakes in the breadth and darkness of the lines, as well as in their position, corrected by fresh estimations, and the drawing made anew. A second comparison and another drawing were then made, and

this process repeated until all the groups of lines appeared to be truthfully represented. Copies from the same lithographic stones accompany the English edition of the memoir as are appended to the original, and these are masterpieces of German artistic skill. They are printed on six different stones, with ink of six different tints, and reproduce with marvellous fidelity the appearance which the solar spectrum presents when viewed through the magnificent Heidelberg instrument.

These maps extend, however, over only one-third part of the visible portion of the solar spectrum, and it will, we fear, be long before the other two-thirds are completely surveyed, as the following note, telling of the failing eyesight of the ingenious observer, touchingly explains:—‘My drawing,’ he says, ‘is intended to include that portion of the spectrum contained between the lines A and G. I must, however, confine myself at present to the publication of a part only of this, as the remainder requires a revision, which I am unfortunately unable to undertake, owing to my eyes being weakened by the continual observations which the subject rendered necessary.’

Before it can be understood how these dark lines reveal the chemical composition of the solar atmosphere, it must be shown how the constitution of terrestrial matter can be ascertained by the examination of the nature of the light which such heated matter emits. That certain substances, when heated or burnt, give off peculiar kinds of light, has long been known; and this fact has been made use of by the chemist to distinguish and detect such substances. Thus compounds of the earth strontia, when burnt with gunpowder, produce the peculiar mixture well known as the ‘red fire’ of the pyrotechnist; the salts of baryta give colour to the green fires of the stage; and we all see in the Christmas game of snap-dragon that a handful of salt (chloride of sodium) thrown into the dish imparts to the flame a yellow colour.

This property of substances to give off certain kinds of light was formerly only known to hold good for a few bodies; but the progress of science has taught us that it is not confined to one substance, but is applicable to all. We only require to examine a body under the proper conditions, in order to see that when heated it emits a peculiar and characteristic kind of light; so that each elementary substance—that is, a substance which has not been split up, or decomposed, or out of which no two or more bodies differing in their properties have been obtained—whether it be a gas, a solid, or a liquid,

may by heating be made to emit a kind of light peculiar to itself, and different from that given off by any other substance. Here, then, is the basis of this new method of spectrum analysis—a science which demonstrates the chemical composition of a body by the colour or kind of light emitted from it when heated. We now only need to know, in order to understand the subject, the proper conditions under which bodies can be made to develop this beautiful property, by help of which their chemical natures can be thus easily investigated, and analysis rendered not only independent of test-tubes, but likewise of distance; for it is clear that so long as light can be seen, it matters not how far removed its source may be. The sole condition which must be fulfilled in order to attain the object, is that the body to be analysed must be in a condition of luminous gas or vapour; for it is only in the gaseous state that each kind of matter emits the light peculiar to itself. It is somewhat difficult at first to understand how a gas or air can be heated until it emits light, and yet familiar instances are not wanting of such a condition of things. Flame, indeed, is nothing else than heated and luminous gas; and in the blue part of the flame of a candle, and in the lambent blue flame which plays on the top of a large fire, we have examples of a truly gaseous body heated until it becomes luminous.

The modes in which the various elements can be best obtained in the condition of luminous gases are very different. For the compounds of the metals of the alkalis and alkaline earths, it suffices to bring a small quantity of one of their salts into a flame of a spirit lamp, or into a gas flame. The salt then volatilises, or becomes gaseous; and this vapour, heated to the temperature at which it is luminous, tinges the flame with a peculiar colour. For the compounds of the other metals, such as iron, platinum, or silver, a much higher temperature is needed; whilst for bodies such as air and hydrogen, which are gases at the ordinary temperature, a different mode of manipulation is necessary.

In order to become acquainted with the exact nature of the light which bodies in the condition of luminous gases emit, their light must be examined otherwise than by the naked eye. The same kind of apparatus is used in this investigation which Fraunhofer and Kirchhoff applied to the investigation of solar light; in short, the distinctive qualities of these luminous gases are ascertained by their *spectra*. Then only is it that the full beauty of this property of matter becomes apparent, and the character of each

elementary body is written down in truly glowing language—language different for every element, but fixed and unalterable for each one, as to the interpretation of which no variety of opinion can possibly exist.

To Professors Bunsen and Kirchhoff science is mainly indebted for the examination of this hitherto hidden language of nature. These philosophers undertook an investigation of the 'Spectra of the Chemical Elements,' and nobly have they carried out their intention; unfolding a vast store of nature's secrets to the knowledge of mankind, and revealing the existence of much more yet to be learnt in unlimited fields which promise a rich harvest of discovery to the patient and exact inquirer. Seldom indeed has it been the privilege of men in a single discovery to found a science, or to open a subject so pregnant with important results as that of spectrum analysis.

Those alone who are acquainted with the practical details of the science of Chemistry will be able fully to appreciate the grand change which the introduction of this new method effects in the branch of their science devoted to analysis. Qualitative analysis thereby undergoes a complete revolution; the tedious operations of precipitation and filtration must now be superseded by the rapid observation of the spectra of the coloured flames by which the presence of the most minute trace of the substance—far too small to be found by the older and coarser methods—can be surely and clearly detected. Let us endeavour to form an idea of the appearance of the peculiar spectra thus obtained; the most complete or eloquent description must, however, fail to give more than a bare idea of the reality.

In the first place, if we look through the telescope of Kirchhoff's instrument, having placed a flame coloured yellow by a sodium compound in front of the slit through which the light falls on to the prisms, and thence into the telescope, we shall see the spectrum of sodium. We notice that it consists simply of two very fine bright yellow lines placed close together, all the rest of the field being perfectly dark. On investigation we find that all the compounds of the metal sodium give these two lines, and no other substance is met with in whose spectrum these lines occur. So excessively delicate is this indication of sodium—that is, so small a quantity of sodium salt suffices to bring forth a flash of these bright lines—that we discover sodium everywhere; in every particle of dust; in the motes visible in the sunbeam. We cannot touch any substance without imparting to it some soda salt from our hands. Hence it appears that Pro-

fessor Bunsen was easily able to detect the presence of  $\text{Na}_2\text{CO}_3$  part of a grain of soda; and we learn without astonishment that common salt, derived from the ocean which covers two-thirds of the earth's surface, is always present in the atmosphere in a very finely divided solid form, which doubtless produces most important effects on the animal economy, and probably on all the phenomena of life.

If a small quantity of potash salt, instead of the soda, be placed in the flame, it will be tinged purple; the potash spectrum consists of a portion of continuous light in the centre, bounded by a bright red and a bright violet line at either end. This peculiar appearance is alone caused by the compounds of potassium, and is produced by all the salts of this metal. So, too, with each metal we notice peculiar bright coloured bands, or lines, which are so distinct and characteristic that a glance through the telescope reveals, to an experienced eye, the presence of each of the metals of the alkalies and alkaline earths, when they occur or are combined together even in the minutest quantities. For none of these bright lines overlap or interfere with any other; the lines of each metal, when all are present together, appear perfectly distinct. It is a hopeless task to endeavour by words to express the beauty of the phenomena which in this branch of science present themselves to the beholder; as well might we attempt to convey by description, to one who had not witnessed those scenes, the grandeur of the high Alps, or the majesty of the flight of a comet through the heavens. Suffice it to say, with Kirchhoff, that the appearances here noticed 'belong to the most brilliant optical phenomena which can be observed.' Professor Bunsen thus describes what he saw when he placed a mixture of the salts of all the metals of the alkalies and alkaline earths in the flame, and observed the spectra thus produced:—

'I took,' he says, 'a mixture, consisting of chloride of sodium, chloride of potassium, chloride of lithium, chloride of calcium, chloride of strontium, chloride of barium, containing at most  $\frac{1}{1000}$  part of a grain of each substance. This mixture I put into the flame, and observed the result. First, the intense yellow sodium lines appeared on a background of a pale continuous spectrum; as these began to be less distinct the pale potassium lines were seen, and then the red lithium line came out; whilst the barium lines appeared in all their vividness. The sodium, lithium, potassium, and barium salts were now almost all volatilised, and after a few moments the strontium and calcium lines came out as from a dissolving view, gradually attaining their characteristic brightness and form.'

The most striking example of the value

of this new power of analysis, and of its probable results, is that of the discovery of two new alkaline metals by Bunsen. This distinguished chemist, in examining the spectra of the alkalies contained in the mineral waters of Dürkheim in the Palatinate, observed some bright lines that he had not seen in any other alkalies which he had investigated. He was sure that no other metals but those of the alkalies could be present, because, by well-known chemical processes, he had separated every other kind of metal. Hence he concluded that these new lines indicated the presence of an alkaline metal whose existence had as yet been overlooked. In fact, just as Adams and Leverrier, from the perturbations of the planet Uranus, predicted the existence of Neptune, so Bunsen, from the perturbations seen in the spectra of the alkalies, predicted the existence of a new member of the large family of the elementary bodies. So certain was Bunsen of his method, and so confident was he that his bright lines could not fail him, that, although the weight of substance from which he obtained his result only amounted to the  $\frac{1}{1000}$  part of a grain, he hesitated not a moment, but began to evaporate forty tons of the water, in order to get enough material to separate out his new metal, and examine all its chemical relations. No sooner, however, had he obtained more than a mere trace of the new substance, than he found that with it was associated a second new metal. From the forty tons of the water in question Bunsen got only about 105 grains of the chloride of one metal, and 135 grains of the chloride of the other; in such minute quantities do these substances occur! Yet, thanks to the skill and patient industry of the great chemist of Heidelberg, these difficulties were triumphantly overcome, and we now possess a chemical history of these two new metals as complete and well authenticated as that of the commoner alkalies. The names wisely chosen for these substances indicate the nature of their origin, and point out the property by help of which they were discovered. Bunsen calls one of them 'Cæsium,' from *cæsius*, bluish grey, because the spectrum of this metal is distinguished by two splendid violet lines; the other he named 'Rubidium,' from *rubidus*, dark red, owing to the presence of two bright red rays at the least refrangible extremity of its spectrum. Since the publication of the discovery of these metals, their salts have been found to be pretty commonly diffused; but, owing to their close resemblance to the compounds of potassium, they were not recognised as separate substances; in fact, had it not been for this new method, we should not

have been able to distinguish them from the well-known alkali potash. Cæsium and Rubidium occur in the water of almost every salt spring; and they have likewise been found in the ashes of plants, especially in those of beet-root, so that they must be contained in the soil; but in all these cases the quantity in which they are found is very minute. The mineral lepidolite contains a certain quantity of Rubidium, which now may be obtained by the pound; but Cæsium is still extremely rare.

It is satisfactory to learn that in a similar way the existence of another new metal has been pointed out by Mr. Crookes. This body is characterised by a spectrum containing one bright green band, and has been called 'Thallium.'\*

In an article like the present it is impossible to enter minutely into the details of such discoveries, or even to mention more than the most striking points by way of illustration. Enough has, however, been said to show the enormous fertility of this field of research, and to give an idea of the principles upon which the method depends. We anticipate, more especially, important results to the art of medicine from the application of this analytical process to mineral waters, as they are termed, noted for their therapeutic qualities. The composition of these waters, their apparently inexhaustible faculty of reproduction, their modes of affecting the human frame in various states of health or disease, are only known as yet empirically. Yet it is impossible to doubt or deny that waters, like those of Carlsbad, Aix-la-Chapelle, or Bagnères de Luchon, contain certain agents of the most powerful sanative character, which the means of chemical analysis hitherto employed do not appear to have reached. It is extremely probable that the application of spectral analysis to the elements contained in these springs will bring them within the range of accurate medical knowledge, and perhaps extend the resources of medicine itself.

The field of spectrum analysis was not wholly untrodden until it was explored by the two German professors. Even so long ago as 1826, Mr. Fox Talbot, a gentleman whose name is honourably associated with discoveries in that most beautiful of the modern applications of science to art—Photography—made some experiments upon the spec-

\* This new element has lately been prepared in somewhat larger quantities by M. Lamy from the residues of the Belgian sulphuric acid chambers. He finds that in its specific gravity and outward properties it closely resembles the metal lead, but that it possesses very peculiar chemical characteristics.

tra of coloured flames, and pointed out the advantages which such a method of analysis would possess. Professor Wheatstone, Mr. Swan, Sir David Brewster, and Professor W. Allen Miller in our own country, and Ångström, Plücker, Masson, and others on the Continent, have likewise contributed to our knowledge of this subject; but whatever may have been done by others for the establishment of the new method, it must be admitted that the names of Bunsen and Kirchhoff will justly go down to posterity as the founders of the Science of Spectrum Analysis; for they first established it on a firm scientific basis, by applying to it the modern methods of exact research.

For the purpose of obtaining the peculiar spectra of iron, platinum, copper, and most of the other metals, these metals must be exposed to a much higher temperature than that of the gas flame, to which they impart no colour. This high temperature is best attained by the use of the electric spark. So great, indeed, is the heat developed by this agent, that a single electric discharge passed through a gold wire dissipates the metal at once in vapour. Our illustrious Faraday—the founder of so many branches of electrical science—first showed that the electric spark was produced by the intense ignition of the particles composing the poles; and Professor Wheatstone proved that if we look at the spark proceeding from two metallic poles, through a prism, we see spectra containing bright lines which differ according to the kind of metal employed. ‘These differences,’ said Wheatstone, writing in 1834, ‘are so obvious, that any one metal may instantly be distinguished from others by the appearance of its spark; and we have here a mode of discriminating metallic bodies more ready than a chemical examination, and which may hereafter be employed for useful purposes.’ This has, indeed, turned out to be a true prediction.

The large number of bright lines which are seen in the spark spectrum are not all caused by the glowing vapour of the metal forming the poles; a portion of them proceed, as Ångström first pointed out, from the particles of gas or air, through which the spark passes, becoming luminous also, and emitting their own peculiar light. Thus if we examine the spectrum of an electric spark passing from two iron poles in the air, we see at least three superimposed spectra, one of the iron, one of the oxygen, and a third of the nitrogen of the air.\* By help of a little mechan-

ical device, it is easy to distinguish between the air lines and the true metallic lines, and in this way to detect the various metals. So certain and accurate is this method that Professor Kirchhoff has, without difficulty, been able to detect and distinguish the presence of minute traces of the rare metals Erbium and Terbium, as well as Cerium, Lanthanum, and Didymium, when they are mixed together; a feat which the most experienced analyst would find it almost impossible, even after the most lengthened and careful investigation, to accomplish with the older methods.

In endeavouring to form an idea of the present and future bearings of the science of spectrum analysis as applied to the investigation of terrestrial matter, we must remember that the whole subject is as yet in its earliest infancy; that the methods of research are scarcely known; and that speculations as to the results which further experiments will bring forth, are therefore, for the most part, idle and premature. We may, however, express our opinion that a more intimate knowledge of the nature of the so-called elements, if it is to be attained at all, is to be sought for in the relations which the spectra of these substances present; and if a ‘transmutation’ of these elementary bodies be effected, as is by no means impossible, it will be effected by help of the new science of spectrum analysis. That we shall thus gradually attain a far more accurate knowledge of the composition of the earth’s crust than we now possess, is perfectly certain; nor is it less certain, that with the progress of the investigation, other new elementary bodies will be added to our already somewhat overgrown chemical family.

So long ago as 1815, Fraunhofer made the important observation, that the two bright yellow lines which we now know to be the sodium lines, were coincident with, or possessed the same degree of refrangibility as, two dark lines in the solar spectrum called by Fraunhofer the lines D. A similar coincidence was observed by Sir David Brewster, in 1842, between the bright red line of potassium and a dark line in the solar spectrum called Fraunhofer’s A. The fact of the coincidence of these lines is easily rendered visible if the solar spectrum is allowed to fall into the upper half of the field of our telescope, whilst the sodium or potassium spectrum occupies the lower half. The bright lines produced by the metal, as fine as the finest spider’s web, are then seen to be exact prolongations, as it were, of the corresponding dark solar lines.

Although the fact of the coincidence of

\* The spectra of the permanent gases, as well as those of the other non-metallic elements, have been accurately examined by Professor Plücker, of Bonn.

several bright metallic lines with the dark solar lines was well known, yet the exact connexion between the two phenomena was not understood until Professor Kirchhoff, in the autumn of 1859, investigated the subject. Nevertheless, before he gave the exact proof of their connexion, some few bold minds had foreseen the conclusions to which these observations must lead, and had predicted the existence of sodium in the sun. Foremost among these stand Professor Stokes and William Thomson, and the Swedish philoso-

pher Ångström. It is, however, to Kirchhoff we are indebted for the full and scientific investigation of the subject, and he must be considered as the founder of the science of solar and stellar chemistry.

Wishing to test the accuracy of this frequently asserted coincidence of the bright metallic and dark solar lines with his very delicate instrument, Professor Kirchhoff made the following very remarkable experiment, which is interesting as giving the key to the solution of the problem regarding the existence of sodium and other metals in the sun:—

‘In order to test in the most direct manner possible the frequently asserted fact of the coincidence of the sodium lines with the lines D, I obtained a tolerably bright solar spectrum, and brought a flame coloured by sodium vapour in front of the slit. I then saw the dark lines D change into bright ones. The flame of a Bunsen's lamp threw the bright sodium lines upon the solar spectrum with unexpected brilliancy. In order to find out the extent to which the intensity of the solar spectrum could be increased without impairing the distinctness of the sodium lines, I allowed the full sunlight to shine through the sodium flame, and to my astonishment I saw that the dark lines D appeared with an extraordinary degree of clearness. I then exchanged the sunlight for the Drummond's, or oxy-hydrogen lime-light, which, like that of all incandescent solid or liquid bodies, gives a spectrum containing no dark lines. When this light was allowed to fall through a suitable flame coloured by common salt, dark lines were seen in the spectrum in the position of the sodium lines. The same phenomenon was observed if instead of the incandescent lime a platinum wire was used, which being heated in a flame was brought to a temperature near its melting point by passing an electric current through it. The phenomenon in question is easily explained upon the supposition that the sodium flame absorbs rays of the same degree of refrangibility as those it emits, whilst it is perfectly transparent for all other rays.’ (*Kirchhoff. Researches, &c.*, pp. 13, 14.)

Thus Kirchhoff succeeded in producing artificial sunlight, at least as far as the formation of one of Fraunhofer's lines is concerned. He proved that the yellow soda

flame possesses this—at first sight anomalous—property of absorbing just that kind of light which it emits; it is opaque to the yellow D light, but transparent to all other kinds of light. Hence, if the yellow rays in the spectrum produced by the Drummond's light in the above experiment are more intense than those given off by the soda flame, we shall see in the yellow part of the spectrum shadows, or dark lines; and if the difference of intensity be very great, these shadows may by contrast appear perfectly black. This opacity of heated sodium vapour for the particular kind of light which it is capable of giving off, was strikingly exhibited by Professor Roscoe, in one of a course of lectures on Spectrum Analysis, lately delivered by him in London at the Royal Institution. A glass tube containing a small quantity of metallic sodium, was rendered vacuous and then closed. On heating the tube, the sodium rose in vapour, filling a portion of the empty space. Viewed by ordinary white light this sodium vapour appeared perfectly colourless, but when seen by the yellow light of a soda-flame the vapour cast a deep shadow on a white screen, showing that it did not allow the yellow rays to pass through.

This remarkable property of luminous gases to absorb the same kind of light as they emit, is not without analogy in the cognate science of Acoustics. Sound is produced by the vibration of the particles of gravitating matter, whilst light is supposed to be produced by a similar vibration of the particles of a non-gravitating matter, called the luminiferous ether. In the case of sound, a similar phenomenon to the one under consideration is well known. We are all acquainted with the principle of resonance; if we sound a given note in the neighbourhood of a pianoforte, the string capable of giving out the vibrations producing that note takes up the vibrations of the voice, and we hear it answering the sound. The intenser vibrations proceeding in one direction are absorbed by the string, and emitted as waves of slighter intensity in every direction.

Not only did Professor Kirchhoff show experimentally that luminous gases absorb the kind of light which they emit, by reversing the spectra of several of the metals, but by help of theoretical considerations he arrived at a very important general formula concerning the emission and absorption of rays of heat and light, which includes these phenomena as a particular case. The general law is called the *law of exchanges*, and it asserts that the relation between the amount of heat or of light which all bodies receive

and emit is for a given temperature constant. Somewhat similar results were arrived at independently by Mr. Balfour Stewart in this country.

In order to determine and map the positions of the bright lines produced by the electric spectra of the various metals, Kirchhoff employed the dark lines in the solar spectrum as his guides. Much to his astonishment, he observed that dark solar lines occur in positions coincident with those of all the bright iron lines. Exactly as the sodium lines were identical in position with Fraunhofer's lines D, for each of the iron lines (and Kirchhoff examined more than sixty) a dark solar line was seen to correspond. Not only had each bright iron line its dark representative in the solar spectrum, but the breadth and degree of distinctness of the two sets of lines agreed in the most perfect manner; the brightest iron lines corresponding to the darkest solar lines. These coincidences cannot be the mere effect of chance; in other words, there must be some causal connexion between these dark solar lines and the bright iron lines. That this agreement between them cannot be simply fortuitous is proved by Kirchhoff, who calculates—from the number of the observed coincidences, the distances between the several lines, and the degree of exactitude with which each coincidence can be determined—the fraction representing the chance or probability that such a series of coincidences should occur without the two sets of lines having any common cause; this fraction he finds to be less than  $\frac{1}{1,000,000,000,000,000,000,000}$ , or, in other words, it is practically certain that these lines have a common cause.

'Hence this coincidence,' says Kirchhoff, 'must be produced by some cause, and a cause can be assigned which affords a perfect explanation of the phenomenon. The observed phenomenon may be explained by the supposition that the rays of light which form the solar spectrum have passed through the vapour of iron, and have thus suffered the absorption which the vapour of iron must exert. As this is the only assignable cause of this coincidence, the supposition appears to be a necessary one. These iron vapours might be contained either in the atmosphere of the sun or in that of the earth. But it is not easy to understand how our atmosphere can contain such a quantity of iron vapour as would produce the very distinct absorption-lines which we see in the solar spectrum; and this supposition is rendered still less probable by the fact that these lines do not appreciably alter when the sun approaches the horizon. It does not, on the other hand, seem at all unlikely, owing to the high temperature which we must suppose the sun's atmosphere to possess, that such vapour should be present in it. Hence the observations of the solar spectrum appear to me to prove the presence of iron va-

pour in the solar atmosphere with as great a degree of certainty as we can attain in any question of natural science." (*Kirchhoff. Researches, &c.*, p. 20.)

This statement is not one jot more positive than the facts warrant. For what does any evidence in natural science amount to, beyond the expression of a probability? A mineral sent to us from New Zealand is examined by our chemical tests, of which we apply a certain number, and we say these show us that the mineral contains iron, and no one doubts that our conclusion is correct. Have we, however, in this case proof positive that the body really is iron? May it not turn out to be a substance which in these respects resembles, but in other respects differs from, the body which we designate as iron? Surely. All we can say is, that in each of the many comparisons which we have made the properties of the two bodies prove identical; and it is solely this identity of the properties which we express when we call both of them iron. Exactly the same reasoning applies to the case of the existence of these metals in the sun. Of course the metals present there, causing these dark lines, *may* not be identical with those which we have on earth; but the evidence of their being the same is as strong and cogent as that which is brought to bear upon any other question of natural science, the truth of which is generally admitted.

We do not think we can give our readers a more clear and succinct account of the development of this great discovery than by quoting from Kirchhoff's admirable memoir the following passage:—

'As soon as the presence of *one* terrestrial element in the solar atmosphere was thus determined, and thereby the existence of a large number of Fraunhofer's lines explained, it seemed reasonable to suppose that other terrestrial bodies occur there, and that, by exerting their absorptive power, they may cause the production of other Fraunhofer's lines. For it is very probable that elementary bodies which occur in large quantities on the earth, and are likewise distinguished by special bright lines in their spectra, will, like iron, be visible in the solar atmosphere. This is found to be the case with calcium, magnesium, and sodium. The number of bright lines in the spectrum of each of these metals is indeed small, but those lines, as well as the dark lines in the solar spectrum with which they coincide, are so uncommonly distinct that the coincidence can be observed with great accuracy. In addition to this, the circumstance that these lines occur in groups renders the observation of the coincidence of these spectra more exact than is the case with those composed of single lines. The lines produced by chromium, also, form a very character-



istic group, which likewise coincides with a remarkable group of Fraunhofer's lines; hence, I believe that I am justified in affirming the presence of chromium in the solar atmosphere. It appeared of great interest to determine whether the solar atmosphere contains nickel and cobalt, elements which invariably accompany iron in meteoric masses. The spectra of these metals, like that of iron, are distinguished by the large number of their lines. But the lines of nickel, and still more those of cobalt, are much less bright than the iron lines, and I was therefore unable to observe their position with the same degree of accuracy with which I determined the position of the iron lines. All the brighter lines of nickel appear to coincide with dark solar lines; the same was observed with respect to some of the cobalt lines, but was not seen to be the case with other equally bright lines of this metal. From my observations I consider that I am entitled to conclude that nickel is visible in the solar atmosphere; I do not, however, yet express an opinion as to the presence of cobalt. Barium, copper, and zinc appear to be present in the solar atmosphere, but only in small quantities; the brightest of the lines of these metals correspond to distinct lines in the solar spectrum, but the weaker lines are not noticeable. The remaining metals which I have examined—viz., gold, silver, mercury, aluminium, cadmium, tin, lead, antimony, arsenic, strontium, and lithium—are, according to my observations, not visible in the solar atmosphere.' (*Kirchhoff. Researches, &c., p. 21.*)

We are now in a position to understand why the discovery of the existence of these metals in the sun is no myth, no vague supposition, or possible contingency. We now see that this conclusion is derived, by a severely correct process of inductive reasoning, from a series of exact and laborious experiments and observations, and that the presence of these metals in the solar atmosphere has been determined with as great a degree of certainty as is attainable in any question of physical science. But it is only to those who have witnessed the spectacle of the coincidence of the bright iron with the dark solar lines, shown in such an apparatus as that of Kirchhoff's, that it is given adequately to feel the force of this conclusion; and the impression made by such a sight is not one likely to be easily effaced from the mind.

The mode in which new and perhaps startling facts in science, such as those we are now considering, are unwittingly misinterpreted and misapplied by certain minds to suit their own preconceived notions, must be an interesting branch of study to the psychologist. The Heidelberg Professors received a letter from a worthy farmer in Silesia thanking them for the great discovery they had made; it had particularly interested him, as it confirmed in a remarkable manner a theory which he had himself long

held respecting the nutrition of plants; he believed that all artificial addition of inorganic materials to the plants in the shape of manure, was quite unnecessary, as the plants obtained the alkalies, the phosphorus, and the silica, &c., which they require, if a sufficient supply be not present in the soil, from the *sunlight*! The Heidelberg Professors, he continues, had clearly proved the presence of sodium, potassium, iron, and magnesium (all substances needed by plants), in the *sunlight*, and he felt sure that his theory of vegetable nutrition now required no further proof, but must at once be adopted by the previously incredulous world.

As a similar instance of this unconscious perversion of facts, we may mention the case of an English gentleman who believed that by a series of elaborate experiments he had proved the presence of iron in the *sunlight*! In spite of the previous caution of an eminent man of science, this gentleman was induced to publish his views, because, as he says, 'the whole scope and object of Bunsen's and Kirchhoff's experiments are to prove the possibility of the most minute particles of metal existing in light, and the probability of certain dark lines in the solar spectrum being formed by iron!' Thus, the fact of the existence of iron in the body of the sun, at a distance of 95,000,000 miles, is represented by these scientific fanatics—we really can use no milder term—as being identical with the existence of iron in the sunlight, which, travelling at the rate of 192,000 miles per second, bathes the whole universe in its vivifying beams.

Of stellar chemistry applied to other self-luminous celestial bodies, we have at present but little knowledge. Fraunhofer, as we have already stated, observed that the spectra of the fixed stars contained dark lines differing from those seen in the solar spectrum. The half-century which has elapsed since Fraunhofer made these observations has not brought us further knowledge on this point, although it has assured us of the truth of his statements. In the spectrum of Sirius he observed no dark lines in the orange-coloured region; but in the green there was a distinct line, and in the blue two dark bands, none of which were seen in solar light. The spectra of other stars were likewise examined by Fraunhofer, and they appeared each to differ from the other. The difficulties attending the exact observation and measurement of the dark lines in the spectra of the stars are, of course, very great; but, with the aid of the vastly improved optical instruments of the present day, we believe that astronomers will overcome these diffi-

culties; and we look forward with interest to no far-distant time, when we shall receive some clue to the cause of the colour of those wonderful blue and red stars which appear to be confined to certain quarters of the heavens.\*

In the last chapter of Professor Kirchhoff's memoir he leaves the sure road of inductive reasoning, and puts forward a theory on the physical condition of the sun. Doubtless the Professor is as well aware as any one can be of the great difference between his discovery of the existence of the metals in the sun and his physical theory of the solar constitution. One is an ascertained fact, the other is a mere hypothesis. It is, however, necessary to point out this difference, lest many who may not agree with the theory of the physical constitution of the sun proposed by Kirchhoff should think themselves at liberty to discard his discovery of the presence of the metals in the solar atmosphere. It is not possible to give here the arguments which may be adduced in favour of, or in opposition to, Professor Kirchhoff's theory. Scarcely, indeed, can we do more than quote one or two passages from his memoir, to give an idea of his views respecting the structure of the sun:—

'In order to explain,' he says, 'the occurrence of the dark lines in the solar spectrum, we must assume that the solar atmosphere encloses a luminous nucleus, producing a continuous spectrum, the brightness of which exceeds a certain limit. The most probable supposition which can be made respecting the sun's constitution is, that it consists of a solid or liquid nucleus, heated to a temperature of the brightest whiteness, surrounded by an atmosphere of somewhat lower temperature. This supposition is in accordance with La Place's celebrated nebular theory respecting the formation of our planetary system. If the matter, now concentrated in the several heavenly bodies, existed in former times as an extended and continuous mass of vapour, by the contraction of which sun, planets, and moons have been formed, all these bodies must necessarily possess mainly the same constitution. Geology teaches us that the earth once existed in a state of fusion; and we are compelled to admit that the same state of things has occurred in the other members of our solar system. The amount of cooling which the various heavenly bodies have undergone, in accordance with the laws of radiation of heat, differs greatly, owing mainly to the difference in their masses. Thus, whilst the moon has become cooler than the earth, the temperature of the sur-

face of the sun has not yet sunk below a white heat.

'Our terrestrial atmosphere, in which now so few elements are found, must have possessed, when the earth was in a state of fusion, a much more complicated composition, as it then contained all those substances which are volatile at a white heat. The solar atmosphere at this present time possesses a similar constitution. The idea that the sun is an incandescent body is so old, that we find it spoken of by the Greek philosophers. When the solar spots were first discovered, Galileo described them as being clouds floating in the gaseous atmosphere of the sun, appearing to us as dark spots on the bright body of the luminary. He says, that if the earth were a self-luminous body, and viewed at a distance, it would present the same phenomena as we see in the sun.' (Kirchhoff. *Researches*, &c., p. 24.)

Certain appearances connected with those spots on the sun's surface have induced astronomers in general to adopt a different theory of the constitution of the sun from that proposed by Galileo and supported by Kirchhoff. This theory supposes, according to Sir William Herschel, that the centre of the spot reveals a portion of the dark surface of the sun, seen through two overlying openings—one formed in a photosphere, or luminous atmosphere, surrounding the dark solid nucleus, and the other in a lower, opaque, or reflecting atmosphere. The supposition of the existence of such an intensely ignited photosphere surrounding a cold nucleus is, according to Kirchhoff, a physical absurdity. He puts forward his views on this point clearly and forcibly in the following passage:—

'The hypothesis concerning the constitution of the sun which has been thus put forward in order to explain the phenomena of the sun-spots, appears to me to stand in such direct opposition to certain well-established physical laws, that, in my opinion, it is not tenable, even supposing that we were unable to give any other explanation of the sun-spots. This supposed photosphere must, if it exists, radiate heat towards the sun's body as well as from it. Every particle of the upper layer of the lower or opaque atmosphere will therefore be heated to a temperature at least as high as that to which it would be raised if placed on the earth, exposed to the sun's rays, in the focus of a circular mirror whose surface, seen from the focus, is larger than a hemisphere. The less transparent the atmosphere is, the quicker will this temperature be attained, and the smaller will be the distance to which the direct radiation of the photosphere will penetrate into the mass of the atmosphere. What degree soever of opacity the atmosphere may possess, it is certain that in time the heat will be transmitted, partly by radiation, partly by conduction and convection, throughout the whole mass; and if the atmosphere ever had been cold, it is clear that in the course of ages it must have become intensely heated. This atmosphere must act on the nucleus in

\* We rejoice to see, from his last annual report, that the Astronomer-Royal is about to undertake the examination of the spectra of the fixed stars. He remarks—'I have prepared a prism apparatus to be used in conjunction with the S.E. Equatorial for the examination of the fixed stars; but hitherto I have been able to do little more than adjust its parts.'

the same way as the photosphere acts upon it; the nucleus must likewise become heated to the point of incandescence. It must therefore give off light and heat, for all bodies begin to glow at the same temperature.' (*Kirchhoff. Researches, &c.*, pp. 25, 26.)

Our author then proceeds to account for the phenomena of the solar spots by the supposition of two superimposed layers of clouds being formed in the solar atmosphere. One of these, being dense and near the sun's surface, does not allow the light of the underlying portion of the sun to pass, and forms the nucleus of the spot; whilst the other, being produced at a higher elevation, is less dense, and forms what we term the penumbra.

It is unfortunate for Kirchhoff's theory that the unanimous verdict of all who have examined these singular phenomena is in favour of their being funnel-shaped depressions. Preconceived notions have, however, so powerful an influence over the mind, and it is so difficult to obtain a truthful estimate of relative depression and elevation at such distances, that we are willing to believe that astronomers may possibly be mistaken in their views on this subject. There is, however, one method of observation which would seem qualified to settle the disputed question. If the astronomers' view of the construction of the spots is correct, the dark nucleus never can be seen beyond the penumbra, when the spot moves round towards the sun's limb. On Kirchhoff's view such a separation of the two clouds forming nucleus and penumbra, is perfectly possible, and when they have nearly reached the edge of the sun's disc, we ought to see the dark cloud below, and separate from the upper one. Such a separation, however, has not been noticed, and on the other hand we may adduce the following observation of Sir William Herschel as leading to a directly opposite conclusion:—

'Oct. 13, 1794.—The spot in the sun, I observed yesterday, is drawn so near the margin, that the elevated side of the following part of it hides all the black ground, and still leaves the cavity visible, so that the depression of the black spots and the elevation of the faculæ are equally evident.'

The more the question of the physical constitution of the sun is considered, the more does it appear that we have no right to make up our minds concerning it, either in one way or the other. Seeing how little is really known about the matter, with the true spirit of scientific inquirers, we hold ourselves open to conviction as soon as satisfactory evidence shall be brought forward. The singular observations first made by Mr.

James Nasmyth\*, a few months ago, concerning the physical condition of the sun's surface—observations so novel that astronomers were loth to receive them as facts until they were confirmed by other observers—need only to be mentioned in order to show that we are not in a position to uphold any theory whatever of the physical constitution of our great luminary. Mr. Nasmyth asserts, and his assertion has been confirmed by the subsequent observations of more than one competent observer, that the well-known mottled appearance which the surface of the sun exhibits is due to the presence of 'willow-leaf-shaped' luminous bodies, which, interlacing as it were, cover the whole surface of the sun. These most singular forms can be well observed, according to Mr. Nasmyth, in the 'bridges' or streaks of light which cross the dark spots, and they are there seen to move with an astonishing velocity. Imagination itself fails to give us the slightest clue to the probable constitution of these most recent of astronomical novelties!

The beautiful red prominences seen projecting from the sun's disk during a total solar eclipse, and reaching to a height of 40,000 miles above the sun's visible surface, are likewise objects whose existence cannot be reconciled with any of the proposed theories of the sun's structure. Thanks to Mr. De la Rue, we have attained some knowledge concerning these wonderful flames, as, by the help of photography, this gentleman has succeeded in proving that the prominences really belong to the sun, and are not caused in any way by the light passing over the interposed surface of the moon, as was by some imagined.

In considering the subject of solar chemistry, or indeed of any other novel branch of science, we cannot be too frequently reminded of the incompleteness of our knowledge. This is especially the case with reference to the subject to which we have now directed the attention of our readers. But although the results of these agencies are still very imperfect, and leave ample space for the labours of future investigators, yet the discovery of this new method of analysis is at once so original and so important, that we do not hesitate to rank it among the greatest achievements of science in this age, and we await with great curiosity its further application.

\* *Memoirs of the Literary and Philosophical Society of Manchester.* 3rd Series, vol. i. p. 407.

- ART. II.—1. *Herculensium Voluminum quæ supersunt*. Vols. I.—XI. Fol. Neapoli : 1793—1855.
2. *Herculensium Voluminum P. I.—II.* Sumptibus Typogr. Clarendon. lithographice excudebat N. WHITTOCK. Oxonii : 1824—5.
3. *Epicuri Fragmenta Librorum II. et XI. in Voll. Papyraceis ex Herculano erutis reperta, probabiliter restituta, ex Tomo secundo Voll. Hercul. emendatius edidit J. C. ORELLIUS.* 8vo. Lipsiæ : 1818.
4. *Philodemi Περὶ Ῥητορικῆς, ex Herculensi Papyro restituit, Latine vertit, et Dissertationibus auxit E. GROS.* Parisiis : 1840.
5. *Phædri Epicurei, vulgo Anonymi Herculensis, De Natura Deorum.* A CHRISTIANO PETERSEN. Hamburgi : 1833.
6. *Philodemi de Vitiis Liber Decimus.* Ad Vol. Hercul. exemplar Neapolitanum et Oxoniense distinxit, supplevit, illustravit, HERMANNUS SAUPPIUS. Lipsiæ : 1853.
7. *Philodemi's Abhandlungen über die Haushaltung und über den Hochmuth ; und Theophrast's Haushaltung und Characterbilder.* Griechisch und Deutsch von J. A. HARTUNG. Leipzig : 1857.
8. *Herculensium Voluminum quæ supersunt. Collectio altera.* Tomi I. Fasciculus I. *Complectens Philodemi Περὶ κακῶν καὶ ἀντικειμένων ἀρετῶν et Περὶ Οὔρης.* Pubblicazione eseguita, con Approvazione del Ministero d'Istruzione Pubblica, dal Consiglio di Direzione del Museo Nazionale e degli Scavi di Antichità. Neapoli : 1861.
9. *Herculensium Voluminum quæ supersunt. Collectio altera.* Tom. I. Fascic. II.—V. Neapoli : 1862.

If the value of a work could in any degree be estimated by the length of time occupied in its production, the 'Volumina Herculensia' might lay claim to one of the very highest places in literature. More than a century has elapsed since it was first undertaken. It has descended as an heirloom through three or four generations of editors. It has maintained its feeble vitality through as many revolutions and counter-revolutions. Its successive volumes are separated from each other by intervals which might almost make up an ordinary literary life ; and, if the work were to continue at the same rate of progress which has been heretofore maintained, the materials still remaining to be explored might, to judge by their reported number, be expected to occupy at least three or four centuries in the process of publication.

And yet few works have ever been taken

up with more passionate enthusiasm, or looked forward to with livelier anticipation. The Herculanean Papyri, when the practicability of their decipherment was first seriously suggested, were confidently regarded as a wholesale repertory of the lost literature of the ancients. The discovery occurred just at a time when the learned had become fully and finally satisfied as to the extent and the hopelessness of the losses which were deplored in every department of ancient learning. Most of the great libraries of the world had been submitted to a searching examination, stretching back from the 'Iter Italicum' of Montfaucon to the day when Enoch d'Ascolo set forth on his memorable tour of exploration, armed with the authority of Nicholas V., commanding all librarians and heads of religious houses, under the censure of the Church, to lay open their literary stores to his inspection. During this wide interval, four or five successive generations of gleaners had visited every spot which seemed to promise a chance of success. All the then known sources of classical literature had thus been drained to the utmost ; nor had men yet begun to think of those which have since been so sedulously turned to account ; of the precious hoards which remained mouldering in the unvisited monasteries of the Levant, or the still more unsuspected treasures which lay hidden under their very eyes, in the palimpsest manuscripts of the libraries of Europe. In one word, it was just in the crisis when, at the close of what seemed to have been a completely exhaustive search, the scholars of the eighteenth century had reluctantly resigned themselves to a loss which appeared utterly irreparable, that the discovery of the Papyri of Herculaneum renewed, in a most exaggerated form, the hopes which had lately seemed extinguished for ever. The news was hailed as a second revival of letters. It appeared impossible that, in a collection so extensive, comprising nearly two thousand manuscripts, there should not be found a considerable proportion of the still missing literature of Greece and Rome. The very site of the discovery seemed itself pregnant of promise. The city of Herculaneum, a Greek colony on Roman soil, appeared to unite in itself the advantages of both countries. A collection so considerable, and formed upon ground so apparently neutral, might reasonably be expected to contain specimens of the best authors of both literatures ; and, although it was too much to hope that every gap would be satisfactorily filled up, yet even the least sanguine might reckon upon a large contribution. Many works, no doubt, must still be

found wanting; but it would be strange indeed if it should prove that the authors missing in the library of the Herculanean collector were precisely the same which had hitherto escaped the research of modern classical explorers in every other quarter. Where, more naturally than in the library of a scholar of this luxurious city, might it be hoped to recover the long-lost Menander, and the other masters of Greek comedy? Could anything seem more unlikely than that, among the many hundred volumes of such a collection, there should not turn up a few at least out of the many missing plays of the great tragedians, Euripides, Sophocles, and Æschylus—some contribution to our scanty store of Greek comedy—a few additional plays of the sadly mutilated Aristophanes, or some specimens of his utterly unknown fellow poets, Eupolis, Cratinus, Crates, or Teleclides? Surely, too, the historical student might calculate on the recovery of many important materials, wherewith to fill up the ‘hiatus valde defensus’ in the series of Greek writers on Roman history, Polybius, Dion, Dionysius, and their continuators; and, if such were the anticipations as to the Greek writers, how much more confidently were the papyri looked forward to for the lost treasures of Latin literature—for the missing decades of Livy, the lost books of the Annals of Tacitus, the dramas of Plautus and other Latin imitators of Greek comedy, the philological treatises of Varro; and, above all, the long-regretted poems of Varius, the superior, as an epic poet, if we may believe Horace, even of Virgil himself—

‘forte epos acer  
Ut nemo Varius ducit!’

The issue of all these high hopes is well known. Not only did the papyri prove to be in a state of mutilation far beyond what had been anticipated, but the character of the collection itself utterly disappointed the expectations which had been formed as to its extent, its variety, and its value. In general literature, whether Greek or Latin, it proved a complete blank. Not a single one of the longed-for authors appeared among its remains; hardly even a single fragment of their writings. It was found to be a class collection, in the narrowest sense of the phrase, its contents being exclusively philosophical, and, indeed, confined to one particular school of philosophy—the Epicurean; and the authors being for the most part entirely unknown, except as members of one of the least literary of the philosophical sects of antiquity.

This mortifying failure was, of course, fol-

lowed by a reaction, and it even led to an excessive depreciation of what was actually found. The experiment, too, even such as it was, began inauspiciously. The treatises of Philodemus on Music, on Rhetoric, and on Vices, which ushered in the series of ‘*Volumina Herculensia*,’ were almost unanimously denounced as dull and uninteresting commonplaces, utterly without value in themselves, and equally without promise of value in the publication which they inaugurated. They attracted little notice, even from the professional scholars of the period; and although the collection continued, during upwards of sixty years, slowly to advance, till it reached its eleventh volume, and has recently been resumed in an altered form, which, as it comprises only the engraved facsimile of the text, and thus dispenses with the tedious and difficult labours of the editor, translator, and commentator, may be expected to proceed with greater rapidity, yet, with a few exceptions to which we shall presently refer, the later works have been received by the general public with the same indifference.

In no country was the reaction more marked, and in none has it been of longer duration, than in England. Much interest had been taken by the Regent, Prince of Wales, in the experiments for unrolling and deciphering the papyri; and very considerable sums, not only of public money, but also from his own private purse, had been expended by his order in their prosecution, both in Naples and at home. The result was regarded as a miserable failure, and the attempt was allowed to fall hopeless to the ground. Two volumes, it is true, of the deciphered papyri presented to the Prince, were issued from the Clarendon Press at Oxford; but the production of these volumes was a mere mechanical operation of printing, without the slightest expenditure of literary labour, even of the humblest rank. The Oxford volumes consist barely of a lithographic fac-simile of the deciphered papyri, without translation, without commentary, without even a transcript in cursive Greek letters; and in the notice which we\* devoted to the work on its first appearance, we could not help unfavourably contrasting the indolence or indifference of our own university in the getting up of that portion of the papyri which fell to its lot, with the diligence of the Neapolitan literati, and the copious, and indeed over-minute, illustrations which they had lavished on the volumes produced by them. Beyond this meagre and unscholarlike publication, and a

\* *Ed. Review*, vol. xlviii. p. 354.

few critical essays and notices in the various learned journals of the time, the Herculanean Papyri can hardly be said to have received any attention in England. It has not been so abroad, especially in Germany. It reminds one of the chances of which the gold-seekers of California and Australia present so many examples. The first rush of eager adventurers, who had entered upon the work with visions of easy and rapid enrichment, expecting to gather gold-dust in handfuls from every gully, and to pick up nuggets at every stroke of the mining-tool, shrink away in disappointment and disgust from the rough realities which they encounter—from the weary mounds of clay turned over in vain—from the blank masses of intractable quartz, and from the irksome and precarious process, through which alone these unpromising materials can be made to yield up the treasure which they hold; and thus leave to the generation of patient and plodding workers by whom they are succeeded, the golden rewards whose presence they themselves failed to recognise. So it has been with our fastidious scholars, as regards the literary remains of Herculaneum. Once baulked of the high hopes with which they had indulged their fancy—only meeting, in place of the great masters of ancient learning for whom they had looked, a weary succession of unknown or undistinguished names, they hastily abandoned, not alone the search itself, but even the examination of the fragments brought to light by foreign explorers. The English issue of '*Volumina Herculanensia*' began and ended with the two small volumes printed at the Clarendon Press, nearly forty years ago; and it has been left entirely to the scholars of Germany and France to turn to account the labours of the Neapolitan editors, by re-editing, annotating, and criticising the contents of the succession of folios which have appeared at Naples during the interval. The array of titles at the head of this paper will show that a good deal has been done as well in the way of original publication as of critical re-editing; and, referring back to our last notice of the papyri, we purpose to lay before the reader a brief account of the progress since that date, and of the present condition of this once hopeful undertaking.

We shall first briefly detail as well what has been done by the original Neapolitan editors, as what is proposed by the eminent scholars who have recently undertaken to continue the work in a new series; and we shall then proceed to an account of the sep-

arate publications to which the Neapolitan text has given occasion.

A taint of procrastination, the result of excessive minuteness of detail, appears to have infected the undertaking from its very commencement. The very first of the long series of scholars through whose hands it has come down to us, the learned Mgr. Bayardi, devoted no fewer than five quarto volumes to preliminaries connected with the name and history of the city! The catalogue of Herculanean antiquities which he drew up by order of the king is a curious monument of erudite trivialities; and a witty epigram which was composed on the occasion of its publication, can hardly be said to exaggerate the learned obscurity in which, by excessive detail and endless digression, he has contrived to bury the very facts which he desired to illustrate:

*'Herculeæ urbs quondam sævis oppressa ruinis,  
Et terræ vastis abdita visceribus,  
Magnanimi Regis jussu jam prodit in auras,  
Raraque tot profert quæ latuere prius.  
Miramur signa ac pictas spirare figuras,  
Priscorum doctas artificumque manus,  
Sed quam non motus terræ valere nec ignes  
Perdere, scriptoris pagina dira valet!  
En iterum tetræ miserè tot mersa ruinis,  
Bayardi in libro tota sepulta jacet!'*

A Royal Academy was founded in 1756, expressly for the illustration of the Herculanean antiquities, and the publication of its literary remains; but although almost all the eminent Academicians, Rosini, Mazzocchi, Ignarra, Baffi, and Federici, had a share in the preparation of the first volume of the series, nearly forty years elapsed before it made its appearance in 1793. The '*Dissertatio isagogica*' of Rosini, which was to have ushered in the collection, was not published till four years later. The second volume did not appear till 1809; and it is separated by a still wider interval from the third, which dates so late as 1827. This third volume had actually been published prior to the notice of the collection which appeared in this Journal in December, 1828; but, owing to the precariousness and irregularity of literary intercourse with Naples at that period, it had not come into our hands at the time of the publication of the article, which, in consequence, comprehends only the first and second volumes of the '*Volumina Herculanensia*.'

Although separated so far from the first volume, the third likewise was published under the editorial superintendence of Carlo Rosini. Soon afterwards, however, Rosini was succeeded in the post which he had so

long occupied, as head of the Papyrus Commission by his pupil, Angelo Scotti, a native of the island of Procida, who had been professor of Palæography in the University of Naples, and preceptor of the Duke of Calabria, afterwards Ferdinand II. He was assisted in his labours as editor and commentator by several of his fellow academicians, and especially by Antonio Ottaviani, the translator and commentator of Polystratus's treatise 'De temerario Contemptu,' in the fourth volume, which was printed in 1832. The fifth was divided into two parts. The first appeared in 1835; but, owing to some difficulties which arose in the progress of the printing or deciphering of the second part, its publication was delayed until 1843; so that this portion of the fifth volume is posterior in date to the sixth volume, which appeared in 1839. For a similar reason the seventh volume, although the fac-simile plates have long been engraved, and the translation and commentary in great part completed, still remains unpublished. The rest, as far as the eleventh, have appeared in regular order; the eighth in 1844, the ninth in 1849, the tenth in 1850, and the eleventh in 1855; since which date no addition had been made to the series until the recent change in the government of Southern Italy. The new Minister of Public Instruction issued a commission, under the presidency of the Prince di Sangiorgio, and including the eminent antiquarians and scholars Cavaliere Minervini and Signor Fiorelli, one of whose first duties was to examine and report upon the condition and prospects of an undertaking which had so long engaged and interested the literary world. The report of this Commission was such as to lead to a total change in the plan of publishing the papyri. It was found that the preparations for the continuation of the work under the late government were in a very forward state, and that in one department especially—that of the engraved fac-simile plates—no fewer than two thousand columns were already ready for press; but that in very few cases had the accompanying translation and commentary been completed; even that of the long-delayed seventh volume being still in an unfinished state. Hence, to continue the work with translation and commentary, as originally projected, would be to delay, almost indefinitely, the appearance of the long-expected volumes. The Commission, therefore, advised that, relinquishing the ambitious and erudite plan in which the work was originally undertaken, the government should follow the more humble example which was set by the University of Oxford in 1824—5, and should be content

with giving to the public the mere fac-similes of the papyri, leaving to the learned throughout Europe the labour, as well as the honour, of translating, interpreting, and criticising the text. After some consideration this suggestion was adopted.

The present issue, therefore, of the 'Herculaneensis Volumina' appears in a new series, the first volume of which has just been completed. It is entirely independent of the earlier collection: but as that collection is at present imperfect (the seventh volume, as we saw, being still unpublished), the new editors have charged themselves with the duty of supplying this hiatus. The seventh volume of the old series was to have contained the celebrated treatise *Περὶ Εὐσεβείας*, with a translation and commentary by the Cavaliere Quaranta; and as the advanced years and enfeebled health of this gentleman preclude all hope of its early completion, the editors have resolved to substitute another work for the *Περὶ Εὐσεβείας*, as the seventh volume of the original collection. The work selected for this purpose is a further portion of Philodemus's 'Treatise on Rhetoric,' some books of which treatise had already appeared. Another volume of it had been left by the old editors in a state of complete preparation for the press, the translation and commentary having been executed with great care by the late Salvatore Cirillo, exactly on the same plan with that of the earlier volumes. This work, accordingly, will be issued in a short time as the seventh volume of the first series; and, should the *Περὶ Εὐσεβείας* of Cavaliere Quaranta be hereafter completed, it will be printed as a twelfth and concluding volume of the same series.

We shall speak in detail hereafter of the contents of these several volumes. For the present it will be enough to say that, with the exception of a fragment of a Latin hexameter poem on the battle of Actium, the works recovered are entirely Greek, and comprise fragments, more or less extensive, of several authors, all of the Epicurean school, including some portions of one of the works of the great master himself. The other Epicurean writers are Metrodorus, Phædrus, Polystratus, and, above all, Philodemus, who is by far the most voluminous of the entire, as well as the most miscellaneous in the selection of his subjects.

Very few words must suffice for the volume of the new series just issued. It consists mainly of fragments of the same Philodemus, so many of whose works had already turned up in the earlier publication. The greater part of the new volume is occupied with what evidently formed a portion of



Philodemos's work *Περὶ Κακίων*; viz. fragments of a 'Treatise on Anger,' and of another 'On Flattery.' These are followed by scraps from his work entitled *Πραγματεῖαι*, and from two other works, of which the authors, and even the titles, are unknown. The volume consists barely of the fac-simile engraving of the papyrus, without translation or notes, and even without a reprint of the text in ordinary Greek characters; and we must confess that, whether we consider the dreary nature of its contents, or the absence of the extrinsic graces which a learned and ingenious editor can lend even to an unpromising subject, we fear it is not likely to render the study of the papyri more popular. At the same time we cannot, under all the circumstances, doubt the wisdom of the course which, as we learn from the preface of the learned editor, Cav. Minervini, the editors have resolved to pursue. The plates being already prepared for the press, it is plain that the course most advantageous for the general interests of literature is to throw them open to the inspection and criticism of the learned world, and to leave to individuals the selection of such portions among them as may appear to deserve more special editorial care. The general scholar must await the leisure or the enterprise of those patient and industrious critics, who, like Petermann, Schömann, Sauppe, and Gros, will find time and means to throw this raw material into a form better suited to the general capacity, even if they cannot hope to render it perfectly attractive to the general taste.

Such is a summary of nearly a century's work at Naples. In the original publication of the papyri nothing whatever has been done elsewhere, with the exception of a single papyrus, '*De Natura Deorum*,' inserted in Mr. Drummond's '*Herculanensia*,' and the two octavo volumes of lithographed fac-similes printed at the Clarendon Press, Oxford, and already noticed in this journal.

But a considerable amount of criticism has been bestowed, especially in Germany, on the texts of the Neapolitan and Oxford editors; and several of the works contained in the general collection have been republished in France and Germany, with special commentaries and dissertations. In Germany, indeed, the progress of the work has been observed with more interest than in any other country. One of the very earliest of European scholars who called attention to the value of the discovery was John Winckelmann. The first to submit its results to the critical scrutiny of the general world of letters by separate republication, was Christian Gottlieb von Murr, of Nurem-

berg; and we shall see that the most learned and industrious of the more recent critics and editors of the papyri have been of the same country.

For a time, it is true, our own country yielded to no other in activity and zeal for the furtherance of the undertaking, and especially for the prosecution of the various experiments to which the papyri have been submitted for decipherment. Soon after the publication of the first volume at Naples, an offer was made to the Neapolitan Government by the Prince of Wales, afterwards George IV., to take upon himself the expense of deciphering and publishing a certain proportion of the papyri. It would be out of place to re-open in detail the history of this transaction, which led to many misunderstandings, and is still involved in some mystery. The results alone are of real importance; and it will be enough to say that in the year 1800, the Prince's chaplain, the Rev. Mr. Hayter, was appointed to the work, and entered upon it with vigour at Naples in the end of the following year. Under the impulse given by him the work proceeded vigorously. Up to the time of his arrival but eighteen manuscripts had been deciphered. Before 1806 nearly two hundred were, wholly or in part, unrolled under his auspices.

But on the occupation of Naples by the French in this year, when the Bourbon Court withdrew to Palermo, Mr. Hayter was compelled to share their flight. By some unexplained misarrangement, the papyri were all left behind at Naples, and the facsimile copies of those which had been unrolled remained in the hands of the Neapolitan Government in Palermo. A serious misunderstanding seems to have arisen as to the right of property in these copies; but after some time they were placed in the charge of the British Legation, and were ultimately forwarded to the Prince of Wales for publication in England. The fragment '*De Natura Deorum*,' printed, as the first fruit of the enterprise, in the '*Herculanensia*' (1810) of Sir William Drummond and Mr. Walpole, is one of these manuscripts. They were ultimately presented to the University of Oxford. Meanwhile the Prince of Wales was induced, by the confident representations of a German palæographer, Dr. Sickler, of Hildburghausen, to submit to his experiments some of the papyri which had been presented by the Neapolitan Government. Dr. Sickler proved to be an incapable pretender; and the result of this ill-considered proceeding was, not merely a loss of many hundred pounds, but the complete destruction of some of the best preserved

and most promising among the papyri. Another attempt, based upon a different view of the chemical condition of the papyri from that which had before prevailed, was made in 1818, when Sir Humphry Davy, having first submitted to a lengthened examination the rolls which were within reach in England, was commissioned by the Prince of Wales to proceed to Naples for the purpose of obtaining a wider field for the completion of his experiments. Regarding as entirely erroneous the popular notion which ascribed the charred appearance of the rolls to the action of fire, Sir Humphry was of opinion that the condition in which they are now found, but which is by no means uniform in them all, is attributable solely to a gradual process of decomposition, more or less complete. His researches and experiments made on the spot confirmed him in this view. The substance of his lengthened and elaborate report may be condensed into a few statements;—that the part of *Herculaneum* in which the MSS. were found was untouched by actual fire;—that it lay under a compact mass of mingled ashes, sand, dust, stones, and other volcanic matter, cemented together with water, probably in a boiling state;—that the different appearance of the several classes of rolls, some of which are loose, and of a deep chestnut colour; some black and close in their folds, but yet easily unrolled; while some are dense, and penetrated with earthy matter, is inconsistent with the supposition of one uniform agent, such as fire;—that, on the contrary, it is just what we might expect as the effect, under various circumstances, of decomposition, such as takes place in vegetable substances exposed to the limited operation of air and water; as, for instance, peat, or Bovey coal;—that similar imperfect carbonisation has occurred at *Pompeii*, without the action of fire;—that the papyrus of the loose chestnut-coloured rolls may be supposed to have been brought to that condition by decomposition resulting from the mere action of air, without moisture or water;—that the rolls which are found black, but which unroll easily, were decomposed by moisture, but without actual percolation of water;—and that the densely compacted rolls were probably acted on by warm water, which not only carried earthy matter into the folds by infiltration, but also dissolved the starch and gluten of the papyrus, and the glue of the ink, and thus solidified the mass.

It is to be regretted, nevertheless, that Sir Humphry's experiments added little to the results previously obtained. He succeeded in partially unrolling twenty-three manuscripts; but upwards of a hundred oth-

ers proved so imperfect, that all hope of successful manipulation was abandoned. This may be regarded as the last serious effort on a large scale for the decipherment of these remains. The work of unrolling still proceeds; and the present Director of the Museum, *Cavaliere Minervini*, has added much to its interest by a very beautiful arrangement of the unrolled papyri, which enables the student to compare them page by page with the published fac-similes; but, from the condition in which those which are still unopened seem to be, we fear that the process of unrolling must be looked to, rather as an exhibition for the gratification of learned curiosity than with the real hope of any valuable result. The number of rolls originally discovered was 1696. Of these, about one-third have either been operated upon on the spot or have been presented to foreign governments; but, unhappily, the remaining two-thirds may be given up as of little promise,—most of them being now in such a state of mutilation as to preclude all chance of rescuing any notable portion of their contents.

No further experiment was undertaken on behalf of the Prince of Wales; nor has any English scholar attempted either to continue the course of original publication which was begun at the *Clarendon Press*, or to re-edit critically the contents of the Oxford volumes. But one solitary attempt, indeed, has been made to turn the English publications from the papyri to account; and that is due, not to any of our own seats of learning, but to one of the second-rate German universities. It is to Germany, indeed, almost exclusively, that we are indebted for all that has been done (except by the original Neapolitan editors) towards the critical illustration of the papyri. As we shall have occasion to refer to the principal of these publications hereafter, it will be enough here to enumerate briefly the various separate German editions of the contents of the Neapolitan volumes, in the order in which they have appeared. Murr's reprint of *Philodemus's 'De Musica'*, in 1804, has been already mentioned. Two years later, he published a German translation of the same treatise, with additional illustrations. The fragments of the heroic Latin poem on the '*Battle of Actium*,' contained in the second volume of the Naples collection, were critically edited at *Leipzig*, in 1814, by Professor *Kreissig*. A few years later (1818), *Orelli* published the portions of '*Epicurus de Natura*' which were contained in the same volume of the Naples collection. Professor *Göttling*, of *Jena*, printed, in 1830, the fourth book of *Philodemus*, on '*The Vices, and the Virtues*'

opposed to them.' The fragment, 'De Natura Deorum,' which was included in Mr. Drummond's 'Herculansia,' was republished in 1833, at Hamburg, by Professor Petersen, of that city. It was originally published as 'of an unknown author,' and is enumerated as such, both in the catalogue of the papyri contained in the Oxford volumes and in another catalogue which is given by the Canon de Jorio in his 'Description of the Papyrus Office; but M. Petersen makes it very plain that the author was Phædrus the Epicurean, a contemporary and friend of Cicero, on whom the latter has drawn largely in his work, 'De Natura Deorum.' An interesting dissertation on Philodemus's 'De Vitiis,' by Professor Schömann, appeared at Greifswald in 1839; but the next reprint, and in many respects the most important one, of the papyri, was from a French source, and consisted of the collected fragments of Philodemus on 'Rhetoric,' as well those published at Oxford as those contained in the Neapolitan series. The editor was M. E. Gros, and the work was printed at the well-known press of M. Firmin Didot, from which was issued, in the same year, another, but very minor, reprint of Philodemus, *Περὶ Ποικιλιῶν*, edited by Frederic Dübner. In 1841, Dr. Spengel edited for the Royal Academy of Munich the fourth book of Philodemus's 'Rhetoric.' Dr. Hermann Sauppe, in 1853, published the fragments of the tenth book of the same author, 'De Vitiis; and in 1857 a very interesting contrasted edition of the fragments of the same author, on 'Economics,' and on 'Pride,' with the 'Economics' and the 'Characters' of Theophrastus, appeared at Leipzig, with a German version by J. A. Hartung, — the text being, in the main, a reprint of the edition by Götting already described.

These reprints, together with occasional critical or philosophical essays, in the learned periodicals, (among which we would specially enumerate those of Schömann, Saidler, and Jacobs.) comprise the most important continental republications, whether of the Neapolitan or of the English editions of the papyri, as well as all that is really valuable in the critical or philological discussions to which they have given occasion.

When we last referred in this journal — now many years ago — to the subject of the papyri, it was in relation to the hope which they, in conjunction with other sources, might be expected to afford of the recovery of the lost writings of the ancients. The experiment had then been partially tried, and considerable progress had been made towards a result: but much also remained

to be done, and no small uncertainty existed as to the future of the enterprise. Upwards of thirty years have since elapsed, and it is time, now that all the available materials for the formation of a judgment are before us, to attempt some estimate of the actual value to classical learning which has accrued from this lengthened experiment.

It must be confessed that among the fruits of a century of research there is no one great and complete result which can be pointed to as a clear and tangible evidence of success. Not a single perfect work, as we have seen, is yet discovered. Even the portions of works which had been found are in themselves very far from perfect. It is hardly too much to say that there are very few sentences, certainly not a single paragraph, in the entire twelve volumes of the Naples and Oxford collections, which do not present a gap of greater or less extent and importance.

We must be content, then, with successes of a lowlier order. The recovered papyri must be judged, not by contrast with the early triumphs of classical discovery, but by comparison with the humble gleanings of its long-exhausted field, — with the *catenæ* in which the Greek commentators delighted, — with the *excerpta* which probably represent the commonplace book of a still earlier period, — even with the miscellaneous fragments which are commonly appended to almost every ancient author. This is the true standard with which to compare the papyri. They are not to be judged as works complete in themselves. The degree of real worth which is to be attached to what has been published, whether by the Neapolitan or by the Oxford editors, is to be estimated upon special and very limited considerations. But measured by these considerations, their importance is by no means below the notice of scholars. It lies partly in the independent value of the isolated fragments themselves, partly in the relation which they bear to other and better-known sources of knowledge, but most of all in the light which, imperfect as they are, they throw on a subject regarding which but little else of information is available — the literary history of the Epicurean school of philosophy.

We have already seen that, with the exception of the Latin Hexameter fragments, the contents of the published papyri are exclusively Epicurean. If it be true, as stated by Murr, that two rolls, with the name of the great Stoic, Chrysippus, had been deciphered at the time at which he wrote, the editors have since given no indication of their existence or intended publication; and the authors comprised in their printed collection

are all, without exception, members of the Epicurean sect. Now it is fortunate, as regards this sect, not only that the department to which the papyri for the most part refer, is that in which our knowledge of the Epicurean system is especially deficient, but also that the imperfect acquaintance with it which we do possess is precisely such as may be best eked out by such fragmentary contributions as those supplied by these mutilated and unconnected remains of ancient Epicurean literature. We need hardly say that, among all the ancient philosophical systems described by Diogenes Laertius, who, after all, must be confessed to be our sole original authority, there is none of whose *general* character he has given so skilful and so elaborate an analysis. And even as regards the *particulars* of the system, nothing could well be more complete than Laertius's account of the *physical* portion of it. But, on the other hand, our knowledge of the details of the *ethical* system of Epicurus is woefully deficient, and especially of its practical application to the affairs of every-day life. The well-known schism among the followers of his school, as to the real meaning of the master's fundamental doctrine that 'Pleasure is the chief good,' has added to our uncertainty regarding the master's own theory of practical ethics; and it is scarcely too much to say that there is not one of the ancient philosophers regarding whose moral system opinions so contradictory have been maintained.

The first element, therefore, in the value which we attribute to the Herculean collection is the light which it throws upon this hitherto obscure department of the history of ancient philosophy. The published authors are, without a single exception, Epicureans. Most of the treatises are on ethical subjects; and the greater number of these, eminently practical, as—'On Pride,' 'On Death,' 'On Virtues,' and 'On Vices.' Even those subjects which, at first sight, seem to be purely literary, or even technical, are treated, not from the literary or artistic, but mainly—or, indeed, we may exclusively—from the moral point of view. Thus Philodemus's treatise on 'Rhetoric' does not deal with the principles of criticism, or the rules of rhetorical art, but with discussions on the lawfulness of the practice of that art, and with its bearings on the interests of morality and on the social and political well-being of mankind. In like manner, the treatise on 'Music,' to the infinite disappointment of antiquarian *conoscenti*, proved to be a purely ethical essay, without a single detail of the musical system of the Greeks. And even the papyrus upon 'Homer,' which was eagerly looked forward to, as promising a most interesting specimen of

classical criticism, turned out to be merely a half-moral, half-political disquisition upon the opinions contained in the Homeric poems, 'regarding what is good for the people'! Now, although these and other similar subjects are grievously disappointing, and may appear in themselves excessively dull and uninteresting, yet it cannot be doubted that, on the one hand, as illustrating the moral teaching of the Epicureans, they are interesting; and that, on the other, everything tending to throw light upon that subject possesses, in the present condition of our literature, a higher importance than any mere literary acquisition.

It is plain, moreover, that, regarded in this point of view, the value of the portions of ancient writings thus recovered is much less affected by their fragmentary character than would be that of purely literary compositions, the interest of which might mainly depend on their integrity, and on the unbroken connexion of their several parts. The value of a history is seriously impaired by a break of continuity in the narrative. The charm of poetry depends on the integrity of its structure, the unbroken connexion of its members, and the sustained balance of its rhythms and measures. In both history and poetry, no doubt, the several parts may chance to possess an individual and independent value. An isolated fact has its use in history. A single line may possess its own beauty in poetry. But poetry and history both, of their own nature, require completeness, as an essential condition for the full attainment of the object to which they are specially directed. But it is not so—or, at least, it is not so in the same degree—with philosophical writings. Not only has each part an independent value of its own, but each fragment may serve as a guide to the discovery of others. From the intimate connexion of the several parts of a philosophical system, and their mutual dependence upon each other, it is often an easy task, in such a subject, to fill up deficiencies by conjecture, to supply principles by inference or by contrast, to combine parts by analogy into a whole, and perhaps even to reconstruct the whole theory out of the isolated fragments of a mutilated original. We may add that this is especially true for the ethical system of Epicurus, for the reconstruction of which we possess a valuable guide in one of his own letters, preserved by Diogenes Laertius,—that to Menœceus, which contains a summary of the scheme of morality laid down by him for the regulation of the life and conduct of his followers. We shall have an opportunity of illustrating this by reference to the fragments which have been published in the Neapolitan series.

A second fruit of the Herculean papyri is

the accession which has thence accrued to the list of Greek writers on philosophy. It is true that most of the authors were already known by name, being referred to at some length by Diogenes, and occasionally by Cicero, and even by the Roman satirists. But this notice hardly went beyond the mere mention of their names; and at all events, as regards their literary style, and the details of their philosophical opinions, we were almost entirely without information. Now, without speaking of the papyri still unpublished\*, the remains embodied in the two collections comprise very considerable specimens of Epicurus, of Metrodorus, of Philostratus, of Phædrus, of Demetrius, and, above all, of Philodemus. It is true that the specimens of all these writers are but fragments; but no one will be disposed to undervalue even fragments, who considers what was the extent of our knowledge of these authors previous to the discovery of the papyri.

The fate of the writings of Epicurus himself is among the most singular in the whole range of literary history. There is not one of the various founders of the ancient philosophical schools whose memory was cherished with so much veneration by his disciples. For several centuries after his death his portrait was treated by them with all the honours of a sacred relic: it was carried about by them in their journeys, it was hung up in their schools, it was reverently preserved in their private chambers; his birthday was celebrated with sacrifices, and other religious observances; a special festival was held each month in his honour. It ought to have been expected, therefore, that his writings would have been guarded with religious care. He was one of the most prolific of all the ancient Greek writers. Diogenes calls him, *πολυγραφώτατος* †; and computes the volumes composed by him at no lower a number than three hundred, the principal of which he enumerates by name. ‡ Now, out

of all this prodigious collection, not a single book has reached us in a complete or, at least, in an independent form. Four letters, three of which contain some outlines of his philosophy, are embodied in the work of Diogenes, who has also preserved his *Κύρια δόγματα*—forty-four propositions, containing a summary of his ethical system. These, with some fragments collected from other writers, had constituted the sum of all that, out of so vast a collection, had outlived the general wreck. In such a dearth of materials, any addition to our means of judging an author, whose writings and opinions had exercised so wide and so permanent an influence, was eagerly looked forward to; and as soon as it was known that among the yet undeciphered papyri were several which bore the name of the great master, the curiosity of the learned was awakened. The work proved to be Epicurus's celebrated treatise *Περὶ Φύσεως*. It had originally consisted of thirty-seven books; and in the second volume of the Neapolitan series were published some very considerable fragments of the second, and also of the eleventh books,—extending, in the whole, to nearly a hundred pages; and a further contribution, to the restoration of the original, of forty-four pages, with a commentary, is found in the tenth volume of the same series. The fragments of the second and eleventh books are interesting, as containing the philosopher's own exposition of his well-known theory of the *εἰδωλα*, and have been thought deserving, as we saw, of a separate publication by Orelli.

Next to Epicurus himself, perhaps, there is no member of the school who ought to hold so important a place in its history as Metrodorus. He was Epicurus's favourite disciple, and was destined by him, had he outlived himself, to be his successor as head of the school. From the first date of his association to the sect he lived in daily and intimate intercourse with Epicurus, never quitting his side, except for one interval of six months, when he paid a visit to his home. Moreover, as may well be believed from a saying of his quoted by Athenæus\*;—‘that the belly is the foundation of all phi-

\* The catalogue of unpublished papyri printed by the Oxford editors contains several other names of Epicurean Philosophers. One of these, (whose name is also found in a similar list given by Canonico de Jorio,) Colotes, will be especially regretted. His book, proving ‘that it is impossible even to live according to the doctrines of the other philosophers,’ although only known to us by Plutarch's reply:—‘that it is impossible even to live pleasantly according to Epicurus’—must have contained many lively sketches of the ancient schools, and would most probably have thrown much light on the character and personal history of the philosophers of his days.

† x. 26.

‡ x. 27. The writer of the otherwise accurate article ‘Epicurus,’ in Smith's ‘Dictionary of Biography,’ alleges that the works of Epicurus are said to have been full of repetitions and quotations from other authors. This is directly the opposite of what

is stated by Diogenes Laertius, ‘that in the whole of his works there is not one citation from other sources, but they are filled wholly with the sentiments of Epicurus himself’ (x. 17.). He adds that Chrysippus tried hard to equal the fertility of his rival, and that, so soon as he heard of any new work of Epicurus, he at once set about composing one of equal size. It is curious that Chrysippus's writings, although even more numerous than those of Epicurus,—amounting, it is said, to above 700,—have been equally unfortunate. Not a single one has reached us in a complete form.

\* Athen. Deipnosoph. vii. 11

osophy;—he is regarded as the founder of that grosser and more sensual conception of 'Pleasure as the chief good,' which a large body of the Epicureans substituted for the intellectual pleasures which Epicurus adopted as his ideal good. Now the writings of Metrodorus, of which Diogenes enumerates several, have all perished; and the first considerable specimen, whether of his style or of his mode of thought, which has been recovered is a portion of his treatise *Περὶ Ἀισθησέων*, which is contained in the sixth volume of the Neapolitan collection.

A third addition, of some value, to our stock of Epicurean literature, is a portion of one of the treatises of Polystratus, who was the second in order from Epicurus among the heads of the school. The fragments of his treatise 'De injusto Contemptu,' although inconsiderable in extent, are valuable, as being the only literary relics of the author that we possess. As regards the Greek original, the same might be said of Phædrus, who was a contemporary of Cicero, and head of the sect in his time. Two of his works, *Περὶ Θεῶν* and *Ἑλλάδος*, are mentioned by Cicero (Ad. Att. xiii. 39.); and from the former, much of the matter of the first book of Cicero's own work on the same subject is derived,—not alone the exposition of the Epicurean system, but also the minute account of the doctrines of earlier philosophers, which is given in the person of Velleius, in Cicero's dialogue. The original of a considerable portion of this part of Phædrus's work was for the first time made accessible in the interesting papyrus which Mr. Drummond printed in his 'Herculaniensis,' and which has since been much more carefully reprinted by Professor Petersen, in the edition already described. Still less was known of Demetrius, who is barely mentioned by Diogenes Laertius and Sextus Empiricus. The few fragments of this author which are contained in the first volume of the Oxford collection have no value, except as samples of a writer otherwise entirely unknown.

But by far the most prolific of the authors who have been restored to the world by the papyri, is that Philodemus whose treatise on 'Music' ushered in the Neapolitan collection, and of whom some account was given in our former notice of that series. Considered in a literary point of view, the remains of this author which have been thus recovered must be confessed to be of little worth. The style is bald, and the sentiment often far-fetched and affected; nor does the author, by citations or even allusions to other writers, make up, by information regarding other departments of Greek litera-

ture, for the uninteresting character of his own literary performances. But if Philodemus be comparatively worthless as a man of letters, we cannot help thinking that, as a philosophical writer, and especially as a member of the Epicurean school, he is deserving of most careful consideration. He is almost the only representative of that school whom we possess; and although no single work of his among those recovered from the papyri is perfect, or even moderately approaches to completeness, yet the want of completeness in the individual treatises is in some measure balanced by their number, by the variety of subjects to which they relate, and by the miscellaneous character of the information which they supply. No fewer than fourteen out of the deciphered rolls are by Philodemus; and although three of these are portions of one work, the treatise on 'Rhetoric,' yet all the rest are on separate and, for the most part, very dissimilar subjects.

Moreover, although the works of Philodemus had, previous to this discovery, been almost entirely unknown, there is quite enough in the allusions to him which occur in ancient authors, to show that he was not only a person of much consideration in his sect, but also of some reputation as a writer as well in general literature as in philosophy. His literary powers are only known to us by a few epigrams which are preserved in the Greek Anthology; but he is known to be the *Græcus facilis et valde venustus*, whose moral character Cicero attacks so fiercely in the well-known passage of his oration against Piso, but of whose philosophical knowledge, general literary ability, and elegance of poetical style, he speaks in terms of the highest commendation, as, 'non philosophiâ solum, sed etiam literis, quod fere ceteros Epicureos negligere dicunt, perpolitus; poema porro facit ita festivum, ita concinnum, ita elegans, nihil ut fieri posset argutius' (In Pisonem, c. 28.).

Such a reputation as this with his contemporaries must add authority to Philodemus as a representative not merely of the philosophy, but also of the literature, of his school; and, whatever may be the ultimate verdict as to the value of what has been recovered, we cannot help thinking that the foreign scholars who have applied themselves to the critical restoration and examination of even the most inconsiderable of these remains, have acted far more in the spirit of their craft than our own men of letters, who have turned from them with indifference, and, it might almost seem, with disgust.

More than ordinary enthusiasm is indeed needed to carry even a critic through the

blank and seemingly pointless chapters of Philodemus's dull book, 'De Musicâ.' Had it been a treatise on the science of music as it existed among the ancients, it would have been at least instructive. But a glance sufficed to show that it was but a plodding polemical discussion of the question whether music is good and useful to men, and at once put an end, in the minds of the great majority of scholars, to all further interest in the treatise and its author. But the patient Germans did not rest here. Von Murr regarded the subject as deserving of further consideration. He was not slow to recognise the important bearing which the treatise might have upon the moral tenets of the Epicurean school from which it emanated; and his essay, founded on the despised fragments of this dull and commonplace roll, goes far to explain the paradox of the Epicurean antipathy to music, which was noticed as early as the days of Diogenes Laërtius and Empiricus, and has perplexed all the later historians of ancient philosophy.

In like manner we think M. Gros has done acceptable service in re-editing critically, and collecting into a single volume, the same author's treatise 'On Rhetoric,' portions of which are scattered through the several volumes of the Neapolitan series. There is no subject which has been treated by the ancients more amply than that of rhetoric; but among the many treatises on rhetoric which have come down to us, not a single one was from the Epicurean point of view. Philodemus, in the treatise 'On Rhetoric,' as in all his other writings, is a thorough Epicurean. He considers rhetoric (which the great master has already stigmatised under the opprobrious name of *κακοτεχνία*), if not solely, at least principally, in its bearing upon the great Epicurean principle of happiness,—the *ἀραξία*, which, in their theory of life, ought to form the great object of the wise man's desires. His treatise, therefore, presents this novel feature, that it is a treatise not upon rhetoric, but against it; and its value consists not in the precepts of art which it contains, but in the views of life and the principles of utility and of happiness which it develops. It is true that this work is not solitary among the ancients in its opposition to rhetoric. Plato condemned it as an art, and the second book of Empiricus's great work against all positive philosophy may possibly suggest itself as a parallel for the work of Philodemus; but Plato's hostility was partial and exceptional, and Empiricus, it will be remembered, argues against rhetoric, as against all the other sciences, on entirely different grounds. He writes as an exponent of the sceptical point

of view; Philodemus, as the representative of the philosophy of a quiet life. It would be curious to contrast the two lines of argument in their several parts; but unfortunately the papyri have restored to us but a portion of this remarkable treatise, and it is defective in what might have been expected to prove its most characteristic parts.

In like manner, the little reprint by Professor Götting of Jena (reproduced, with a German version, in 1857, by M. Hartung), forms part of what, if complete, would have supplied an entire code of practical Epicurean ethics. The papyri which this publication reproduces, contained but two books, the ninth and tenth, of a treatise by the same prolific Philodemus, on 'Vices and their antagonistic Virtues.' Of the tenth book we shall speak again, but the subject of the ninth is peculiarly interesting in its bearing on that view of the Epicurean system which we have been considering.

It is on 'Economics,' or the management of a household; a subject eminently calculated to bring out the practical parts of a system of ethics, but which, although a favourite with the ancient moralists of the various schools, many of whose treatises are named by Stobæus and Diogenes Laërtius, had hitherto been known to us only by two treatises—the *Οἰκονόμικος Λόγος*, which is the fifth book of Xenophon's 'Memorabilia,' and a treatise under the same title which had been commonly ascribed to Aristotle. It is a curious coincidence among the chances which have directed the fortunes of ancient literature, that the fragment of Philodemus on 'Economics,' here restored to us, proves to be a criticism of these very treatises—that of Xenophon, and that which had been attributed to Aristotle, but which is now found to be the work of Theophrastus, the well-known author of the 'Characters.' Now, as both Xenophon and Theophrastus belonged to a widely different school from that of our author, his criticism of their opinions is in itself highly indicative of his own views upon the questions which he raises. The very circumstance which he himself suggests, that, whereas they treat of the household management of an agriculturist, while he discusses the subject in its bearing on the life of a philosopher, would suffice to constitute an essential difference.

But there are many points besides, on which it is interesting, even for its own sake, to learn what are the views of an Epicurean philosopher, discussing them solely in their relation to that happy tranquillity of mind, which, in his system of philosophy, is the first end of the wise man and the chief constituent of the sovereign



good. The principles laid down regarding the treatment of servants, and on the comparative merits of the free and of the slave element, are very curious; as is also a discussion on the propriety of withholding wine altogether from the slaves. It is amusing, too, to read the author's reflections on the principles by which expenditure ought to be regulated. Nevertheless the Christian moralist can hardly fail, even while his curiosity is interested, to be painfully struck by the low and thoroughly utilitarian standard according to which every law of life is measured. We need but allude to a single example, in which (although the discussion is not complete, owing to the mutilation of the treatise) it would appear to have been formally discussed, whether, in point of expense and satisfactory domestic management, it be preferable to place at the head of a household a mistress or a lawfully wedded wife!\*

In the same volume M. Hartung has also reprinted the tenth book of Philodemus, 'De Viitiis,' the subject of which is 'Arrogance,' and along with it, for the purpose of comparison and contrast, he has given Theophrastus's 'Characters.' In the text of Philodemus he had been anticipated by a very careful critical edition published in 1853 by Professor Hermann Sauppe of Weimar; but M. Hartung's German version will be found useful in clearing up many obscurities of the original; and at all events his plan falls in more exactly with the design for the illustration of those ethical views of the Epicurean system which we are now considering. For we confess that it is because they supply these curious illustrations of the ethical system of the Epicureans, and of its practical influence upon the moral and social condition of the ancient world, much more than on account of any intrinsic literary merit of their own, that we commend the enterprise of the German and French editors who have followed up by these critical reprints the original publications of Naples and of Oxford. There is another of the papyri still left without any such notice, and indeed, we grieve to say, so imperfect as to afford but little scope for the labours of an editor; we

mean the curious treatise of the same Philodemus in the eighth volume of the Naples collection — *Περὶ τοῦ καθ' Ὁμήρον ἀγαθοῦ λαῶ* — 'On the things which, in the opinion of Homer, are advantageous to the People.' As an example of a critical examination of the moral tendencies of the great Homeric poem, this treatise might prove interesting. That Homer was habitually looked to by the ancients as a great moral instructor, is sufficiently clear from the well-known criticism of Horace:—

'Quid sit turpe, quid utile, quid non  
Plenius ac melius Chrysippo et Crantore dicit.'

But there is a special value in such a criticism from a member of the Epicurean school, in which, as we are assured by Cicero, the study of letters was habitually neglected; and we must add that, imperfect as are the remains of Philodemus's essay, the familiarity which it exhibits with the characters, the sentiments, the plan, and the entire structure of the 'Iliad' and the 'Odyssey,' fully justifies the eulogy which Cicero passes upon him at the cost of his brethren. It is interesting to study the use which he makes of the various characters of the 'Iliad' in illustrating the advantages of virtue, or the evil effects of vice; exhibiting the ignominious punishment of the foul-mouthed braggart in Thersites; the happy results of docility and prudence in Telemachus; the beauty of piety to the gods in Achilles, submitting, in the very flush of his passion, to the slightest admonition of Minerva; the folly of unnecessary wars in the mutual sufferings of the Trojans and Greeks before Troy; and, in a word, drawing, as occasion arises, whether from the incidents of the poem, or from the sentiments expressed by the poet, such lessons, either of encouragement or of warning, as it seems calculated to convey.

This treatise, fragment though it be, appears to us to deserve the careful attention of some of our Homeric scholars. And there is another among the papyri of the Neapolitan collection, of which, although for a different reason, we should equally desire to see a critical reprint undertaken by a competent authority. We refer to a very curious tract (likewise by Philodemus), which is contained in the sixth volume of the Naples series, and bears the singular title, *Περὶ τῆς τῶν θεῶν εὐστοχουμένης διαγωγῆς κατὰ Ζηνόνα*—'Conjectures on the Manner of Living of the Gods according to Zeno.' The opinion of Epicurus as to the existence of one God, and in a general way as to the nature of God, is distinctly stated by Diogenes Laertius, who quotes the words of

\* Philodemus is here criticising an opinion of Theophrastus, who had cited the passage from Hesiod's *Ἔργων καὶ Ἡμερῶν*,

*Οἶκον μὲν πρόωστα, γυναῖκά τε, βοῖν τ' ἀρτήρα  
Κτητῆν οὐ γαμετῆν, ἥτις καὶ βοσὶν ἐποίητο,*

in which it is taken for granted that the woman is to be *κτητῆν οὐ γαμετῆν*. He himself acquiesces in the same view. It has been conjectured that the passage ought to be read *κτητῆν ἢ γαμετῆν*; but even the alternative argues but a low standard of morality.

Epicurus's own letter to Menæceus. Epicurus teaches that 'God is a being incorruptible and happy;' and he cautions us against 'attaching to our ideas of God anything which is inconsistent with incorruptibility and happiness.' But he also lays down the polytheistic doctrine in another passage, and adds 'that our knowledge of the gods is indistinct,' and that 'they are not of the character which people in general attribute to them.' Now the object of Philodemus's treatise is to discuss philosophically the popular notions regarding the gods; nor can we well imagine a more curious illustration of the degree in which even the wisest of the philosophers of old 'became vain in their thoughts, and their foolish heart was darkened,' than is presented in these 'conjectural discussions as to the manner of living of the gods.' Philodemus adopts the popular notion as to the gods being endowed with a corporeal form, which he holds to be of equal size in them all. The portion of the roll in which the various questions as to 'the limbs of the gods' were considered, is unfortunately destroyed. He distinctly holds that they have blood, but of a different nature from human blood, and incorruptible; also that they use food and drink, although of a super-earthly character. The question regarding the food of the gods naturally raises the discussion as to whether we are to suppose that they are liable to sleep, like mortals. Philodemus vehemently argues the absurdity of the affirmative. 'Whereas,' he contends, 'in the sleep of animals there arises a new ordination of parts which has a strong analogy to death, and on which is founded a not improbable argument of the corruptibility of animals, inasmuch as sleep in them dissolves the parts of the soul, the same, or a very nearly analogous, principle would apply to the gods, if we suppose them to undergo sleep.' A further argument he deduces from the unchangeable happiness and tranquillity of mind which is essential to the idea of the gods, and with which, he amusingly argues, sleep would be irreconcilable; since, if we admit that the gods are subject to sleep, it will follow that they are also liable to dreams, which are often of a highly painful and disturbing nature, and, therefore, entirely inconsistent with the tranquil happiness which we must attribute to the gods!

Still more curious are his speculations as to the dwellings of the gods. On all these silly trivialities he argues upon principles which, to judge from his language, one might suppose to be founded on the very essences of things, and to enter as necessarily into the idea of the gods, as 'into

that of a fish, that it should live in the water; of a bird, that it should have wings; or of a chariot, that it should be furnished with wheels!' From the dwellings of the gods, there is an easy transition to the furniture and appurtenances of their habitations. The reader will be amused at the solemnity with which Philodemus lays down that the notion which supposes the gods to be supplied with couches, seats, and other furniture such as mortals possess, is entirely inadmissible. The main ground of this assertion is, that such things are not needed by the gods. And 'as they do not stand in need of them, so neither can it be supposed that they exhibit them;' whence he concludes that the representations in which the poets indulge of the golden couches, the ivory chairs, the purple tapestry, and other similar decorations of the dwellings of the gods, are but fabulous inventions of the poetic fancy. On the other hand, that the gods should be held to be endowed with speech, he considers to follow from their being capable of the functions of respiration and expansion of the lungs. 'We cannot doubt, therefore,' he argues, 'that they are gifted with a voice by which they can make themselves audible to one another. Nor shall we add to their happiness or their freedom from disturbing cares by supposing them to be naturally voiceless, like persons deprived of speech. As in our own case the power of speaking is an evidence that we are not destitute of the organs of speech, so, as the gods also naturally possess these organs, we must either suppose them to speak, or we must believe that their organs of speech are mutilated or impeded.' He argues, moreover, that as good men derive pleasure from mutual converse, so it may be presumed that the converse of the gods, the subject of which must be virtue, science, and philosophy, is, for them also, one of the main sources of enjoyment. It need hardly be added, that, in his opinion, the language of the gods is 'Greek, by Jove, or near akin to Greek.'

The place of the celestial habitations was a most disputed point among the ancient philosophers. The Stoics held that the gods dwelt in or around the stars. Philodemus, who holds that the gods dwell 'in the intermundane spaces,' argues strenuously against the Stoic doctrine. He contends that it is unworthy the idea of a god to be bound to matter, and especially to 'small particles of matter,' such as he evidently supposes the stars to be. Still more does he look on it as beneath the dignity of a god to be carried about through space, in the endless gyrations of the heavenly bodies, to which the Stoics

would consign them. 'It is impossible,' he says, 'to suppose that the gods have nothing else to do but to go to and fro through endless ways and limitless spaces, never for a moment stopping to rest.' And he concludes with what was clearly intended as a stroke of humour,—that we must either hold the place of the gods not to be subject to these endless revolutions in space, 'or we must say' that 'happiness consists in being perpetually on the road, without ever having time to sit down for a single meal!'

It will be well, however, to contrast with what some may regard as the triflings of a half-sportive discussion a specimen of the serious reasoning, on the same subject, of another Epicurean philosopher,—that Phædrus already referred to, whose treatise first appeared in the 'Herculansia.' The whole tract is not undeserving of study. It is mainly a defence of the popular religion, which rests on the belief of the personal existence of those gods who were popularly received by the Greeks, against the pantheistic or semi-pantheistic theories, which either identified God with the *Πάν* (the universe),—and thus, in a certain sense, taught the unity of God,—or which, while admitting a plurality of deities, reduced them to abstract properties or notions, or to symbols of the several elements and powers of nature. The laborious trifling of Phædrus, on these—to us—self-evident theories, is a curious justification of St. Paul's half-indignant, half-pitying judgment upon those who, 'professing themselves to be wise, became fools.' We translate from the amended text of Petersen; and, indeed, we have found it necessary to permit ourselves considerable liberty in the rendering of one or two passages, which in the original are still obscure, and probably imperfect:—

'In the first place, all the followers of Zeno either, if they retain the doctrine of the existence of God, explain the nature of God in a sense which is not admissible, or, if they give a correct explanation of his nature, say that there is but one God. Granting to them that the Universe is God, still they are in error, because they do not admit more than one God, accommodating themselves exclusively to the views of their own sect. Let it be understood of them, then, by the public, that they teach that the Universe is the one only God; that they do not admit more gods than this one; and that they do not confess those gods whom the public voice proclaims; whereas we hold that there are, not merely as many gods as the Pan-Hellenic body receives, but even a greater number. Besides, these philosophers do not acknowledge even those gods whom they admit, to be of that form in which they are worshipped by us, in common with all the world. They do not admit any god of human form, but only the Air, the Winds, and the Æther; so that I do not hesitate

to pronounce them more censurable than even Diagoras, since he has, at the most, spoken lightly of the gods, but has not directly assailed them,—as Aristoxenus has observed, in his "Customs of the Mantineans," as also in his poetry, when he remarks that "Diagoras had adhered to the truth, introducing nothing like impiety in any of his verses, but always speaking in them reverently of the Deity, as is shown, among many passages, by one addressed to Arianthus of Argos:—

"O God, O God, before all mortal works,  
Grant us the loftiest mind!"

'And again, to Nicodorus of Mantinea,—

"By God and chance all mortal things are ruled."

He proceeds to criticise the system in its moral bearings, and especially its implied denial of the action of the gods on the affairs of men.

'It must be evident to every one,' he continues, 'that no man ever abstains, out of fear of the Air, or the Æther, or the Universe, from doing the slightest injustice, much less from those things to which he is incited by the strongest desires, any more than he would regard a heap of sand, or the down on the feather of a thistle, which he clearly perceives to be insensible. It seems to me, therefore, that we may apply to these men what was said by Timocles, in his comedy of "Egypt," respecting the gods of that country:—

"For if the wretch, unpunished and secure,  
Blasphemes the mighty gods, confessed by all,  
Who would adore a cat's unhonored shrine?"

'They object that, if men speak of the gods from conceiving them such as their own arrogance has represented them, each man must consider himself at liberty to do ill at his pleasure, whenever he has an opportunity. But, on the other hand, can we suppose that any one will abstain from any of the greatest crimes for fear of the Air? And even granting that it is so, if this is the principal check for repressing injustice, they may be very fairly reproached with transferring to mankind the habits of wild beasts, especially if they disregard, as they profess to do, the clamour of the multitude on this account.' (Petersen's *Phædrus*, pp. 22-4.)

This curious fragment of Phædrus cannot but be regarded as an interesting supplement to the knowledge of that Epicurean philosopher which we already possess through Cicero's treatise 'De Natura Deorum.' It fully bears out, and it illustrates not uninterestingly, that principle as to the popular polytheism of the Greeks which Diogenes attributes to Epicurus. His disciple here even uses it as an argument against the Stoics, and other philosophers whom he confutes, that their system only recognised 'one, and not many gods.' It would be remarkable, too, that Phædrus should speak of himself and his fellow Epicureans as not merely agreeing with the rest of the Greeks in ad-

mitting many gods, but as holding the number of the gods to be greater than was believed by the other Greeks, were it not clear that in this he is alluding to the well-known Epicurean dictum that the gods exceed in number the mortal inhabitants of the earth.

By far the most extensive work, however, among the various relics which have been restored to the world through the papyri, is Philodemus's treatise on 'Rhetoric,' considerable portions of three books of which, as well as several disconnected fragments, are collected by M. Gros from the different volumes of the original series in which they had appeared. We have already stated that it is not a treatise on Rhetoric in the received sense of the name, but an essay on the question whether the use of rhetoric is laudable and advantageous; on which question the negative is vigorously defended by Philodemus.

It must be said, however, that, in adopting this opinion, Philodemus considers rhetoric, in the very lowest sense of the word, not alone as a purely servile art, tied up by dishonest and unworthy rules, and proposing to itself, not truth, but ostentation, but even as an art, capable of being employed, and habitually employed, for the worst and most corrupt ends. It is true, indeed, that, even on independent grounds, the Epicurean philosophy would lead to the condemnation of one main purpose of the rhetorical art;—viz., the appeals to the passions on which rhetoric often relies for its most effective weapons. Such appeals, and the effects which they are intended to produce, are, of their nature, inconsistent with that enviable *ἀταραξία*, the equable maintenance of which constitutes the 'chief good' of the Epicurean. But in the portions of his argument against rhetoric which have been preserved in the papyri, Philodemus abstracts from this consideration. He dwells almost entirely on the abuses of rhetoric; and, although he admits that certain advantages may be attained by the rhetorician, he contends that no part of this advantage is in reality to be ascribed to rhetoric; but that, in such a case, all that is good is the work of philosophy, and all the evil by which this good is accompanied is due to rhetoric, which, even in the good which it has effected, has but borrowed for the time the weapons of philosophy.

The treatise, indeed, is mainly directed against the sophists, and is intended to expose their unworthy arts. Perhaps the best idea of the manner in which it deals with the subject will be conveyed by referring the curious reader to the chapter in which Philodemus discusses the well-known rhetorical exercise

called by the name of 'Declamations.' (Gros, pp. 67–8.) The nature of these compositions is already familiar, from the description of Quintilian. The highest praise of a 'Declamation,' according to the corrupt standard adopted in the school, was that it made the best of a bad cause, the distinction of the successful declaimer being held to be more signal in proportion to the badness of the cause. This it is that Philodemus chiefly condemns.

There is another chapter in which Philodemus discusses the well-known saying of Demosthenes on Action, which may also be read with interest. But the really interesting remains of the school are the purely ethical treatises, as that on Freedom of Speech, on Death, on Domestic Economy, and on Arrogance. The essay on 'Freedom of Speech' has an amusing section on the persons with whom this plain speaking cannot safely be used, first of whom it ranks women, persons of rank, and old men. On the other hand, we have seldom been so painfully struck by the dark realities of the moral condition of ancient heathendom as in this book 'On Death.' It comes like a voice from the grave of two thousand years to tell us of those whom St. Paul pityingly describes as 'the others who have not hope.' There is something positively appalling in the picture which it presents of the human mind calmly accepting the grave as the limit of its destiny, and acquiescing without an effort in the contented consciousness of annihilation. This is the tone of Philodemus throughout the essay. It is not, as we sometimes see in the Epicurean poets, a passing allusion to the sleep of death. Philodemus coolly discusses all the circumstances of death, and calmly puts aside all the terrors which they involve by the single consideration, that, 'since man, by the enjoyment of life, has attained the chief good, he is not to concern himself with what may afterwards befall.' The children, therefore, whom we may leave behind us, 'are no more to us than they are to those who were born under King Phoroneus'!

It is sufficiently plain, that, as subjects of general reading, there is hardly any device by which even the least fragmentary of these Herculanean relics could well be rendered available. They are, by their very nature and condition, destined exclusively for the scholar. Even for the most enthusiastic and persevering student they present but few of the ordinary attractions of ancient literature; but we are not without hopes that some of our own countrymen may be induced to continue and complete the work commenced by their learned brethren of Germany and

France. It is only by the minute and thorough investigation involved in such a process, that these remains can be made to render up their full value for the illustration of the literature, and still more of the philosophy, of the school to which they belong. Nevertheless, in looking back over what we have written as to the results of the Herculanean discovery, we fear we must not reckon on any very high estimate among our readers of the absolute value, reckoned in the sterling coin of literature, of what has hitherto been won by so many years of toil, and by so vast an expenditure of wealth and of industry. Still even the limited success which has attended the operations on the Herculanean papyri, and especially that of Sir Humphry Davy's experiments, affords almost a certainty that if, in the course of the explorations which yet remain to be made under far more favourable circumstances at Pompeii, any similar deposit of papyri should be there discovered, the rolls, being unaffected by air or moisture, will, like the frescos and other perishable remains, be found in a far higher state of preservation than those of the sister city. This hope is far, we are convinced, from being a visionary one. A very large proportion of the site of Pompeii remains still unexplored; nor has the yet unvisited quarter of that city suffered in any degree, whether from the action of fire, or from the injurious effects of the overflow of boiling mud and water which is supposed to have accompanied the eruption by which Herculaneum was buried. It is hard, therefore, to imagine that, when objects so perishable and colours so delicate as those which we see among the Pompeian remains in the Museo Borbonico, have survived without injury the catastrophe which destroyed that city, the good genius of ancient literature has not even yet in store for us, only awaiting the tardy visit of the excavator, more than one of the lost masterpieces of antiquity, and perhaps in a state of preservation which will leave little to be desired.

ART. III.—*La Storia dei Musulmani di Sicilia*. Scritta da MICHELE AMARI. Vols. I. and II. Firenze: 1858.

This history of Mussulman dominion in Sicily must undoubtedly rank as the most remarkable historical work in the Italian literature of our own time. Treating a virgin subject of very comprehensive range with great knowledge and acute criticism, it is a book of sterling merit, worthy of the reputation which the author, by birth a Sici-

lian, established for himself by his first work, a 'History of the Sicilian Vespers,' that has been translated into German, French, and English. Merits that elsewhere won esteem, secured for him at home persecution at the hands of a restlessly suspicious government, which with sensitive consciousness construed his vivid narrative of an oppressive tyranny into a diatribe against itself. With exile therefore as his reward—the indomitable energy of his independent spirit and his excellent talents for his whole fortune—M. Amari came to Paris in the prime of life. There, almost the first publication that met his eye was an Arabic text fresh from the press, having reference to the history of his native island. Such was the irritation he felt at not being able to read it, that it impelled him to apply himself to master the language. The resolution thus taken at a spur he followed up with an unflinching energy, which has won him a confessedly leading place amongst Arabic scholars of Italy. The conception of this particular history floated before his mind as the capital prize of his labours, and encouraged his enduring exertions with the stimulant of a patriotic purpose. The ordinary difficulties attending Arabic scholarship were, however, far from filling up the measure of what M. Amari had to overcome. The task he had set himself imposed the duty of not merely learning a perplexing tongue and of writing a bulky history, but also of discovering and bringing together by immense research the primary materials for its possible construction—materials which were scattered through manuscripts of obscure existence, and often hidden in the night of forgotten libraries. Without any of those aids which lighten inquiry, his sturdy resolution and critical keenness achieved an undertaking that might have been deemed sufficient to engage the attention of a learned body. During twelve years he ransacked the libraries of all countries for the records which his acuteness enabled him to trace, and thus acquired the amount of matter which he is embodying in a book that throws new and striking lights upon the very essence of Mahometan societies. With this rare erudition in Arabic writings M. Amari combines a thorough knowledge of Byzantine and early Italian chroniclers. He keenly darts on a hint, whether lurking amidst the trashy biographies of Byzantine saints, or the mysteries of an Arabic text; and as his sober sense resists the seductions of fanciful ingenuity, he offers in an eminent degree that wholesome union of knowledge and instinct which constitutes the true historian.

The conquest of Sicily was the last acqui-

sition in date of the great westward tide of Arab irruption under the impulse of Mahometan fanaticism; for the single waves afterwards still thrown forwards by the devastating flood into remoter parts of Europe, were merely straggling billows, that rolled back as fast as they had run in, without making anywhere a lasting encroachment. Sicily, therefore, is the landmark of the limits attained by the force of Mahomet's impulse, and the history of its Mussulman period reflects consequently in their perfection all the elements which entered into the constitution of Mahometan society and progress within its primitive and Arabian stage. Accordingly, M. Amari has seen fit to precede his narrative of the actual conquest by a sketch of the nature and rise of the conquering force, which is rich in new and profound observation. His scholarship, going hand in hand with a philosophical instinct, has enabled him to recover a thread that can serve as a clue through the mazes of Eastern revolutions, making what hitherto wore the dreary look of wayward recklessness assume the features of settled and eventful antagonism.

The Shemitic population of Arabia falls into two divisions that date from a point of time beyond historical record. The one claiming, and it is generally believed with truth, to be the elder is the tribe of Khattan, by genealogists identified with the Joktan of the Bible. The second is the tribe of Adnan, sprung from Ishmael, an invader and intruder upon the birthright of the other. When the light of history dawns on tradition, we find the tribe of Khattan confined to Arabia Felix and Yemen, while the hardy and intractable children of Ishmael roamed with their herds in nomadic freedom throughout the wide extent of the great Arabian deserts. Thus at the very earliest period within our cognisance, the two branches of the Arabian family were already set against each other in an opposition based on the most lasting passions of human nature; on the one hand, an irrepressible disposition towards lawless rapacity without regard for a neighbour's right; on the other, a rankling resentment at the spoliation of a birthright. The ill feeling thus early begotten was never quenched; it runs through the whole cycle of Arabian history, breaking out with unabated vehemence on all occasions of contact between the two kindred tribes—be it in the desultory collisions of their primitive life, or under the levelling discipline of Mahomet's new law. Yet on investigation, we can catch but one feature of distinction in the otherwise uniform character of these two members of the great Shemitic family. The

men of Khattan were more disposed than their brethren to arts of civilisation. It was not a mere accident which had made them withdraw into Arabia Felix and Yemen. These were the districts of Arabia best adapted to their more especial predispositions, affording sites for towns, a soil that rewarded the toil of the husbandman, and products that could whet the speculative instincts of the merchant. In these men of Khattan, dwellers in towns who worked and dealt in their country's wealth, the refinement of Arabian society was concentrated. With venturesome spirit they plied in frail barks the Eastern seas, and bartering their native spices against the varied articles of rich price to be found in the markets of Rome, Byzantium, and India, they garnished the simple homesteads of their birth with costly products of foreign luxury—trophies of their intelligent enterprise. These also were the men who established two realms of renown—one in Mesopotamia on the confines of Persia, the kingdom of Hira—the other more generally celebrated through its Queen Zenobia, the kingdom of Palmyra, the ruins of whose monuments are still the object of curious pilgrimage.

Very different were the doings of the men of Adnan. Quickwitted, fiery, and utterly impatient of discipline, these wild and impetuous men exactly reflected that conformation of condition where man found himself free to roam where he listed, subject to the constraint of no higher jurisdiction than of such brute strength as might happily prove superior to his own. Restless with passions, wayward like the shifting sands of their native haunts, their nature yet defied all progressive influence, just as their deserts preserved their immemorial monotony through all the convulsions of perpetual storms. What they were the first day that they remained to the last; men possessed of striking and choice qualities that can constitute virtues in the individual, but so disposed as to be quite unsusceptible of social progress. With flocks, dromedaries, steeds, and weapons for their whole property—a camel's skin for a tent, and camel's haircloth for raiment, with the endless waste of the desert for a home, and with none but man's intuitive reverence for his parent, and none but man's indelible affection for his offspring, the children of Ishmael followed their propensities as rovers, broken up into as many communities as there were families; each clustered about its own patriarch, and crossing at all moments with reckless hostility each other's path—men whose hands were truly turned against every one, and every one's hand against them. It is true that a few

Adnanite families — amongst them the illustrious one of Hashem—are found in fixed settlements. This exception was, however, so very rare and partial, that the division into its two tribes may fairly be considered as severing the Shemitic population of Arabia into townsmen and rovers—the only distinction to be detected in its simple and uniform mould.

For the Arab dwelling within walls as for the Arab roaming through the desert, there existed but one form of political constitution, the narrow bond of family in the most stringent sense of the term. This close and unexpansive body comprised the whole essence of Arabian society in all its gradations, which are described with admirable clearness by the author, and deserve especial attention as the ground whereon and the stuff wherewith Mahomet reared his structure.

‘The nomadic tribe called Bedouin, which in Arabic signifies “dwellers in the wide,” is a tight political body, with no other bond than that of blood, and no other restraint than shame and dread of another’s rapacity. The unity constituting society does not rest here in the individual, but in the family, and true authority dwells only in its head. He has absolute command over his children, and their offspring—over slaves, whether taken or bought—over freed men still abiding in a dependence. . . . He provides for their sustenance, defends them against aggression, and, when they commit such acts, he makes good the wrong done, or encounters himself vengeance. The amount and zeal of his followers constitute the force of the chief—their services, chattels, and flocks his wealth; nor is there any want of laws, to keep together a body of this kind. Beyond the family begin the associations, which, though quite voluntary, still follow the order of kinship. Several families form what the Arabs, from their habit of pitching their tents in a round, call a circle, over which a sheikh or elder is set, who is rather pointed out for the office by his personal repute or his family’s importance, than chosen by a vote; so that it often becomes hereditary for some generations. He is the emblem of the head of the kindred—a magistrate, with no power over individuals, and with no authority over the ordinary affairs of the circle, in which he has to follow the vote of the fathers of families. Lastly, to use a modern phrase, the sheikh represents his circle in the tribe, which unites various branches of the same line, and is itself disposed, like the circle, under the direction of a chief, acquiring his position partly by consent, partly of necessity, who governs the general matters of the tribe, as a change of encampment, the making war and treaties; but always with the assent of the sheikhs, and also, possibly, of other powerful heads of families. . . . Such is the hierarchy, at once political and military. Civil ordinances, deserving the name, are not in existence. When family influence proves not sufficient, force preserves property; and force failing, then self becomes a rightful acquisition. For

personal protection, the pledge is somewhat more effective, as the circle and tribe are in honour bound thereto, and readily take up arms to avenge blood, or from their means contribute towards paying the price of such as has been shed by one of their body.’ (Vol. i. p. 34.)

A society so strictly confined in its organisation to the narrowed family bond, constituted an even intenser system of rivalry than prevailed in Celtic clanship, which extended at all events an equal community over all who came, however remotely, within one pedigree. Of the countless petty divisions into which the Arabian world was thus broken, the tribe of Koreish claimed particular eminence in virtue of its lordship over Mecca. That town was endowed with holiness in the eyes of all Arabs, and thus enjoyed as much of the character of a metropolis as was compatible with the rude notions of so primitive a people. Mahomet was born therefore at the very pinnacle of Arabian society, for besides being a townsman of Mecca and a Koreish, he was moreover the heir apparent in that family of Hashem which, from being the guardian of the national shrine, had the chief rank in the tribe, and affected to be the most illustrious blood in the country. By the representative, therefore, of Arab aristocracy in its choicest perfection, the bolt was launched that aimed at the overthrow of its cherished distinctions. This was not, however, the act of Mahomet’s deliberate intention, but rather the result of his kin having rejected a scheme which, in the first instance, he had brought forward for direct purposes of family ambition in the true spirit of Arab tradition and feelings. The holy privileges enjoyed by the Koreish were mainly held on no higher tenure than the kind of sufferance customary to Arab polity. The Koreish had laid aside in their walled settlements none of the purely personal susceptibilities which had exclusively seized them while roving about in the desert. Such ordinances as prevailed in Mecca above what was to be found in every Arab encampment, were merely the instinctive expressions of that simple necessity which even the rudest and most lawless population become alive to as soon as they are thrown together within the confined compass of a town. The free recklessness that may be indulged in a state of society removed from neighbours, must at once put on itself some restraint in self defence when its continued indulgence becomes a permanent cause for murderous collisions. The Koreish in Mecca did therefore no more than tacitly to fall into a simple government offering but the slightest possible modifications from



their nomadic condition, strictly preserving in all essential points the clanship already explained, and consequently for ever at the mercy of jarring passions. The supreme honour of keeping the Caäbe had been delegated to the Hashemites. The dignity was, however, but deferred for the time being by the elders, and the feeling in regard to it was that it would relapse as soon as another family showed itself powerful enough either quietly to supplant theirs, or forcibly to wrest hold of the coveted prize. Mecca was thus virtually a settlement of turbulent oligarchs without any legislative conceptions, starting this moment to arms like one man for the assertion of their common tribe's superiority over the nation at large, and the next as quick in tearing each other to pieces in behalf of individual pretensions — a state of perpetual broil and quarrel, where every one was bursting with private pride, and no one could bring himself ever to admit a fellow-citizen to be possessed of any higher eminence than his own. Such was the condition of society which Mahomet set himself to reform. Ardent in soul, ambitious in temper, instinctively alive to the evils of lawlessness, and yet as an Arab of high degree being influenced by pride of blood, Mahomet in the first instance conceived a plan for securing the boon of orderly government, by endowing his own family with a dignity to be exalted above all disturbing competition, in virtue of a special consecration not to be communicated to others. At a banquet in his own dwelling, to which he had gathered all his kinsmen, Mahomet accordingly revealed the scheme he had meditated, for perpetuating the greatness of their house through an inviolable and hereditary pontificate. But his appeal met with rejection. A few of his nearest kinsman, perhaps from being as such the most exposed to the fascination of his daily intercourse and impassioned speech, did indeed join him heart and soul. Amongst these were Ali, son of Abu Taleb, then the head of the house of Hashem; but the adhesions were merely individual. As a body the clan utterly declined to entertain Mahomet's suggestions. From this moment two courses alone were left to him — either altogether to throw aside all thoughts of reform, or, by appealing from the narrow association of kinship unto the great family of mankind, to widen a mere plot into revolution. The first probably never presented itself to his daring temper, and thus Mahomet found himself drifted into a position far beyond what at starting he had aimed at taking up. The plotter in behalf of his own, but rejected by them, proclaimed himself an

apostle to mankind, and breaking with established customs, because too stubborn for his purpose, he applied himself to crush them by new ones of his own creation. For the Elect by blood, he conceived to substitute Elect in God, who, constituting a theocratic aristocracy that derived its patent of nobility from a revelation whereof Mahomet was the apostle, must prove irreconcilably hostile to all prior claims to distinction. Shielded against personal outrage by the inviolable protection extended to a kinsman under all circumstances, Mahomet stayed on in Mecca as an indefatigable preacher, addressing himself alike to all who visited the shrine, without making any distinction of tribe or race; until his zeal became so openly aggressive, as at last to make it necessary for him to seek safety in flight. On the eve, therefore, of his throwing off the last link in established associations, and of betaking himself away from all fellowship of kindred unto that of merely voluntary and accidental followers, Mahomet felt the necessity of giving, by a binding and solemn covenant, a constitution to what until then had been but a union of sentiment. On a mountain near Mecca he therefore gathered his disciples — those about to forsake homes in Mecca and those whom he had converted from other quarters — and there, without distinction of birth, blood, or calling, he enrolled them as equal fellows in one community, making them in token thereof swear mutual affection in pairs, a native of Mecca with an individual of foreign origin. Hereupon Mahomet set out for Medina in the midst of his devotees, and on that night, in M. Amari's words, 'there took its rise a pontificate, an empire, and an era.'

But the habit of generations cannot be got rid of at a blow, and the Arabs, however inflamed by Mahomet's influence, remained yet at heart in many essential points the same as of old. This was true even of some amongst the Prophet's most cherished disciples, as was seen on his death. Ali, the burning believer, but yet more fiery kinsman, surnamed from his prowess the Lion of God, thought himself as naturally entitled to the succession in the pontificate, as he had been entitled to that of his father's chieftainship over the Hashemites. In him the qualities of an Arab of high degree found a complete expression — an intense sense of what was due to his person combined with the fiercest intrepidity. The possibility of rightful opposition unless it came from the Prophet himself was a thought foreign to Ali's mind. Twice he spurned the caliphate when offered with the condition of his taking counsel with

the Elders of Islam, scorning any fetter on his will short of a written injunction in the Koran. The incompatibility of such individual absoluteness with the Prophet's system did not escape the observation of his intimate companions. Depositories of his confidential instructions, these men were thoroughly imbued with the spirit of his doctrine; while the mere fact of having been gathered from all classes and tribes, enlisted their human sympathies strongly against a claim that would introduce in a new shape and confirm in the new society the old spirit of exclusive family tradition, which it had been the founder's intention to destroy. Ali withdrew into sullen retirement; while the successive elevation to the command of the faithful of Abu Bekr, Omar, and Othman, men not connected with the house of Hashem, distinguished only for zeal in the cause of Islam, and who publicly acknowledged this dignity to be a gift from the elders of the community, were so many triumphs of the theocratic principle.

Of these three reigns the second was of paramount importance. Of all Mahomet's disciples, the only one possessed of legislative talents, Omar strove to secure the fulfilment of the Prophet's political views by the creation of appropriate institutions. Alive to the fact that the shock given to Arab society, although powerful, had still not been strong enough as yet to work a radical change in Arab habits of mind, Omar felt the danger to which Mahomet's complex theocracy was exposed of becoming the prey of such personal influences as easily spring up in periods of revolution and strife. This danger he thought to obviate by conciliating the inveterate tendencies of his countrymen through a device which he hoped would enable him to fashion a rebellious element into piers of support for his polity. In the fifteenth year of the Hegira, Omar decreed a muster-roll of all believers, which he meant should become the prescriptive form of standing organisation. In it was trampled under foot everything valued hitherto as a genealogical distinction, while the grouping was yet by a family thread. One existing social division alone was not effaced — the division into men of Adnan and Khattan, as inveterate as Arab life itself. But with this exception every traditional eminence was disregarded, and around Mahomet, as the central sun of the Mussulman universe, each family was ranged in a new order depending upon its degree of connexion with him. Nevertheless what may be called the feudal spirit did succeed in asserting itself by the violent elevation of Ali on the murder of the Caliph Othman,

and led to events which lastingly affected the political conformation of Islam. At this time a quarter of a century had already elapsed since the Prophet's death. The generation of his contemporaries had mostly followed him, and was replaced by a set of men much less imbued with a primitive reverence for duty, and strongly animated with the daring recklessness of a soldier's temper. The opportunities offered by the wonderful career of Mussulman conquests had produced a body of illustrious captains, who, at the head of armies in provinces far away from central authority, exercised to all intents an independent power. Many of these generals had risen from the lowest ranks — Amrou, the mighty conqueror of Egypt, was the homeless son of a harlot at Mecca — and all were so thoroughly identified in their greatness with the political conditions called into existence by Mahomet, that they felt themselves personally threatened by the elevation of Ali. Therefore they combined in an opposition, which came to a head in Syria. M. Amari points out how the Mussulman force in that province, though commanded by an Adnanite — Moawyah, of the house of Ommeya — was almost wholly composed of men of Khattan, whose pride had been deeply wounded at having a secondary place assigned to them by Omar in his great muster-roll. Adored by the men whom he had so often led to splendid victories, Moawyah dexterously turned to his own good the resentment ranking in the hearts of his soldiers. Thus did it come about that the caliphate passed into the house of Ommeya for several generations, virtually as an absolute possession; an event by which was consummated the failure of Mahomet's project to set up a theocratic polity, though the interests at stake in the struggle between the houses of Ali and Ommeya were not yet finally voided. After the lapse of a century the Ommeyades in their turn were dethroned by a conspiracy which again brought to power the representatives of the family of Hashem in the descendant of Mahomet's uncle Abbas; a revolution the true bearing of which M. Amari has first properly illustrated. Plotted in the Persian province of Khorasan, of which the Abbasides were governors, it was mainly effected through the agency of Persians. Thus it proved the means of introducing into the simplicity of Arab society that rich stock of flexible wit proper to the Aryan intellect, which alone could carry Islamism beyond that primitive stage in which the unprogressive vehemence of the Shemitic nature would have left it. From this period a new race, in virtue of its

conversion to the true faith, invaded and eventually made its own the whole range of Mussulman polity.

'These new comers enlarged the right of their rulers by their experience in public administration—they aided with their learning the compilation of Mussulman jurisprudence—they kindled in the breasts of the Arabs the holy fire of knowledge, and, above all, of such civil and religious freedom as could be understood in those regions. The people of the Sassanide empire were, in truth, the masters of the Arabs, as the Greeks were of the Romans, with the distinction that the different tempers of the two people, and especially of their religious and civil institutions, won for the Persians preponderating political might, which the Greeks failed to get. . . . The Persians, in a word, made themselves lords of that dominion which the Arabs were at a loss how to keep in their hands. Hence the literary glory that made the Abbasides so illustrious; for the Persians, attaining under them office at court and throughout the provinces, disseminated science, cultivated it exclusively, brought it into esteem with the caliphs, and, by their example, attracted Mussulmans of all races, the fewest amongst these being Arabs. But as all wrote in the language of the Koran, these last obtained the reputation of being the guardians of civilisation in the darkest centuries of the Middle Ages.' (Vol. i. pp. 132-42.)

The rapid strides in power made by these intelligent Persians, soon quickened the suspicious dread of their employers, who gladly laid hold of every opportunity for riding themselves, as much as possible, of their inconvenient presence. Such an opportunity offered itself in Northern Africa, the subjugation of which had defied for more than a century the repeated efforts of Mussulman invaders; and thither accordingly, in A.D. 761, the Abasside caliph despatched four thousand Khorassan warriors with a contingent of Arabs. As the conquest of Sicily proceeded direct from the governors of this African dependency, who for some time continued to assert their suzerainty over the island, M. Amari has devoted much industry to throw light upon the very remarkable vicissitudes and conditions of Mussulman rule in Africa, where for the first time the onward flood of Islam struck on a material which did not give way at a touch. In his pages the tangled incidents of this hitherto neglected portion of history acquire a lively interest. The administration of the colony offers a singular instance of institutions nowhere else to be found in that degree in the Mussulman world, while what seemed before dreary revolutions assume an eventful aspect when connected by M. Amari with a twofold antagonism—the one within the ranks of the conquerors, and arising out of the irrepressible animosity borne

to each other by Adnanite and Khattanite, which led in the end to the subversion of all Arab predominance; the second resting in that stubborn tenacity which is the essential characteristic of the native Berbers, and enabled them, after subjugation and compulsory profession of Islam, to make a ladder to power out of the heretical elements lurking in the religious system which they had unwillingly been driven to embrace. Thus in A.D. 740, the Berbers, joining with some Mahometan sectarians, kindled a flame of revolt which spread through the whole province, reducing for a time the conquerors to the strongholds of Kairewân and Tlemsen. Nor was this the only time when Arab dominion was brought to the very brink of destruction. No less than five distinct invasions were needed to preserve the precarious footing which was all the Arabs ever secured in this quarter. A condition so arduous produced a race of men who tempered the hot impulsiveness of their origin with the sturdiness due to having gone through the ordeal of lengthened trial. It is wonderful how under difficulties painfully aggravated by intestine discord, Arab government did maintain itself, and even acquire a fulness of authority elsewhere to be looked for in vain.

While the presence of an irreconcilably hostile population effectually prevented that assimilation between the conqueror and the conquered, which was elsewhere brought about by the bond of common faith under Mussulman dominion, the idea of encampment was vividly kept alive by the fortified works which were the unfailing and prominent feature of every Arab settlement in Africa. Kairewân, the capital and holy city of the province, in the first instance chosen for a military station from its site, difficult of access on the desolate banks of an unhealthy lake, the noted haunt of reptiles and wild beasts, had acquired its metropolitan importance merely through the strength of its citadel. War, national, civil, or predatory, was the daily condition of life, and the association of an entrenchment, as often defended stoutly against his countrymen of rival race as against the rebellious Berber, was probably the one most likely to occur to the African Arab at the thought of his homestead. It is therefore intelligible that the Arabs in Africa should have retained as the mould of their social constitution the military organisation with which they came into the country as an invading army. Instead of assuming the complexion of a population, they continued strictly an armed force enrolled in divisions founded on kindred, and partaking, as M. Amari remarks,

in character both of a standing and a feudal army — like the former inured to war, like the latter more devoted to immediate chiefs than to the sovereign. Hence the emirs of Africa, placed between followers of a highly mutinous description, and subjects stubbornly rebellious who never relaxed in their efforts to throw off the foreign yoke, turned for political support to those theocratic elements which despotism, when securely triumphant, had elsewhere discarded. In this troubled corner of the Mussulman world, we are therefore astonished at the contemplation of an assembly, called the *Gemâ*, exercising in all vital matters of state that right of deliberation which constitutes the precious essence of self-government, and which, resting on a thoroughly Mussulman element, attained a degree of vigour sufficient on capital occasions to hold in check the absolute authority of the prince. Its shape was that of a senate, based on the qualification of wisdom in what for Mussulmans was the only wisdom—learning in the law revealed through the Prophet. In virtue of their profession its members were *notables in Islam*, and the canonical eminence, not to say holiness, thus belonging to them, explains the pious horror of revolutionary excess which invariably distinguishes their proceedings, and, amidst so much turbulent lawlessness, strikingly points them out as *men of the law*.

'Although it is difficult,' says M. Amari, 'to define the limits set by custom to the powers of the emirs, we see one of great importance, the right of war and peace, exercised by the Prince, in conjunction with the *Gemâ*, or municipal parliament of Kairawân. The first mention thereof occurs on occasion of a treaty, made in 813 A.D., with the Patrician of Sicily; and we know, from words spoken by one who sat in the *Gemâ*, how the elders and notables of the city being gathered together, the treaty was written and read in their presence. And that they did not act as mere witnesses, but that its provisions were matter for free discussion, is proved by another meeting, some years after, to consider war with Sicily,—which was attended by the *Cadis*, just as, in England, judges enter the Upper House,—when the Prince was obliged to defer to the preponderating opinion. To understand correctly the balance of powers in the state, it is necessary to weigh the authority which at this time jurists exercised in the Mussulman world. The study of the law having made strides, like every intellectual pursuit, on the elevation of the *Abassides*, was near creating a new power in the empire, in substitution for that which had belonged to the Prophet's companions—setting an aristocracy of doctors in the room of one of saints. Through the singleness of the law, which produced confusion, these men came to be at once divines without priestly ministration—moralists, publicists, and jurists. Through an antagonism

natural to theocracy, these doctors strove to be above the pontiff sovereign. . . . In the organisation of the state they preserved a judicial authority, which was independent of the Prince—in some respects, to a greater, but in others to a lesser degree than would suit our modern notions of public right; for the jurists usurped legislative power by their interpretation of points in doctrine, while they failed to define limits between the jurisdictions of magistrates, princes, governors, and ministers.' (Vol. i. pp. 149—50)

While elsewhere these doctors in Islam had to remain content with the insignificant position of secluded pedants—the condition of the African state admitted them to an exercise of authority which, combined with learning, gave a tone of healthy vigour to their constitution in mind and body. They entered upon the business of life as statesmen and as warriors, and it is one of their body who pushed the faltering Arabs to the conquest of Sicily.

Ased ibn Forât ibn Sinân, Kadi of Kairawân, is the perfect type of his class and his generation, embodying every element of race, incident, and quality that together constitute their distinctive features. Indeed the analogy goes through even his names, as on one occasion he himself remarked, in the true style of Arab punning: 'Ased is my name,' he exclaimed, 'which means the lion, and what beast does not crouch before the lion? The son am I of Forât (the Euphrates), and what river has sweeter waters? My grandsire was called Sinân (a spear), and this in truth is the stoutest of weapons.' Son of a native of Khorassan, Ased was gifted with his race's subtle wit, steeled into an intellect of superior metal, through the sharp atmosphere of his adopted home. Having been early destined for the law, Ased travelled to the most renowned masters in the high schools of Medina, Irak, and Egypt, and grew versed in all the learning of Islam. On his return to Africa, he himself then opened a school, where he soon won such a name from his teaching, as to attain to the highest civil dignity in the state—that of Kadi of Kairawân. At that time the Emir was Ziadet Allah, a man of singular nature, combining a pedant's tastes with a temper so tyrannical and overbearing as to kindle a fearful revolt in the licentious soldiery of this province. Rising on all sides, with wild fury they bore down everything before them until they found themselves stopped by the stout ramparts of Kairawân. On this occasion Ased showed that the rough intrepidity of his nature did not, however, overstep that respect for legality which so particularly distinguished his cloth. When the rebels were closely pressing the capital,

'Ased and Abu Mohriz, his colleague in the Kadiaship, were sent out as negotiators; and having been led before the leader Mansur, surrounded by his chief officers, they were received with the exclamations, "Get up and be with us, if it is true that the tyrant seems to you the scourge of Mussulmans." Abu Mohriz tremblingly answered, "Of a truth is he so, and likewise of Jews and Christians;" but Ased broke out into these words: "Were not ye yourselves a short while ago his partisans and his brethren? How, then, do ye come to ask us to befriend you against him? No, no; if we were enough to keep him in check when he had you about him, the more able shall we be to do so now that he is by himself." (Vol. I. p. 275.)

The strength of his citadel, and the dissensions that so quickly spring up amongst Orientals, saved Ziadet Allah from what had seemed inevitable destruction. But though broken, the revolt was not extinguished. A body of mutineers seized the town of Tunis, and making it an impregnable stronghold, defied for years all the Emir's desperate efforts to reduce it. During this period, Ased was without influence. His blunt out-spokenness appears to have made him an object of disfavour to the suspicious Ziadet Allah; and it was an accident which drew him out of obscurity. A Sicilian Greek, high in rank, came over to Africa, and invited the Mussulmans to invade his country—a proposal which Ased's daring instinct burned to see accepted, as the sure means of ridding Africa of those turbulent and seditious elements which had been grievously infesting it for years, by discharging their wild force into a foreign channel.

The likeness at first sight between the treason of the Sicilian Euphemius and the Spanish Julian is heightened by the introduction of the same romantic motive for the action—love for a woman. The author's investigations have gone far, however, towards establishing the existence since several years in Sicily, of a revolt of the kind common in all quarters of the Byzantine empire, and the connexion therewith of Euphemius' application for succours. Ziadet Allah was, however, still so much under the impression of the late terrible contest—not yet put an end to—that he seems to have been by no means disposed to engage in the new enterprise, in spite of Euphemius' professed willingness to hold Sicily as the Emir's vassal. A matter of such gravity had to be referred to the council of doctors; and here it was that Ased exerted all his influence in favour of a thorough-going revolution. Of the debate on this occasion a highly curious account is preserved. The majority of the assembly was not inclined to favour Ased's views.

Their legal minds were influenced by several prudent considerations, and amongst other grounds, by the fact of a still binding treaty with the Byzantines, the wording of which seemed to forbid the enterprise.

'To this it was answered that the treaty had been broken by the rulers of Sicily, several Mussulmans having been thrown into prison, according to what Euphemius told Ziadet Allah. The point being submitted to the two Kadis, Abu Mohriz was of opinion that time should be given, to ascertain the truth. Ased, on the contrary, thought that the Sicilian envoys should be at once questioned. "And how," asked Abu Mohriz, "are we to put trust in what they may say, one way or the other?" To which Ased answered, "On the word of envoys peace was made, and their word shall be enough to break it." Then, with vehemence, he went on thus—"Mussulmans, be not stricken with fear; God on high has spoken, Let yourselves not be stricken with fear—call all people unto Islam, and ye shall have the lordship over them. Therefore, let us bow to God's command, instead of pinning ourselves to this treaty with unbelievers."

By such fiery appeals Ased hoped to kindle the warlike fervour of the people, and to overawe the reserve of the counsellors; he so far succeeded that the doctors voted as a compromise for a predatory expedition, which, however, did not satisfy Ased, bent on proselytising conquest. Determined to make matters take the turn he wished, Ased now applied for the command of the expeditionary force, which the Emir of course refused. But the stern old doctor was not to be put off from a purpose. He now set himself to work on popular feeling by his fiery eloquence, until the agitation in favour of his nomination as commander was so great that Ziadet Allah was himself obliged to invest him with it. Ased thus combined the dignities of Captain General, and of Kadi—according to the chronicler Ahmed Ibn Suleiman, an instance unparalleled in Arabian annals. The army over which he was placed was neither large nor easy to direct. It was a gathering of all who sought war for the sake of either adventure or profit, with some few who were impelled by religious fanaticism. There were wild Berbers from the interior; men of daring and indomitable tempers, rendered doubly hard of control from deeply rankling resentment against their Arab lords; there were draughts from the ranks of the lawless Arab soldiery, men of rapine and slaughter, who had lost the rough virtues of desert life without contracting aught beyond the license of mutinous camps; there were likewise stray adventurers from Spain and other Mussulman settlements in the Mediterranean, men by profession freebooters and rovers, with none but the chance home of the day's luck, and

lives spent in hazards which made them the terror of towns and citizens; and finally, there was a sprinkling of men of Persian origin amongst the leaders, as happened in every great Mussulman enterprise after the elevation of the Abassides — men at once venerable, stout-hearted, and vigorous, like the illustrious captain of the host. Before embarking this motley force, Ased reviewed it upon the African strand, and addressed his followers in words which, as they are handed down in the chronicle of an eye-witness, breathe the glowing pride of one who, at the same time that he is animated with a burning piety, also keenly exults in the positive sensation of the authority, which he is conscious of having plucked from the grasp of a grudging and powerful liege lord.

Sicily, from its site and other advantages, was at this period a possession eagerly coveted by the Popes, and jealously cherished by the decaying emperors of Byzantium. Defended by a belt of water against the easy invasions which had reduced the garden of Italy into a wilderness, Sicily drew on itself the eyes of the Popes when trembling at the successes of the Arian Lombards, as offering the best point of retreat, in the event of extreme adversity, from which to rally the orthodox spirit of the West to a war at once religious and national. But Sicily had a population not merely by origin, but still at that time in language as much Greek as Latin, while its political associations were all connected with the seat of Eastern empire. These ties kept the island in a close union with Byzantium, and filled the Popes with alarm lest it might submit altogether to the primacy of their detested rivals — the Greek Patriarchs. Great and unrelaxing were the efforts they made to avert such a disaster. Six out of the seven monasteries, founded by the private munificence in the service of the Church of Gregory the Great, before his elevation to the Papal See, were in Sicily. These exertions were crowned with success, and the spiritual influence of the Western Primate effectively outweighed in the end that of the Eastern. But the preponderance retained an exclusively religious character. While the Sicilian people and clergy zealously shared the Western feeling against Iconoclasm, they steadily avoided employing it for those purely political purposes to which the Popes turned it in other quarters. To its Greek emperors Sicily therefore continued faithful, though with that degree of listless loyalty to be expected in an age of torpor, and expressive rather of the absence of any more attractive form of government than of fervent affection. The Byzantine emperors, alive to

the fact that here was the most precious gem still in their battered diadem, treated Sicily with special distinction. Invested with regal pomp, resplendent with all the gorgeousness of Byzantine state, the Patriarch of Sicily, as the Emperor's Vicar, kept alive the tradition of imperial majesty. Syracuse was raised to the metropolitan rank from which Ravenna had fallen. Here alone in the West, did Byzantine dominion still revel in undiminished pageantry, and exhibit the show of unimpaired greatness, while yet at heart all was thoroughly rotten. With large armaments, a splendid court, and a rich exchequer, the patriciate of Sicily, instead of being the reward of worth, was the usual prize reserved for imperial minions. Eunuch after eunuch, adventurer after adventurer, no sooner was borne aloft for a season by the quick revolutions of palace fortune, than he flung himself upon this choice portion, to snatch up as much of its wealth as he could secure before the elevation of a new favourite in reward of some fresh exploit of profligate servility. Hence, in spite of comparative privileges by the side of other provinces, the evil administration of a government, always extortionate by nature, and rendered doubly rapacious now through the imperious wants of painful distress, blighted with a withering palsy the native fruitfulness of this favoured isle. Slavery, with its unfailing followers, suffering and nakedness, in its wake, appeared on all sides the haggard witness to a decay which the studied gilding of official pomp vainly sought to cloak. In the prostration of the people worn down by grinding imposts and a leaden despotism, is to be found the explanation for the slack resistance made in Sicily against Mussulman dominion, when once the Byzantine legions had been worsted in the field. There was nothing to kindle a national feeling in the breast of the Sicilians. The only principle to inspire them with an impulse was to be found in religion. Accordingly, the desultory struggle carried on during some years against the invaders in the more mountainous districts, were sustained wholly by the fervour of a few Christian devotees, whose consciences would not stoop to bow to the followers of a false Prophet. On both sides, therefore, the stimulating motives to the contest sprang from the same principle. The Mussulmans were pushed on to invasion by the fiery spirit of proselytism embodied in Ased, who looked on war against the unbelievers as a holy duty, while the only earnest resistance offered, came from the strength of a like supreme conviction in a faith, that disdained compromise with the infidel.

On the 16th June, 827, the Mussulman army landed on the west coast of Sicily, at Mazzara, a few miles from Marsala. Euphemius forthwith received an earnest of the kind of reward in store for his treacherous services. He was told that his help was no more wanted, and therefore that he would do best to withdraw with his followers. For a year he dragged on a wretched existence, vainly thinking, as a guerilla chieftain, to win a little booty and power, until he was caught in a trap of his own laying, and killed by two youths whom he believed himself to have bribed into betraying to him the rockbound fastness of Castro Giovanni. The Patrician of Sicily had been fully prepared for what was coming; and but very few days elapsed after the landing, before the Greek and Mussulman armies met each other in decisive conflict. Upon the battle-field, Ased proved his mettle to be of the true temper, which does not flinch at the sight of danger. Bearing aloft in his hand the holy standard, the old man rode slowly down the serried ranks of his followers, repeating to himself in a low voice, with the grim piety of a proselytising devotee, the chapter of the Koran set apart for the dying, and called the Heart. Having come to the end of his muttered prayer, Ased then drew up his horse, and turned to his troops, exclaiming, 'Here they are, those barbarians whom you have already met in Africa as bondsmen; fear them not, O Mussulmans!' and with these words he dashed foremost into the fight. The result was a complete victory for the invaders. The Byzantine forces were utterly scattered, and their general fled to Calabria.

Ased pressed on hotly, hoping to make himself thus master of Syracuse, the metropolis and capital stronghold of Byzantine authority in the West—then still one of the stateliest cities in the world, although sadly shrunk from its original greatness, and incomparably the mightiest arsenal of the empire. Such was its importance, that on more than one occasion the Emperor had entertained the idea of removing to its strong harbour from the exposed shores of the Bosphorus, which were every day more infested by the barbarians; and indeed Constans, the grandson of Heraclius, did continue to rule the world from Syracuse, after he had been obliged to quit his capital. Here the Arabs learnt the difficulty of overcoming, by sheer natural courage, the resistance that dwells in the cunning strength of discipline and ramparts. Vainly did Ased establish himself on the quarries, so sadly known from Athenian history, and assault the city with desperate determination; burning the

ships in the harbour, and making every effort that an indomitable resolution could suggest. From behind its long line of battlements, flanked by the open sea, Syracuse could laugh to scorn the frenzied enterprise of men utterly without military engines. Exposed meanwhile upon the bare heights to the reverberating glow of a Sicilian summer sun, and the plague-stricken atmosphere which then hangs around the marshlands along the sedgey Anapus, the little band of invaders became attacked by virulent disease, which quickly thinned its slender ranks. Under the trial of such suffering, the insubordinate temper of the force soon showed itself. The soldiers, breaking into mutiny, chose a spokesman, who called upon Ased to raise the siege—the loss of one Mussulman outweighing in worth all the wealth of Christendom. But Ased was not to be diverted from his purpose. 'I am not the man,' he cried, 'to let Mussulmans turn back from a holy war, while there is so much ground to hope for victory.' He even threatened to set fire to the transports, and in the end so thoroughly overawed the mutineers by his inflexible intrepidity, that they allowed him to seize their spokesman and have him whipped publicly in the camp. Yet all this stubborn spirit proved unavailing against overwhelming and ever-growing odds. Disease grew in intensity, while success enabled the Byzantines, through mere force of numbers, to press the Mussulmans from all sides in a manner that they could not have accomplished by simple prowess. At last in the summer of 828, Ased himself fell a prey to the distemper; and then his successor, elected by the soldiers, gave up the enterprise and retreated to Mineo, a small town nestled in an almost impregnable position, a day's march from Syracuse.

After a whole year's struggle, the invaders saw themselves therefore confined to this one fastness and to Mazzara, at the opposite end of the island, without communication between the two points, and small likelihood of succour from home. Nothing proves more signally the enervation of the Byzantine authorities than that these two handfuls of destitute men should have been able, during months, to defy their well-appointed and numerically overwhelming armaments. At last in the summer of 830, reinforcements in considerable numbers and from two quarters did land and relieve these forlorn upholders of Islam. During the gallant defence of Mineo, Asbagh, one of those countless rovers who from Spain and other Mahometan countries were for ever scouring the Mediterranean, happened to touch at Sicily, and, struck by its wealth, promised



to bring help to his straitened fellow believers, which he accordingly did. At the same time the Emir Ziadet Allah also despatched to Sicily a force estimated at not less than thirty thousand men. His remissness in not coming earlier to the assistance of his countrymen, was the result of serious embarrassment which had befallen him in Africa. The Counts of Tuscany, who had often had much to suffer from African pirates—*forerunners of the celebrated Barbary corsair*—thought this a good moment for taking vengeance upon them at home, when so many of their fighting men would be away in Sicily. Accordingly they proceeded to Africa, and all the Emir's forces were called for to repel, in the first instance, the unexpected assault. The original disinclination the Emir had felt against invading Sicily had quite passed away, since he had had practical experience of the benefit he derived from having the more turbulent of his subjects draughted off. Besides, Ziadet Allah was possessed of an Arab's instinctive ambition for his dynasty, and was fired with the idea of making the governorship of Sicily an hereditary appanage of the house of Aghlab. The policy thus inspired had a material influence upon the condition of the Mussulman establishment in Sicily, resulting in a continued struggle between the Aghlabite emirs of Africa, strenuous in imposing their supremacy, and the colonists impatient of an authority which they put up with only in moments of dire necessity.

Grown wiser by experience, the invaders avoided breaking their strength a second time against Syracuse and the other strong towns, which studded the mountainous tract of Eastern Sicily; but rather overran the open plains in the interior, which they quickly reduced. After a memorable defence of a year, Palermo fell into their hands in September 831 by capitulation, and Abu Fihir, a kinsman of Ziadet Allah, established there the seat of government. The immediate consequence of this success was an alliance with the commonwealth of Naples, then engaged in a desperate struggle against a host of enemies, Byzantine, Lombard, and Papal, and deterred by no scruples of conscience from seeking help at the hands of warlike unbelievers. We must refer the reader to two most interesting chapters, abounding in new and striking matter, for the results of this alliance on Southern Italy by leading to the establishment of Mussulman settlements at Bari, Brindisi, and Taranto, which remained for a considerable time under the rule of sultans, true types of daring rovers. Soon the Neapolitans were called on to pay back the service rendered; and they did not recoil from fighting zealously

against their fellow Christians at Messina, with the capture of which city in 843, the progress of the Mussulmans in the island came to a stop for a number of years. The ill-regulated though fiery onset of the Arabs, was defied by the stoutness of the towns, which along the steep slopes of Etna, combined the elaborate defences of art with the natural strength of site. Worn out and decrepid, the Byzantine empire still was resting upon the mighty piers of a civilisation, which even at this stage of decay, wanted long and persistent battering, before it could be levelled. Over and over again therefore the eager Arabs were baffled by the solidity of the edifices they were bent on overthrowing. Between the natures of the assailants and the defenders there was however a capital distinction. With the vigour of youth, the Arabs, unchecked in spirit, would leap from repulse to fresh onset; while no success could make up for the state of exhaustion, in which the mere exertion required for victory, left the weakened frame of the Byzantines. The Mussulmans waged therefore a perpetual although a desultory war against the Greeks. Every year, sometimes twice a year, expeditions threaded with daring boldness the wild glens of Etna, and swept down on the plains of Val di Noto, ravaging in harvest-time the fields up to the gates of Syracuse, mocking the faint-heartedness of the Byzantine captains under their very bastions, and quietly returning home laden with rich booty. But the walls and appliances of military art were not the only obstacles against the spread of Mussulman conquest—it was also imperilled by those elements of intestine discord before alluded to. Mussulman Sicily was a prey to contests between the colonists and the Aghlabite emirs of Africa, to the inveterate jealousy of the rival branches of the Arab race against each other, and finally to the hatred against the latter which pervaded all the Berbers. Upon the whole the Aghlabites contrived to assert their authority, although the degree depended much on the condition of the Byzantine forces. When these were formidable, the colonists turned their eyes for help towards Africa; their thankfulness for what was soon being quickly laid aside when the danger went over. Often the soldiers would elect a governor of their own, whom when too powerful to slight the wily Aghlabites would confirm. Invariably, however, we find him before long removed by fair or by foul means, and some member of the reigning house come over from Africa in his stead.

While Mussulman authority thus remained circumscribed within the limits to which it had quickly attained on the first burst of

invasion, the Byzantine throne fell to the lot of one of those men whom at intervals we find starting up like last straggling offshoots from a rich though now dying stem,—men who in the midst of Byzantine corruption still retained as an heirloom somewhat of their forefathers' virtue, although not free from the flaws of their age's peculiar taint. When the vital energy of society is waning, it can yet often be quickened for a season by the stimulant of a strong will, and the breath of Basil the Macedonian's impulse was felt as vividly in Sicily as in the other provinces of the empire. Instilling some of his native daring into the listless discipline of the legions, Basil strove manfully to recover the olden supremacy of the empire in Italy. Thus Sicily became a chief object of his attention, while he was particularly encouraged by the fact, that its Mussulman invaders happened to be torn by continual discord. Indeed so materially did they feel themselves to be weakened, that on hearing of the vast armaments that were being fitted out in the arsenals of Byzantium, they once seriously thought of leaving Sicily. But Ibrahim ibn Ahmed, the emir who then ruled in Africa, was a man yet more remarkable than Basil. His nature combined at once the remorseless craft of Louis XI., the tiger-hearted ferocity of Cæsar Borgia, and the astute learning of Machiavelli, making him an arch-traitor, a champion, and a philosopher. Conscience was in him but the keenest and clearest consciousness. He entered on the pursuit of wickedness with as thorough insight into its badness as into the reasons why he sought it; and this purpose he would follow out with a nerve that never knew what it meant to quake, confronted danger with the self-possession of a stoic, and in death won the glory of a hero. Only recently raised to the emirship, he already had in his mind the daring scheme he afterwards put into execution, for breaking the fetters set upon absolute authority in Africa by the aristocratic confederation of Arab chieftains. For this he found it imperative to put an end to the uncertain condition of his Sicilian dependency, which otherwise would leave him neither leisure nor means for his meditated revolution at home. On tidings of Basil's preparations, Ibrahim's bold genius at once resolved to be beforehand with him, and despatching to Sicily a man of his own choice to take command of the army, he girt up his whole strength to deal a deadly blow by the taking of Syracuse. Fifty years had just gone round since Ased had pitched his tents before that stately city, which in that period had shared the progressive decay of the Byzantine empire. While in Ased's day Syra-

cuse had still stretched up to the quarries, it now was shrunk within the peninsula of Ortygia. This time the besiegers encamped in the deserted quarter of the town, the Mussulman general making the forsaken cathedral his head-quarters.

Of the siege M. Amari gives a very vivid account; one of his chief authorities being the narrative of an eye-witness, the monk Theodosius. On this occasion the Mussulman force was well provided with all kinds of military engines; and it is especially mentioned that amongst the ordnance there was some of a new and powerful construction, which discharged stones horizontally against the walls instead of pitching them in curves. The city nevertheless persisted in a gallant defence. Its numerous garrison was composed of men from the most warlike populations in the empire, while the Patrician, who was a true soldier, infused his brave spirit into those about him. Moreover, there seemed every reason to reckon upon a vigorous and successful attempt at relief before long. But by some strange spell, the often-tried energy of Basil all at once yielded to the enervating seductions of Byzantine luxuriousness. Abandoning himself to the voluptuous joys of the palace, Basil was content to entrust the armament he had equipped with so much exertion to the care of his admiral, Adrian, a coward of such shameless degree, that under plea of contrary winds he kept the fleet in the port of Monemvasia until tidings of the fall of Syracuse freed him from the dread of having to engage the enemy. Hunger, therefore, before long began to press sorely on the townspeople. Their sufferings are told by Theodosius in a monkish strain, which raises a smile in spite of the sadness of the story:—

'All the poultry being devoured,' he writes, 'we were driven to eat whatever we could get without having regard to fasting regulations—for pease, herbs, and oil were exhausted, while fishing was put a stop to the day the enemy became masters of the harbour. A small measure of wheat, if such a thing could at all be found, was worth a hundred and fifty golden byzants (each equal to about ten shillings of our money); of flour, two hundred; two ounces of bread were worth a byzant; a horse's or donkey's head, from fifteen to twenty; while a whole mare fetched three hundred byzants.'

Both garrison and townspeople bore up against distress with a spirit that smacked of olden virtues. After nine months' siege, a breach was made; still for twenty days and nights the Christians beat back assault on assault, until the heap of corpses crowned the crumbling rampart with a battlement of its own. On the morning of the 21st of May,

878, some Mussulman stragglers, however, contrived to steal unawares upon the watch, when exhausted with fatigue after a night of hard labour. Vainly did the stout-hearted Patrician fly to the spot on the first alarm, and make the most desperate exertions to drive the enemy from those battlements he had been unable to scale in open assault. Quickly supported by comrades, the Mussulmans held their position, and after a few hours were masters of the town, when there occurred a scene of wanton bloodshed and violence such as had not yet been seen in Sicily, and which constitutes indeed a striking exception to the moderation that in general marked the proceedings of the Mussulman conquerors. The Patrician was taken prisoner in a strong tower, to the last behaving himself like a true soldier, while the Archbishop Sofronius, followed by three priests—amongst them Theodosius—hastily throwing aside their robes, hid themselves under the altar in the new cathedral. Here they had not lain long, when some of the enemy burst into the church.

‘One of the Mussulmans, flourishing a sword that dripped with blood, came behind the altar, and drew forth those who had hidden themselves there, without, however, doing them any violence, or bearing a threatening look. Steadfastly scanning the archbishop’s venerable features, he asked him, in Greek, who he was, and upon being informed, inquired where the holy vessels were. Having been led to the spot where they were kept,—amounting to five thousand pounds of precious metals, of finest workmanship,—he made the archbishop and his companions go into a room, the door of which he locked on them. Then calling those whom Theodosius terms the Elders of the Nation, under which name he undoubtedly understands the heads of families in the host, he moved them to pity, saving the lives of the prisoners. This instance of noblemindedness in a leader, and of discipline in soldiers, by the side of deeds of execrable intolerance, proves the medley of race, habits, barbarism, and civilisation—knightliness and robberdom—that was to be found in the Mussulman forces that took Syracuse. The least bad in the lot were the Sicilian colonists; and, from the fact of his having spoken Greek, we must set this soldier amongst these.’

The fate of the townspeople and garrison was indeed terrible; all taken with weapons in their hands were doomed to death without mercy, while the others were sold into slavery. A week after the capture all who came within the first category were led outside the city walls, and there remorselessly slaughtered in cold blood with revolting barbarity. The first killed was the stout old governor, who met his death with the same equanimity with which he often had sought a soldier’s end, ‘his head proudly erect, his eye unflinching and calm.’ The savage thirst for blood

thus slaked, the conquerors turned their fury, not without plausible excuse in motives of policy, against those massive walls which had so long withstood their efforts. But such was found to be their solidity and extent, that only after two months of incessant demolition, did they feel themselves able to retire with the conviction of having done the work of devastation thoroughly enough to insure the ruins being never more in a condition to serve purposes of offence against themselves. Nor could they even then have accomplished their task but for their reckless application of fire, which they laid at all corners, until the once magnificent Syracuse was reduced ‘into a labyrinth of ruins, without a living soul.’ At last, in the beginning of August, when unable to find further objects of plunder or vengeance, and fearful of being overtaken by the unwholesome exhalations of the Anapus, this year doubly deadly from the wholesale slaughter on its banks, the Mussulmans began to move away. Driving before them long strings of mules, groaning under the weight of all that was costly and gorgeous in the luxury of Byzantine civilisation, they wended their way across the mountain glens that lead in the direction of Palermo, beaming with the flush of pride and success; while by their side tramped wretched files of captured slaves—foot-weary and drooping Christians of all ranks, who in the bitterness of their sufferings might have sighed to exchange their lot with the sumpter mules, to whom the heavy burden of their servitude at least ensured the happy repose of an unbroken sleep.

On hearing of this great disaster, Basil started up wildly from his fatal lethargy amidst the voluptuous delights of Byzantine life; and, calling back all his native energy, resolved on yet winning back the pearl of price just plucked out of his diadem. But the wholesale torpor, begotten by the leaden weight of Byzantine rule, had utterly extinguished all active and enduring feeling for freedom. The imperial government was without a single element that could awaken patriotism and courage. Basil, therefore, wisely, had recourse to the only lever which still had the force to move anything like a general agitation—the lever of sectarian animosities. He sought to impel the Christians of Sicily to rise in a fanatical rebellion against their unbelieving lords, promising to help them in such an effort with a powerful armament. Thus at the very end of the contest, that principle was first appealed to and proclaimed which alone could have been in a condition to have made it finish successfully for the Christians.

For the purposes he had in view Basil

found ready emissaries of skill in a host of friars, who could safely circulate amongst the population, under the protection of the tolerance extended to their body, by the Prophet's express injunctions, and the instinctive reverence felt by Orientals for all holy recluses. Amongst these monastic agents we meet the figure of one man particularly, who, embodying the full extent of the religious element, and the full range of political and social relations compatible with a monastic profession, stands out at the very close of the struggle, as the memorable and exact counterpart of that other warrior-priest, whose equally uncompromising conviction in his own faith had been the means of impelling in the first instance, his faltering countrymen to the invasion. This man is Giovanni Racchetta, afterwards canonised as St. Elia, a man of truly unflinching zeal and marvellous dauntlessness. Driven as an infant from Castro Giovanni when in 837 it was taken by the Mussulmans, his earliest impressions were of wandering, banishment, privations, and misfortunes. Up to the age of twelve he lived with his parents at Castel St. Maria; but then—

'He fancied that a voice from heaven announced to him captivity and a mission to cheer his fellow-believers in the faith. . . . He appears to have assumed the character of a reformer, reproving the inhabitants for their wicked ways; but he was cut short by the fulfilment of the first part of the vision. Walking outside the city gate, he fell in with a troop of Mussulman horsemen, who took and sold him to a Christian—probably some slave-dealer, by whom he was put on board a vessel, with two hundred slaves. A Greek ship-of-war, from Syracuse, freed them; and Giovanni, who had also foretold this incident, was restored to his parents. . . . Having again become a prisoner, on the occasion of a greater incursion by the enemy, he was again bought by a Christian, and by him sold to another, who dealt in hides with Africa. Struck by his looks, modest bearing, and honesty, this man entrusted him with the management of his house.' (Vol. i. p. 512.)

Here his biography, written in the tone of fulsome exaltation and legendary exaggeration common to the accounts of Byzantine saints, connects him with divers adventures of very doubtful authenticity. It however appears certain that he redeemed himself out of bondage and went to Egypt, where he again played the part of a warning monitor, with so great a disregard of persons, that the Jacobite patriarch had him thrown into prison.

'The governor of the province set him free, and he soon after went to Jerusalem, where the Patriarch received him with honour, clothed him in monastic robes, and gave him the name of Elia. In Jerusalem he stayed three years—visited the

Jordan, Mounts Tabor and Sinai—went then to Alexandria, or more probably to Alexandretta, and was about to pass into Persia, when disturbances in that quarter obliged him to stop at Antioch. The divine voice, which, the legend says, was wont to speak to him in dreams, at Antioch addressed to him an exhortation to go back to his country. It was the voice of conscience in a noble soul, probably aware how fortune had set in the West against the Mussulmans, or, perhaps, the suggestion of some Byzantine agent, if not of the Patriarch of Jerusalem, who sided with the Court of Rome, then anxious to come to an understanding with Basil. Burning with zeal for his faith, tenderly attached to the memory of his parents, and why not, likewise, to that of his country? Elia, who had spent half his life in Sicily and half in Mussulman lands, was the very man for the political apostleship which was to accompany Basil's arms in Sicily.' (P. 515.)

Accordingly Elia hastened westwards; and we next meet him stealing into the harbour of Palermo on board a merchant-ship, avowedly but for the purpose of again seeing his mother. What is certain is that he stayed but a short time there, and that he left in haste for the Christian stronghold of Taormina, when a Mussulman squadron hove in sight of the offing—a coincidence somewhat suspicious. At Taormina he encouraged the garrison by confident assurance of the immediate approach of Byzantine forces, and then sped across to Reggio; the inhabitants of which wavered between kindred sympathies and the dread at a conflict that would probably be fought in their close neighbourhood. To enlist their selfish prudence in the cause of Christian independence, Elia set himself to predict, with eager earnestness, the impending destruction of the unbelieving host; so that when a few weeks later events seemed to confirm his assurances, the faint-hearted misgivings of the townspeople of Reggio changed into a rapturous belief in his gift of infallible prophecy. Basil had done what he promised, and sent forth under Nasar, a brave and skilful commander, as powerful an armament as his arsenals could furnish. In spite of inferior numbers, the Mussulman squadron boldly sailed out to meet it. Gallantry was not enough to secure victory against overwhelming odds, and the Byzantine forces, landing triumphantly in Sicily, made such rapid progress as to seem on the point of winning, back the island. In all directions the country people, stimulated by Brother Elia's fiery addresses, rose in insurrection, falling upon the retreating Mussulmans and laying waste their property. But it was above the enervation of a Byzantine population to keep up a continued exertion. In the following spring a new commander came across from Africa, whose skill and energy completely restored

the fortunes of Islam. The Christians underwent a defeat, which so thoroughly crushed the spirit of the Byzantine forces, that all who were lucky enough to escape slaughter at once turned their backs on the island, leaving the unhappy Sicilians to their fate, and at the mercy of the conquerors.

From this moment Byzantine rule never more succeeded in asserting its authority to any extent in Sicily; and the desultory struggle against the Mussulmans, which for some years was still kept up, proceeded entirely from the energy of a few unbending spirits, and not from any effective action on the part of the Byzantine Court, which no longer even made a show of exertion. Perched high on an almost perpendicular cliff, on one side overlooking the beautiful plains of Catania, on the other bathed by the sea, Taormina held out till the year 902, the place of shelter for those stubborn souls who, buoyed up by undying conviction in the infallible triumph of the Cross, loved rather a life of perpetual suffering and adventure than peace bought by submission to unbelievers. Of the men who thus could not bring themselves to acquiesce in a lasting defeat of their cause, Elia was naturally one. His indefatigable spirit never could forego the hope of being able in the end to bend the iron rod of adversity by sheer strength of will and unrelaxing purpose. For some particular reason not stated, Elia however went from Taormina to Greece for a time, where his proceedings proved of so mysterious a nature as to make the Byzantine governor fall into the strange mistake, of looking upon this great apostle of Christian warfare as a Mussulman spy, and of actually flinging him into prison. The governor's timely death, however, soon set Elia at liberty again; and turning his steps westward, after some further adventures, he now settled

in the hermitage in the vale of the Saline, between Capes Dell'Armi and Pentedattolo, in Calabria, right over Taormina. These changes of dwelling did not coincide with a merely religious apostleship, and Elia seems, at the same time, to have conducted schemes against the Mussulmans in Sicily, and to have acted with the monks who were opposing the elevation of Photius to the Patriarchal See. In the pontificate of Stephen, Elia carried out his plan to visit Rome; and after his return, foretold to the people of Reggio the sack of their town. Withdrawing himself in time to Patras, he again appeared, when aware of the enemy having gone away, and then returned to his hermitage. According to his biographer, to avoid the buzz of popularity, but, as is more likely, to withdraw from a dangerous residence, just overhanging the Strait of Messina, Elia founded a monastery on a new site, probably the hill called Sant'Elia, between Palmi and Seminara, where there is still

a church. Wandering about Calabria, he kept exhorting the faithful; . . . and the examples of Epaminondas and Scipio, which he was for ever quoting, show that he contemplated, not merely a theological but likewise a general reform in habits.

That in these continual flittings, Elia may be assumed to have been impelled quite as much by his old political sympathies, as by purely religious motives, is sufficiently clear from the avowed intercourse which he kept up to the end with the defenders of Taormina. When that last bulwark of Christian heroism was plainly approaching its fall, Elia, who never had lost sight of it, suddenly appeared within the doomed city. Perhaps he may have come with the anxious hope, that by his presence, he might yet stave off the blow impending upon the dying fortunes of Christian power. If so, what he saw on the spot must have rudely dispelled his illusions; for we are told, that with the dread accent of a seer, Elia shrilly warned the townsmen of Taormina that their ruin was at hand; and then, turning his back for ever upon the island of his birth, he sped across the narrow strait, taking up his abode first at Amalfi, but afterwards retiring into the wilds of Calabria. The restless nature of the man could not however remain quiet, and he mixed himself up with a rebellion against the Emperor Leo the Philosopher, which arose out of the troubles that followed on the elevation of Photius to the Patriarchate. The inquiring Emperor's curiosity was excited by the accounts he heard of the Sicilian friar, and with characteristic fondness for what was strange and peculiar, he promised to spare the forfeited life of the rebel ringleader, if Elia would come to him at Constantinople. This proposal he accepted, although declaring that he felt his end to be close upon him. He set sail however, but before he could reach his destination, death finally put a term to his remarkably chequered and in many respects mysterious career, on the 17th of July or August, 904, in a convent near Thessalonica. The merely wonder-working saint of Byzantine legend is an object that can have small interest for us; but the Brother Elia, who so actively combines within him elements of a religious and political nature, resulting in efforts so stirring, so resolute, and so self-possessed, is a type characteristic in the highest degree of his time, and well worthy of our attention.

Thus was the Mussulman sovereignty established in Sicily. On the whole, it proved a milder and more generous government than any which existed in Italy under Lombards or Franks. We are too apt to

conceive the nature of Mussulman rule under the influence of impressions drawn from the barbarous roughness of the Turks, and from a traditional reverence for the fervour of the crusading spirit. The Mussulman retained the impetuosity of an Arab, and contracted the imperious haughtiness of a privileged conqueror, but except when irritated, he was disposed to gentleness and humanity. The principle of political and religious equality, of course, did not enter his head any more than the duty of admitting liberty of contradiction; but he never on system resorted to the tyrannical Inquisition which the Roman Catholic hierarchy employed, dooming peaceful families to extirpation merely with the view of establishing absolute domination. Within such limitations as are inseparable from the political inequality connected with a ruling and a ruled race, the Arab Mussulman conceded the exercise of religions different from his own. The construction of new churches and convents was prohibited; but those already in existence could be kept in repair, and there was no bar to prevent their pious bequests. Indeed the religious disabilities seem to have amounted merely to this; that the cross could not be carried about abroad, the gospels were not to be read so loud as to annoy good Mussulmans, and the church bells were to be rung with moderation. Slavery certainly existed, but it was of a milder kind than that of the serfs in Christian states, who were bound to the soil without any prospect of the peculiar relief often extended through the kindness of Mussulman masters. Accustomed himself to unconstraint and freedom, the Arab freely indulged his subjects with liberty in their private concerns, provided they yielded what he considered to be his due as lord, and which he inflexibly exacted. Fostered by such wise dispositions, Mussulman authority in Sicily soon grew into an effective power. Nowhere indeed did it ever attain greater vigour. It seems as if on being transported to the soil of Europe, Arab spirit had gained an infusion of that higher energy which is decidedly peculiar to its races. The slight and ill-defined allegiance originally professed to the emirs of Africa was soon renounced under the impulse of that vehement ambition which ever predominated in Eastern society, and broke up the extent of Mussulman dominion into an assemblage of principalities. The court of the Sicilian princes was preeminently brilliant. Intellectual and political activity was fostered into intensity, and Mussulman Sicily shone as much for literary glory as for adventurous enterprise, in every corner

of the Mediterranean Sea—in Italy as in Africa—against the Emperor of the West or against the Emperor of the East; against the Pope or against the aspiring commonwealths of Southern Italy; and last, though not least, in continued conflict with rival Mussulman states. Amongst these, the intricate and shifting relations kept up with Northern Africa are of primary interest, for they exercised a permanent influence upon the condition of Sicily. We would also invite particular attention to the fifth chapter of the third book, where, with great lucidity, he has investigated the Persian origin, and shown the stealthy spread westwards of the secret societies, whose action resulted in the political revolution that raised the Fatimite dynasty to the throne of Egypt.

We thus take leave of a book of rare and sterling merit, the completion of which we hope soon to see. At present M. Amari's second volume comprises the History of the Mussulman power in Sicily during its most flourishing epochs, and brings it down to the period when at last undermined by a spirit of reckless turbulence that broke all bounds, it sank beneath the action of criminal conspiracies, that blindly brought into the island a new Christian element in the shape of the Normans. It is the author's intention, in the third volume, to tell the growth in power and establishment of this new force, and to bring his work down to the moment of the complete extinction of the Mussulman race in Sicily in any distinct shape whatever.

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- ART. IV.—1. *L'Eglise et la Société Chrétienne en 1861.* Par M. Guizot (Paris, 1861). Chap. IV. *Du Supernaturel.*
2. *The Supernatural in relation to the Natural.* By the Rev. JAS. M'COSH, LL.D. Cambridge: 1861.
3. *Nature and the Supernatural as together constituting the One System of God.* By HORACE BUSHNELL, D.D. Edinburgh: 1860.
4. *Beginning Life. Chapters for Young Men on Religion, Study, and Business.* By JOHN TULLOCH, D.D., Principal of St. Mary's, St. Andrews. Chap. III. *The Supernatural.* Edinburgh.
5. *Essay on Miracles as Evidences of Christianity.* By H. L. MANSER, B.D. *Aids to Faith.* Edited by W. THOMSON, D.D., Lord Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol. London: 1861.

6. *On the Various Contrivances by which British and Foreign Orchids are Fertilized by Insects.* By CH. DARWIN, F.R.S. London: 1862.

THE Supernatural—what is it? What do we mean by it? How do we define it? M. Guizot\* tells us that belief in it is the special difficulty of our time—that denial of it is the form taken by all modern assaults on Christian faith; and again, that acceptance of it lies at the root, not only of Christian, but of all positive religion whatever. The questions then which we have now asked are of first importance. Yet we find them seldom distinctly put, and still more seldom distinctly answered. This is a capital error in dealing with any question of philosophy. Half the perplexities of men are traceable to obscurity of thought hiding and breeding under obscurity of language. In the treatises which we have placed at the head of this article, 'the Supernatural' is a term employed often in different, and sometimes in contradictory, senses. It is difficult to make out whether M. Guizot himself means to identify belief in the supernatural with belief in the existence of a God, or with belief in a particular mode of Divine action. But these are ideas quite separable and distinct. There may be some men who disbelieve in the supernatural only because they are absolute atheists; but it is certain that there are others who have great difficulty in believing in the supernatural who are not atheists. What they doubt or deny is, not that God exists, but that He ever acts, or perhaps can act, unless in and through what they call the 'Laws of Nature.' M. Guizot, indeed, tells us that 'God is the Supernatural in a Person.' But this is a rhetorical figure rather than a definition. He may, indeed, contend that it is inconsistent to believe in a God, and yet to disbelieve in the supernatural; but he must admit, and indeed does admit, that such inconsistency is found in fact.

As for Dr. M'Cosh, generally a most clear and able writer, we arrive at the 146th page of a treatise on the 'Supernatural in relation to the Natural,' before we come to the announcement that 'this is the proper place for a statement as to the phrases employed in such discussions.' We must add, that the statement which follows is by no means clear or definite. Dr. M'Cosh frequently uses 'the supernatural' as synonymous with the 'superhuman.' But of course this is not the sense in which anyone

can have any difficulty in believing in it. The powers and works of nature are all superhuman—more than man can account for in their origin—more than he can resist in their energy—more than he can understand in their effects. This, then, cannot be the sense in which so many minds find it hard to accept the supernatural; nor can it be the sense in which others cling to it as of the very essence of their religious faith. What then is that other sense in which the difficulty arises? Perhaps we shall best find it by seeking the idea which is competing with it, and by which it has been displaced. It is the 'natural' which has been casting out the supernatural—the idea of natural law, the universal reign of a fixed order of things. This idea is a product of that immense development of the physical sciences which is characteristic of our time. We cannot read a periodical, or go into a lecture-room, without hearing it expressed. Sometimes, though perhaps not in the majority of cases, it is stated with accuracy, and with due recognition of the limits within which 'law' can be said to comprehend the phenomena of the world. More often it is expressed in language vague and ambitious, as if the ticketing and orderly assortment of external facts were in the nature of explanations, or were the highest truths which we have power to reach. And herein we see both the result for which Bacon laboured, and the danger against which Bacon prayed. It has been a glorious result of a right method in the study of nature, that with the increase of knowledge the 'human family has been endowed with new mercies.' But every now and then, for a time at least, from 'the unlocking of the gates of sense, and the kindling of a greater natural light, incredulity and intellectual night have arisen in our minds.'

But let us observe exactly where and how the difficulty arises. The reign of law in nature is, indeed, so far as we can observe it, universal. But the common idea of the 'supernatural' is that which is at variance with natural law, above it, or in violation of it. Nothing, however wonderful, which happens according to natural law, would be considered by any one as 'supernatural.' The law in obedience to which a wonderful thing happens may not be known; but this would not give it a supernatural character, so long as we assuredly believe that it did happen according to *some* law. Hence it would appear to follow that to a man thoroughly possessed of the idea of natural law as universal, nothing ever could be admitted as supernatural; because on seeing any fact, however new, marvellous, or in-

\* L'Eglise, &c., ch. iv. p. 19.



comprehensible, he might escape into the conclusion that it was the result of some natural law of which he had before been ignorant. No one will deny that, in respect to the vast majority of all new and marvellous phenomena, this would be the true and reasonable conclusion. It is not the conclusion of pride, but of humility of mind. Seeing the boundless extent of our ignorance of the natural laws which regulate so many of the phenomena around us, and still more so many of the phenomena within us, nothing can be more reasonable than to conclude, when we see something which is to us a wonder, that somehow, if we only knew how, it is 'all right'—all according to the constitution and course of nature. But then, to justify this conclusion, we must understand 'nature' in the largest sense,—as including all that is

'In the round world, and in the living air,  
And the blue sky, and in the mind of man.'

We must understand it as including every agency which we see entering, or can conceive from analogy as capable of entering, into the causation of the world. First and foremost among these is the agency of our own mind and will. Yet strange to say, all reference to this agency is often tacitly excluded when we speak of the laws of nature. One of our most distinguished living teachers of physical science began, the other day, a course of lectures on the phenomena of Heat by a rapid statement of the modern doctrine of the correlation of forces—how the one was convertible into the other—how one arose out of the other—how none could be evolved except from some other as a preexisting source. 'Thus,' said the lecturer, 'we see there is no such thing as spontaneousness in nature.' What!—not in the lecturer himself? Was there no 'spontaneousness' in his choice of words—in his selection of materials—in his orderly arrangement of experiments with a view to the exhibition of particular results? It was not, we believe, that the lecturer was denying this, but simply that he did not think of it as within his field of view. His own mind and will dealt with the 'laws of nature,' but it did not occur to him as forming part of those laws, or, in the same sense, as subject to them. Does man, then, not belong to 'Nature'? Is he above it—or merely separate from it, or a violation of it? Is he super-natural? If so, has he any difficulty in believing in himself? Of course not. Self-consciousness is the one truth, in the light of which all other truths are known. 'Cogito, ergo sum,' or 'volo, ergo sum'—this is the one conclusion which we cannot

doubt, unless reason disbelieves herself. Why, then, is their action not habitually included among the 'laws of nature'? Because a fallacy is getting hold upon us from a want of definition in the use of terms. 'Nature' is being used in the narrow sense of physical nature; and the whole world in which we ourselves live, and move, and have our being is excluded from it. But these selves of ours do belong to 'Nature.' If we are ever to understand the difficulties in the way of believing in the supernatural, we must first keep clearly in view what we are to understand as included in the 'natural.' Let us never forget, then, that the agency of man is of all others the most natural—the one with which we are most familiar—the only one, in fact, which we can be said, even in any measure, to understand. When any wonderful event can be referred to the contrivance or ingenuity of man, it is thereby at once removed from the sphere of the 'supernatural,' as ordinarily understood.

It must be remembered, however, that we are now only seeking a clear definition of terms; and that provided this other meaning be clearly agreed upon, the mind and will of man may be considered as separate from 'nature,' and belonging to the supernatural. We have placed among the works to be noticed in this article the treatise on 'Nature and the Supernatural,' by Dr. Bushnell, an American clergyman. Though its effectiveness is impaired, in our opinion, by some speculations of a very fanciful kind, it is a work of great ability, full of thought which is at once true and ingenious. Dr. Bushnell says:—'That is supernatural, whatever it be, that is either not in the chain of natural cause and effect, or which acts on the chain of cause and effect in nature, from without the chain.' Again:—'If the processes, combinations, and results of our system of nature are interrupted or varied by the action, whether of God, or angels, or men, so as to bring to pass what would not come to pass in it by its own internal action, under the laws of mere cause and effect, such variations are in like manner supernatural.' We have no objection to this definition of the supernatural, except that it rests upon a limitation of the terms 'nature' and 'natural,' which is very much at variance with the sense in which they are commonly understood. There is indeed a distinction which finds its expression in common language between the works of man and the works of nature. A honeycomb, for example, would be called a work of nature, but not a steam-engine. This distinction is founded on a true perception of the fact that the mind and will of man be-

long to an order of existence very different from physical laws, and very different also from the fixed and narrow instincts of the lower animals. It is a distinction bearing witness to the universal consciousness that the mind of man has within it something of a truly creative energy and force—that we are ‘fellow-workers with God,’ and have been in a measure ‘made partakers of the Divine nature.’ But in that larger and wider sense in which we are here speaking of the natural, it contains within it the whole phenomena of man’s intellectual and spiritual nature, as part, and the most familiar of all parts, of the visible system of things. In all ordinary senses of the term, man and his doings belong to the natural, as distinguished from the supernatural.

We are thus coming nearer to some precise understanding of what the ‘supernatural’ may be supposed to mean. But before we proceed, there is another question which must be answered—What is the relation in which the agency of man stands to the physical laws of nature? The answer, in part at least, is plain. His power in respect to those laws extends only first to their discovery and ascertainment, and then to their use. He can establish none: he can suspend none. All he can do is to guide, in a limited degree, the mutual action and reaction of the laws amongst each other. They are the tools with which he works—they are the instruments of his will. In all he does or can do he must employ them. His ability to use them is limited both by his want of knowledge and by his want of power. The more he knows of them, the more largely he can employ them, and make them ministers of his purposes. This, as a general rule, is true; but it is subject to the second limitation we have pointed out. Man already knows far more than he has power to convert to use. It is a true observation of Sir George Lewis that astronomy, for example, in its higher branches, has an interest almost purely scientific. It reveals to our knowledge perhaps the grandest and most sublime of the physical laws of nature. But a much smaller amount of knowledge would suffice for the only practical applications which we have yet been able to make of these laws to our own use. Still, that knowledge has a reflex influence on our knowledge of ourselves, of our powers, and of the relations which subsist between the constitution of our own minds and the constitution of the universe. And in other spheres of inquiry, advancing knowledge of physical laws has been constantly accompanied with advancing power over the physical world. It has enabled us to do a

thousand things, any one of which, a few generations ago, would have been considered supernatural. The same lecturer who told his audience that there was nothing spontaneous ‘in nature’ proceeded, by virtue of his own knowledge of natural laws, and by his selecting and combining power, to present an endless series of wonderful phenomena—such as ice frozen in contact with red-hot crucibles—not belonging to the ordinary course of nature, and which if exhibited a few centuries ago, would, beyond all doubt, have subjected the lecturer on Heat to painful experience of that condition of matter. If the progress of discovery is as rapid during the next 400 years as it has been during the last 400 years, men will be able to do many things which, in like manner, would now appear to be ‘supernatural.’ There is no difficulty in conceiving how a complete knowledge of all natural laws would give, if not complete power, at least degrees of power immensely greater than those which we now possess. Power of this kind then, however great in degree, clearly does not answer that idea of the ‘supernatural’ which so many reject as inconceivable. What, then, is that idea? Have we not traced it to its den at last? By ‘supernatural’ power, do we not mean power independent of the use of means, as distinguished from power depending on knowledge—even infinite knowledge—of the means proper to be employed?

This is the sense—probably the only sense—in which the supernatural is, to many minds, so difficult of belief. No man can have any difficulty in believing there are natural laws of which he is ignorant; nor in conceiving that there may be Beings who do know them, and can use them, even as he himself now uses the few laws with which he is acquainted. The real difficulty lies in the idea of will exercised without the use of means—not in the exercise of will through means which are beyond our knowledge.

But have we any right to say that belief in this is essential to all religion? If we have not, then it is only putting, as so many other hasty sayings do put, additional difficulties in the way of religion. The relation in which God stands to those rules of His government which are called ‘laws,’ is, of course, an inscrutable mystery to us. But those who believe that His will does govern the world, must believe that ordinarily at least, He does govern it by the choice and use of means. Nor have we any certain reason to believe that he ever acts otherwise. Extraordinary manifestations of His will—signs and wonders—may be wrought, for ought we know, by similar instrumentality—only

by the selection and use of laws of which man knows and can know nothing, and which, if he did know, he could not employ.

Here, then, we come upon the question of miracles—how we understand them? what we would define them to be? The common idea of a miracle is, a suspension or violation of the laws of nature. This is a definition which places the essence of a miracle in a particular method of operation. Dr. McCosh's definition passes this by altogether, and dwells only on the agency by which, and the purpose for which, a wonderful work is wrought. 'We would confine the word miracle,' he says, 'to those events which were wrought in our world as a sign or proof of God making a supernatural interposition, or a revelation to man.' This definition is defective in so far as it uses the word 'supernatural,' which, as we have seen, itself requires definition as much as miracle. But from the general context and many individual passages in his treatise it is sufficiently clear that the two conditions essential in Dr. McCosh's view of a miracle, are that they are wrought by a Divine power for a Divine purpose, and are of a nature such as could not be wrought by merely human contrivance. In this sense a miracle means a superhuman work. But we have already shown that 'superhuman' must not be confounded with 'supernatural.' This definition of a miracle does not exclude the idea of God working by the use of means, provided they are such means as are out of human reach. Indeed in an important note (p. 149.), Dr. McCosh seems to admit that miracles are not to be considered 'as against nature' in any other sense than that in which 'one natural agent may be against another—as water may counteract fire.' Mr. Mansel, in his able 'Essay on Miracles,' adopts the word 'superhuman' as the most accurate expression of his meaning. He says, 'A superhuman authority needs to be substantiated by superhuman evidence; *and what is superhuman is miraculous.*'\* Imperfect as we have seen this definition to be, it is most important to observe that it does not necessarily involve the idea of a 'violation of the laws of nature.' It does not involve the idea of the exercise of will apart from the use of means. It does not involve, therefore, that idea which appears to many so difficult of conception. It simply sup-

poses, without any attempt to fathom the relation in which God stands to His own 'laws,' that out of His infinite knowledge of these laws, or of His infinite power of making them the instruments of His will, He may and He does use them for extraordinary indications of His presence.

The reluctance to admit as belonging to the domain of nature any special exertion of Divine power for special purposes, stands really in very close relationship to the converse notion, that where the operation of natural causes can be clearly traced, there the exertion of Divine power and will is rendered less certain and less convincing. This is the idea which lies at the root of Gibbon's famous chapters on the spread of Christianity. He labours to prove that it was due to natural causes. In proving this he evidently thinks he is disposing of the notion that Christianity spread by Divine power; whereas he only succeeds in pointing out some of the means which were employed to effect a Divine purpose. In like manner, the preservation of the Jews as a distinct people during so many centuries of complete dispersion, is a fact standing absolutely by itself in the history of the world. It is at variance with all other experience of the laws which govern the amalgamation with each other of different families of the human race. It is the result, nevertheless, of special laws, overruling those in ordinary operation. It has been effected by the use of means. Those means have been superhuman—they have been beyond human contrivance and arrangement. But they belong to the region of the 'natural.' They belong to it not the less, but all the more, because in their concatenation and arrangement they indicate the purpose of a living Will seeking and effecting the fulfilment of its designs. This is the manner after which our own living wills in their little sphere effect their little objects. Is it difficult to believe that after the same manner also the Divine Will, of which ours is the image only, works and effects its purpose?

Our own experience shows that the universal reign of law is perfectly consistent with a power of making those laws subservient to design—even when the knowledge of them is but slight, and the power over them slighter still. How much more easy, how much more natural, to conceive that the same universality is compatible with the exercise of that Supreme Will before which all are known, and to which all are servants! What difficulty in this view remains in the idea of the supernatural? Is it any other than the difficulty in believing in the existence of a Supreme Will—in a living God?

\* 'Aids to Faith,' p. 35. In another passage (p. 21.) Mr. Mansel says that in respect to the great majority of the miracles recorded in Scripture, 'the supernatural element appears . . . in the exercise of a personal power transcending the limits of man's will. They are not so much *supermaterial*, as *superhuman*.'

If this be the belief of which M. Guizot speaks when he says that it is essential to religion, then his proposition is true enough. In this sense the difficulty of believing in the 'supernatural,' and the difficulty of believing in pure Theism, is one and the same. But if he means that it is necessary to religion to believe in even the occasional 'violation of law,'—if he means that without such belief, signs and wonders cease to be evidences of Divine power,—then he announces a proposition which we conceive to be unsound. There is nothing in religion incompatible with the belief that all exercises of God's power, whether ordinary or extraordinary, are effected through the instrumentality of means—that is to say, by the instrumentality of natural laws brought out, as it were, and used for a Divine purpose. To believe in the existence of miracles we must indeed believe in the 'superhuman' and in the 'supermaterial.' But both these are familiar facts in nature. We must believe also in a Supreme Will and Supreme Intelligence; but this our own wills and our own intelligence not only enable us to conceive of, but compel to recognise in the whole laws and economy of nature. Her whole aspect, as Dr. Tulloch says, 'answers intelligently to our intelligence—mind responding to mind as in a glass.\*' Once admit that there is a Being who—irrespective of any theory as to the relation in which the laws of nature stand to His own will—has at least an infinite knowledge of those laws, and an infinite power of putting them to use—then miracles lose every element of inconceivability. In respect to the greatest and highest of all—that restoration of the breath of life which is not more mysterious than its original gift—there is no answer to the question which Paul asks, 'Why should it be thought a thing incredible by you that God should raise the dead?'

This view of miracles is well expressed in the excellent little work of Principal Tulloch, from which we have just quoted.

'The stoutest advocate of interference can mean nothing more than that the Supreme Will has so moved the *hidden springs of nature* that a new issue arises on given circumstances. The ordinary issue is supplanted by a higher issue. The essential facts before us are a certain set of phenomena, and a Higher Will moving them. How moving them? is a question for human definition; but the answer to which does not and cannot affect the Divine meaning of the change. Yet when we reflect that this Higher Will is everywhere reason and wisdom, it seems a juster as well as a more comprehensive view to regard it as operating by subordination and evolution rather

than by "interference" or "violation." According to this view the idea of law is so far from being contravened by the Christian miracles, that it is taken up by them and made their very basis. They are the expression of a Higher Law, working out its wise ends among the lower and ordinary sequences of life and history. These ordinary sequences represent nature—nature, however, not as an immutable fate, but a plastic medium through which a Higher Voice and Will are ever addressing us, and which, therefore, may be wrought into new issues when the Voice has a new message, and the Will a special purpose for us.' (Tulloch, *Beginning Life*, p. 85-6.)

Yet so deeply ingrained in the popular theology is the idea that miracles, to be miracles at all, must be performed by some violation of the laws of nature, that the opposite idea of miracles being performed by the use of means is regarded by many with jealousy and suspicion. Strange that it should be thought the safest course to separate as sharply and as widely as we can between what we are called upon to believe in religion, and what we are able to trace or understand in nature! With what heart can those who cherish this frame of mind follow the great argument of Butler? All the steps of that argument—by far the greatest in the whole range of Christian philosophy—are founded on the opposite belief, that all the truths, and not less all the difficulties of religion, have their type and likeness in the 'constitution and course of nature.' As we follow that reasoning, so simple and so profound, we find our eyes ever opening to some new interpretation of familiar facts, and recognising among the curious things of earth, one after another of the laws which, when told us of the spiritual world, seem so perplexing and so hard to accept or understand. To ask how much farther this argument of the Analogy is capable of illustration and development, is to ask how much more we shall know of 'nature.' Like all central truths its ramifications are infinite—as infinite as the appearance of variety, and as pervading as the sense of oneness in the universe of God.

But what of Revelation? Are its history and doctrines incompatible with the belief that God uniformly acts through the use of means? The narrative of creation is given to us in abstract only, and is told in two different forms, both having for their special object the presenting to our conception the personal agency of a living God. Yet this narrative indicates, however slightly, that room is left for the idea of a material process. 'Out of the dust of the ground;' that is, out of the ordinary elements of nature, was that body formed which is still upheld and perpetuated by organic forces acting

\* Tulloch, 'Beginning Life,' p. 29.

under the rules of law. Nothing which science has discovered, or can discover, is capable of traversing that simple narrative. On this subject M. Guizot lays great stress, as many others do, on what he calls the 'supernatural' in creation, as distinguished from the operations now visible in nature. 'De quelle façon et par quelle puissance le genre humain a-t-il commencé sur la terre?' In reply to this question, he proceeds to argue that man must have been the result either of mere material forces, or of a supernatural power exterior to, and superior to matter. Spontaneous generation, he argues, supposing it to exist at all, can give birth only to infant beings—to the first hours, and feeblest forms, of nascent life. But man—the human pair—must evidently have been complete from the first; created in the full possession of their powers and faculties. 'C'est à cette condition seulement qu'en apparaissant pour la première fois sur la terre l'homme aurait pu y vivre—s'y perpétuer, et y fonder le genre humain. Évidemment l'autre origine du genre humain est seul admissible, seul possible. Le fait surnaturel de la création explique seul la première apparition de l'homme ici-bas.' This is a common, but, as it seems to us, not a very safe argument. If the 'supernatural'—that is to say, the superhuman and the super-physical—cannot be found nearer to us than this, we fear it will not be found at all. It is very difficult to free ourselves from this notion that by going far enough back, we can 'find out God' in some sense in which we cannot find Him now. To accept the primeval narrative of the Jewish Scriptures as coming from authority, and as bringing before us the personal agency of the Creator,—this is one thing. To argue that no other origin for the first parents of the human race is conceivable than that they were moulded perfect, without the instrumentality of any means,—this is quite another thing. The various hypotheses of development, of which Darwin's theory is only a new and special version, are at least a method of escape from the logical puzzle which M. Guizot puts. These hypotheses are indeed utterly destitute of proof; and in the form which they have as yet assumed, it may justly be said that they involve such violations of, or departures from, all that we know of the existing order of things, as to deprive them absolutely of all scientific basis. But the close and mysterious relations between the mere animal frame of man, and that of the lower animals, does render the idea of a common relationship by descent at least conceivable. Indeed, in proportion as it seems to approach nearer

to processes of which we have some knowledge, it is, in a degree, more conceivable than creation without any process,—of which we have no knowledge and can have no conception.

But whatever may have been the method or process of creation, it is creation still. If it were proved to-morrow that the first man was 'born' from some preexisting form of life, it would still be true that such a birth must have been, in every sense of the word, a new creation. It would still be as true that God formed him 'out of the dust of the earth,' as it is true that He has so formed every child who is now called to answer the first question of all theologies. And we must remember that the language of Scripture nowhere draws, or seems even conscious of, the distinction which modern philosophy draws so sharply between the 'natural' and the 'supernatural.' All the operations of nature are spoken of as operations of the Divine Mind. Creation is the outward embodiment of a Divine Idea. It is in this sense, apparently, that the narrative of Genesis speaks of every plant being formed 'before it grew.' But the same language is held, not less decidedly, of every ordinary birth. 'Thine eyes did see my substance, yet being imperfect. In Thy book all my members were written which in continuance were fashioned, when as yet there were none of them.' And these words, spoken of the individual birth, have been applied not less truly to the modern idea of the Genesis of all organic life. Whatever may have been the physical or material relation between its successive forms, the ideal relation has been now clearly recognised, and reduced to scientific definition. All the members of that frame which has received its highest interpretation in man, had existed, with lower offices assigned to them, in the animals which flourished before man was born. All theories of development have been simply attempts to suggest the manner in which, or the physical process by means of which, this ideal continuity of type and pattern has been preserved. But whilst all these suggestions have been in the highest degree uncertain, some of them violently absurd, the one thing which is certain is the fact for which they endeavour to account. But what is that fact?—It is one which belongs to the world of mind, not to the world of matter. When Professor Owen tells us, for example, that certain jointed bones in the whale's paddle are the same bones which in the mole enable it to burrow, which in the bat enable it to fly, and in man constitute his hand with all its wealth of functions, he does not mean that physically and actually

they are the same bones, nor that they have the same uses, nor that they ever have been, or ever can be, transferable from one kind of animal to another. He means that in a purely ideal or mental conception of the plan of all vertebrate skeletons, these bones occupy the same relative place—relative, that is, not to origin or use, but to the plan or conception of that skeleton as a whole.

Here the 'supermaterial,' and in this sense the supernatural, element,—that is to say, the ideal conformity and unity of conception, is the one unquestionable fact, in which we recognise directly the working of a mind with which our own has very near relations. Here, as elsewhere, we see the natural, in the largest sense, including and embodying the supernatural; the material, including the supermaterial. No possible theory, whether true or false, in respect to the physical means employed to preserve the correspondence of parts which runs through all creation can affect the certainty of that mental plan and purpose which alone makes such correspondence intelligible to us, and in which alone it may be said to exist. The two ideas,—that of a physical cause and that of a mental purpose,—are not antagonist; but the one is larger and more comprehensive than the other. Let us take a case. In many animal frames there are what have been called 'silent members'—members which have no reference to the life or use of the animal, but only to the general pattern on which all vertebrate skeletons have been formed. Mr. Darwin, when he sees such a member in any animal, concludes with certainty that this animal is the lineal descendant by ordinary generation of some other animal in which that member was not silent but turned to use. Professor Owen, taking a larger and wider view, would say, without pretending to explain *how* its presence is to be accounted for physically, that the silent member has relation to a general purpose or plan which can be traced from the dawn of life, but which did not receive its full accomplishment until man was born. This is certain: the other is theory. The assumed physical cause may be true or false. It is much more probably false than true; but in any case the mental purpose and design—the conformity to an abstract idea—this is certain. The relation in which created forms stand to our own mind, and to our understanding of their purpose, is the one thing which we can surely know, because it belongs to our own consciousness. It is entirely independent of any belief we may entertain, or any knowledge we may acquire, of the processes employed for the fulfilment of that purpose.

And yet we are often told, as if it were a profound philosophy, that 'we must be very cautious how we ascribe intention to nature. Things do fit into each other, no doubt, as if they were designed; but all we know about them is that these correspondences exist, and that they seem to be the result of physical laws of development and growth.' No matter—we reply—how these correspondences have arisen, and are daily arising. The perception of them by our mind is as much a fact as the sight or touch of the things in which they appear. They may have been produced by growth—they may have been the result of a process of development,—but it is not the less the development of a mental purpose. It is the end subserved that we absolutely know. What alone is doubtful and obscure is precisely that which alone we are told is the legitimate object of our research,—viz. the means by which that end has been attained. Take one instance out of millions. The poison of a deadly snake—let us for a moment consider what this is. It is a secretion of definite chemical properties which have reference, not to the organism of the animal in which it is developed, but to the organism of another animal which it is intended to destroy. Some naturalists have a vague sort of notion that, as regards merely mechanical weapons, or organs of attack, they may be developed by use,—that legs may become longer by fast running, teeth sharper and longer by biting. Be it so: this law of growth, if it exist, is but itself an instrument whereby purpose is fulfilled. But how will this law of growth adjust a poison in one animal with such subtle knowledge of the organization of another that the deadly virus shall in a few minutes curdle the blood, benumb the nerves, and rush in upon the citadel of life? There is but one explanation—a Mind, having minute and perfect knowledge of the structure of both, has designed the one to be capable of inflicting death upon the other. This mental purpose and resolve is the one thing which our intelligence perceives with direct and intuitive recognition. The method of creation, by means of which this purpose has been carried into effect, is utterly unknown.

Perhaps no illustration so striking of this principle was ever presented as in the astonishing volume just published by Mr. Darwin on the 'Fertilisation of Orchids.' It appears that the fertilisation of almost all orchids is dependent on the transport of the pollen from one flower to another by means of insects. It appears, further, that the structure of these flowers is elaborately contrived, so as to secure the certainty and effectiveness of this operation. Mr. Darwin's work is devoted

to tracing in detail what these contrivances are. To a large extent they are purely mechanical, and can be traced with as much clearness and certainty as the different parts of which a steam-engine is composed. The complication and ingenuity of these contrivances almost exceed belief. 'Moth-traps and spring-guns set on these grounds,' might be the motto of the orchids. There are baits to tempt the nectar-loving lepidoptera, with rich odours exhaled at night, and lustrous colours to shine by day; there are channels of approach along which they are surely guided, so as to compel them to pass by certain spots; there are adhesive plasters nicely adjusted to fit their probosces, or to catch their brows; there are hair-triggers carefully set in their necessary path, communicating with explosive shells, which project the pollen-stalks with unerring aim upon their bodies. There are, in short, an infinitude of adjustments, for an idea of which we must refer our readers to Mr. Darwin's inimitable powers of observation and description—adjustments all contrived so as to secure the accurate conveyance of the pollen of the one flower to its precise destination in the structure of another.

Now there are two questions which present themselves when we examine such a mechanism as this. The first is, What is the use of the various parts, or their relation to each other with reference to the purpose of the whole? The second question is, How were those parts made, and out of what materials? It is the first of these questions—that is to say, the use, object, intention, or purpose of the different parts of the plant,—which Darwin sets himself instinctively to answer first; and it is this which he does answer with precision and success. The second question,—that is to say, how those parts came to be developed, and out of what 'primordial elements' they have been derived in their present shapes, and converted to their present uses?—this is a question which Darwin does also attempt to solve, but the solution of which is in the highest degree difficult and uncertain. It is curious to observe the language which this most advanced disciple of pure naturalism instinctively uses when he has to describe the complicated structure of this curious order of plants. 'Caution in ascribing intentions to nature' does not seem to occur to him as possible. Intention is the one thing which he does see, and which, when he does not see, he seeks for diligently until he finds it. He exhausts every form of words and of illustration by which intention or mental purpose can be described. 'Contrivance,'—'curious contrivance'—'beautiful contrivance'—these are expressions which recur over and over again. We quote one sentence

describing the parts of a particular species. 'The labellum is developed into a long nectary, in order to attract lepidoptera, and we shall presently give reasons for suspecting that the nectar is *purposely* so lodged that it can be sucked only slowly, in order to give time for the curious chemical quality of the viscid matter setting hard and dry.\*'† Nor are the words we have here quoted used in any sense different from that in which they are applicable to the works of man's contrivance—to the instruments we use or invent for carrying into effect our own preconceived designs. On the contrary, human instruments are often selected as the aptest illustrations both of the object in view, and of the means taken to effect it. Of one particular structure Mr. Darwin says:—'This contrivance of the guiding ridges may be compared to the little instrument sometimes used for guiding a thread into the eye of a needle.'‡ Again, referring to the precautions taken to compel the insects to come to the proper spot, in order to have the 'pollinia' attached to their bodies, Mr. Darwin says:—'Thus we have the rostellum partially closing the mouth of the nectary, like a trap placed in a run for game,—and the trap so complex and perfect!†'‡ But this is not all. The idea of special use, as the final end and controlling principle of construction, is so impressed on Mr. Darwin's mind, that, in every detail of structure, however singular or obscure, he has absolute faith that in this lies the ultimate explanation. If an organ is largely developed, it is because some special purpose is to be fulfilled. If it is aborted or rudimentary, it is because that purpose is no longer to be subserved. In the case of another species whose structure is very singular, Mr. Darwin had great difficulty in discovering how the mechanism was meant to work, so as to effect the purpose. At last he made it out, and of the clue which led to the discovery he says:—'The strange position of the labellum perched on the summit of the column, ought to have shown me that here was the place for experiment. I ought to have scorned the notion that the labellum was thus placed for no good purpose. I neglected this plain guide, and for a long time completely failed to understand the flower.'‡

When we come to the second part of Mr. Darwin's work, viz. the Homology of the Orchids, we find that the inquiry divides itself into two separate questions—first, the question what all these complicated organs are in their primitive relation to each other; and secondly, how these successive modifications

\* P. 29.

† P. 30.

‡ P. 262.



have arisen, so as to fit them for new and changing uses. Now it is very remarkable that of these two questions, that which may be called the most abstract and transcendental—the most nearly related to the supernatural and supermaterial—is again precisely the one which Darwin solves best and most clearly. We have already seen how well he solves the first question—What is the use and intention of these various parts? The next question is, What are these parts in their primal order and conception? The answer is, that they are members of a numerical group, having a definite and still traceable order of symmetrical arrangement. They are expressions of a numerical idea, as so many other things—perhaps as all things—of beauty are. Mr. Darwin gives a diagram, showing the primordial or archetypal arrangements of Threes within Threes, out of which all the strange and marvellous forms of the orchids have been developed, and to which, by careful counting and dissection, they can still be ideally reduced. But when we come to the last question—By what process of natural consequence have these elementary organs of Three within Three been developed into so many various forms of beauty, and made to subserve so many curious and ingenious designs?—we find nothing but the vaguest and most unsatisfactory conjectures. We can only give one instance, as an example. There is a Madagascar orchid—the '*Angræcum sesquipedale*'—with an immensely long and deep nectary. How did such an extraordinary organ come to be developed? Mr. Darwin's explanation is this. The pollen of this flower can only be removed by the proboscis of some very large moths trying to get at the nectar at the bottom of the vessel. The moths with the longest probosces would do this most effectually; they would be rewarded for their long noses by getting the most nectar; whilst, on the other hand, the flowers with the deepest nectaries would be the best fertilised by the largest moths preferring them. Consequently, the deepest-nectaryed orchids, and the longest-nosed moths, would each confer on the other a great advantage in the 'battle of life.' This would tend to their respective perpetuation, and to the constant lengthening of nectaries and of noses. But the passage is so curious and characteristic, that we give Mr. Darwin's own words:—

'As certain moths of Madagascar became larger, through natural selection in relation to their general conditions of life, either in the larval or mature state, or as the proboscis alone was lengthened to obtain honey from the *Angræcum*, those individual plants of the *Angræcum* which had the longest nectaries (and the nectary varies much in length

in some orchids), and which, consequently, compelled the moths to insert their probosces up to the very base, would be best fertilised. These plants would yield most seed, and the seedlings would generally inherit longer nectaries; and so it would be in successive generations of the plant and moth. Thus it would appear that there has been a race in gaining length between the nectary of the *Angræcum* and the proboscis of certain moths; but the *Angræcum* has triumphed, for it flourishes and abounds in the forests of Madagascar, and still troubles each moth to insert its proboscis as far as possible in order to drain the last drop of nectar. . . . We can thus,' says Mr. Darwin, 'partially understand how the astonishing length of the nectary may have been acquired by successive modifications.'

It is indeed but a 'partial' understanding. How different from the clearness and the certainty with which Mr. Darwin is able to explain to us the use and intention of the various organs! or the primal idea of numerical order and arrangement which governs the whole structure of the flower! It is the same through all nature. Purpose and intention, or ideas of order based on numerical relations, are what meet us at every turn, and are more or less readily recognised by our own intelligence as corresponding to conceptions familiar to our own minds. We know, too, that these purposes and ideas are not our own, but the ideas and purposes of Another—of One whose manifestations are indeed superhuman and supermaterial, but are not 'supernatural,' in the sense of being strange to nature, or in violation of it.

The truth is, that there is no such distinction between what we find in nature, and what we are called upon to believe in religion, as that which men pretend to draw between the natural and the supernatural. It is a distinction purely artificial, arbitrary, unreal. Nature presents to our intelligence, the more clearly the more we search her, the designs, ideas, and intentions of some

'Living Will that shall endure,  
When all that seems shall suffer shock.'

Religion presents to us that same Will, not only working equally through the use of means, but using means which are strictly analogous—referable to the same general principles—and which are constantly appealed to as of a sort of which we ought to be able to appreciate, because we ourselves are already familiar with the like. Religion makes no call on us to reject that idea, which is the only idea some men can see in nature—the idea of the universal reign of Law—the necessity of conforming to it—the limitations which in one aspect it seems to place on the exercise of Will,—the essential basis, in another aspect, which it supplies for that

exercise. On the contrary, the high regions into which this idea is found extending, and the matters over which it is found prevailing, is one of the deepest mysteries both of religion and of nature. We feel sometimes as if we should like to get above this rule—into some secret Presence where its bonds are broken. But no glimpse is ever given us of anything, but 'Freedom within the bounds of Law.' The Will revealed to us in religion is not—any more than the Will revealed to us in nature—an arbitrary Will, but one with which, in this respect, 'there is no variableness, neither shadow of turning.'

We return, then, to the point from which we started. M. Guizot's affirmation that belief in the supernatural is essential to all religion is true only when it is understood in a special sense. Belief in the existence of a Living Will—of a Personal God—is indeed a requisite condition. Conviction 'that He is' must precede the conviction that 'He is the rewarder of those that diligently seek Him.' But the intellectual yoke involved in the common idea of the supernatural is a yoke which men impose upon themselves. Obscure thought and confused language are the main source of difficulty.

Assuredly, whatever may be the difficulties of Christianity, *this* is not one of them,—that it calls on us to believe in any exception to the universal prevalence and power of Law. Its leading facts and doctrines are directly connected with this belief, and directly suggestive of it. The Divine mission of Christ on earth—does not this imply not only the use of means to an end, but some inscrutable necessity that certain means, and these only, should be employed in resisting and overcoming evil? What else is the import of so many passages of Scripture implying that certain conditions were required to bring the Saviour of Man into a given relation with the race He was sent to save? 'It behoved Him . . . to make the Captain of our Salvation perfect through suffering.' 'It behoved Him in all things to be made like unto His brethren, *that He might be,*' &c.—with the reason added: 'for in *that* He himself hath suffered being tempted, *He is able* to succour them that are tempted.' Whatever *more* there may be in such passages, they all imply the universal reign of law in the moral and spiritual, as well as in the material world: that those laws had to be—behoved to be—obeyed; and that the results to be obtained are brought about by the adaptation of means to an end, or, as it were, by way of natural consequence from the instrumentality employed. This, however, is an idea which systematic theology is very apt to regard with intense suspicion,

though, in fact, all theologies involve it, and build upon it. But then they are very apt to give explanations of that instrumentality which have no counterpart in the material or in the moral world. Perhaps it is not too much to say that the manifest decay which so many creeds and confessions are now suffering, arises mainly from the degree in which at least the popular expositions of them dissociate the doctrines of Christianity from the analogy and course of nature. There is no such severance in Scripture—no shyness of illustrating Divine things by reference to the 'natural.' On the contrary, we are perpetually reminded that the laws of the spiritual world are in the highest sense laws of nature, whose obligation, operation, and effect are all in the constitution and course of things. Hence it is that so much was capable of being conveyed in the form of parable—the common actions and occurrences of daily life being chosen as the best vehicle and illustration of the highest spiritual truths. It is not merely, as Jeremy Taylor says, that 'all things are full of such resemblances,'—it is more than this—more than resemblance. It is the perpetual recurrence, under infinite varieties of application, of the same rules and principles of Divine government,—of the same Divine thoughts, Divine purposes, Divine affections. Hence it is that no verbal definitions or logical forms can convey religious truth with the fullness or the accuracy which belong to narratives taken from nature—man's nature and life being, of course, included in the term:

'And so, the Word had breath, and wrought  
With human hands the Creed of creeds.'

The same idea is expressed in the passionate exclamation of Edward Irving:—'We must speak in parables, or we must present a wry and deceptive form of truth; of which choice the first is to be preferred, and our Lord adopted it. Because parable is truth veiled, not truth dismembered; and as the eye of the understanding grows more piercing, the veil is seen through, and the truth stands revealed.' Nature is the great Parable; and the truths which she holds within her are veiled, but not dismembered. The pretended separation between what lies within nature and what lies beyond her is a dismemberment of the truth. Let those who find it difficult to believe in anything which is above the natural, first determine how much the natural includes. When they have finished this search, they will find nothing in the so-called 'supernatural' which is hard of acceptance or belief—nothing which is not rather essential to our understanding of this otherwise 'unintelligible world.'

ART. V.—*Life in the Forest of the Far East.* By SPENSER ST. JOHN, F.R.G.S., F.E.S., formerly H.M.'s Consul-General in the Great Island of Borneo, &c. 1862.

WHEN the subject of the burning of ships at sea arises in conversation, some sexagenarian present is pretty sure to speak of the burning of 'the Fame,' in 1824, as the most impressive case in the memory of the existing generation. The ship 'Fame' was bringing home from the Eastern Archipelago Sir Stamford and Lady Raffles and their one remaining child, and the treasures in natural history collected by them in Java and Sumatra, and a mass of papers by which that bright and rich part of the world was to be laid open to us. On the very first night of the voyage, the steward set fire to the ship by shameful carelessness: Lady Raffles and her family escaped with difficulty in their night-dresses; and everything they had was burnt. We still remember vividly the sensation excited by the news, and the keen and universal sympathy felt by educated persons with the indefatigable Eastern Governor, whose health had been sacrificed to toil and anxiety, and who saw all the records of that toil destroyed in one night, just when he was coming home. The sense of public loss was also very strong. The curtain was rising upon a brilliant tropical scene, full of promise of wealth to England; but suddenly it fell again, and we were obliged to be satisfied with what the travellers could tell us out of their memory and judgment. Perhaps they produced almost as strong an impression of what they wished to convey by their testimony as they could have done by any written evidence: but Sir Stamford Raffles did not long survive the shock of his various bereavements; and if his convictions were successfully communicated to certain minds, they did not influence society at large, as they would probably have done if his treasures had arrived safely in England, and his journals and other records had been delivered over to the intelligent curiosity of the nation.

Sir Stamford Raffles opened to us glimpses of an ancient civilisation in the Malay countries which was certainly that of the Malay people; and he held that those people could certainly rise again to the elevation from which they had sunk. He showed us what their actual depression was under the malign influence of the Dutch, to whom they have long borne much the same relation that the African race bear to their masters in America. He told us what reason there was to suppose that the treasure countries of the Eastern Archipelago were as rich as

those of the Western continent which drew over the Europeans since established there. He believed that the most enviable power yet to be acquired in the world was reserved for the nation which should act the wisest part with regard to the Eastern races, and especially the Malays: and he warned us, the more earnestly as his time grew visibly shorter, that the opportunity was brief, as the encroachments of the Dutch were doing mischief which could scarcely be repaired. As for what the wise part was, his explanations were very clear. Commercial settlements would not suffice: missionary settlements would not suffice: much less would the strong hand develop the soil and the people. There must be territorial possession, for the sake of creating and expanding common interests between the natives and the Europeans: but the social system should be that which was found on the spot; the administrators should be, as far as possible, the natives themselves; and the power of the European element should be coextensive with its natural influence, through the superior intelligence and experience of the Western race. The nation which should plant itself down most naturally on any island of that Archipelago, should arrive at the best understanding with the people, and by superior wisdom obtain the lead of society, would be the supreme power in the East, would command its wealth, would guide and elevate its people, and would enjoy all the advantages of empire without incurring the fearful risks and damning responsibilities of conquest. Such were the views which have been discussed in the nooks and corners of English society, where Sir Stamford Raffles was remembered or simply appreciated, for five and thirty years past. A new generation has now before its eyes illustrations of the opposite methods of rule,—the one which Sir Stamford Raffles reprobated and the one which he recommended. At the same time, our interests in the Far East are in a state which renders a just view and a right course more important than ever before.

We need not spend many words on the unfavourable specimen. Mr. Money's work on Java caused such a sensation last year that we may assume our readers to be in a general way aware of its purport. Appearing when we were looking about in all directions for guidance in our task of governing India, and assuming, as it did, that our aims in India were, or ought to be, those of the Dutch in Java, the book was not only eagerly read, and much talked about, but adopted in its main argument with a docility which we trust many of our neighbours are now heartily ashamed of. The

first question was 'Why cannot we make India pay as the Dutch made Java pay?' But this was soon succeeded by the other question, 'Would it be wise to make India pay in the same way that the Dutch made Java pay?' We now see that a system which is based upon the virtual slavery of the indigenous population, and the main condition of which is that the people shall never learn anything new, nor become anything better, is no system for us. Whatever mistakes we have made about India, we do sincerely intend to administer it for the people of India; and we do strongly desire that the inhabitants should grow wiser and better and happier under our rule, and through our rule. Mr. Money's book has at least served to illustrate the truth of the doctrine that commercial settlements, however successful, will not fulfil the higher conditions of empire in the Eastern Archipelago.

The other illustration affords a pleasanter topic. The children of England have been taught, for two or three generations, that Borneo is the largest island in the world. Which of us forgets saying that in class? and which of us failed to see in Borneo and the neighbouring islands the paradise of our globe? Does not the shiver of delight come over us again now when we call up that early imagery;—the calm, translucent seas; the palmy islets studding the shining waters; the villages standing out on piles above the tide; the darting fish below, the gaudy birds and flashing butterflies and glittering reptiles above; the amethyst mountains rising from plains of dazzling green; the reedy lakes with their flamingoes; the deep woods more noisy than the towns with the jabber of monkeys, and the cry of the deer, and the clatter of bamboos and palms, and the trumpet of the elephant, and the roar of the tiger; and everywhere the dark, supple Malay catching fish, or smoking bees, or snaring deer, or hunting buffalo, or waylaying enemies to steal their heads? Such was the scenery, appearing through the morning mists, or under the flood of noon sunshine, or the lustrous midnight sky, which was called up, and is still called up, before the mind's eye by the name of Borneo, the largest island in the world.

It has so happened that these associations met in one mind, as doubtless in many more, the ideas suggested by Sir Stamford Raffles. Many, no doubt, contemplated, as James Brooke did, the actual scenery of those regions in combination with the moral scenery of the future which Sir Stamford Raffles sketched on behalf of the Eastern races; but not one youth in a million can act upon his early conceptions as James Brooke has

done. The idea having once become clear in his mind that the Malays were a race worth cultivating, he was bent on ascertaining for himself what they were like, and on offering the wisdom of the Western world to them for their guidance, if they were disposed to appeal to it. He went to Borneo, not to conquer tribes or territories,—not to buy up and sell again the industry and products of any country,—not to introduce missionaries, and impose a new faith on people who did not ask for it; but to live among the inhabitants, make their acquaintance,—make friends of them, give them counsel when asked, and guidance exactly as far as they desired it, and no further. He proposed to found their new civilization on an indigenous and not a foreign basis—on the great laws of human nature as they appeared to the native mind, and by methods which the people themselves should choose. To civilize and elevate some portion of the Malay races by a course opposite to that which commercial, military, and missionary effort had hitherto taken, was the object to which James Brooke devoted his life. He did not overlook the considerations of the importance to England of a firm footing in the Eastern Archipelago, and of the benefits of a thriving commerce with those rich regions: nor did he ever deny his own inclination to the exercise of power, any more than his love of adventure: but the presiding idea and engrossing aim was that of raising some Malay race by means of companionship with them, instead of command over them.

The evidence is now before us of what has been done. Mr. St. John, whose work is the fruit of many years' residence in and about Borneo, says of Sir James Brooke's territory:—

'The most remarkable thing connected with Sarawak is the change which has come over the aborigines. From all the accounts I could gather, they were twenty-five years ago in a much more miserable condition than the Meeruts and Bisayas, in the neighbourhood of the capital. The country was in a state of complete anarchy, and Malays were fighting against Malays, and Dayaks against Dayaks. Even before the civil war broke out, the condition of the latter was miserable in the extreme: they were exposed to every exaction, their children were taken from them, their villages attacked, and often sacked by the Seribas and Sakarang; and hunger approaching to famine added to their troubles.' (Vol. ii. p. 292.)

Such was their state when their English friend settled among them, and led them against the pirates who rendered their industry fruitless, and kept them in perpetual panic. He taught them to use their rich soil

and waters, opened markets for their products, instituted justice sure and cheap, led them up to such morals as their religion and customs admitted, and made them feel themselves a people. He never interfered with their notions or their habits, while he was always open to their inquiries about his own. By day, he worked in their affairs, and at night he walked with them for hours by the river bank, or sat with them under the stars, receiving their confidence, listening to their family histories, discussing points of religion and philosophy, or exchanging stories of life in the West and the East, and in the wide realms of fiction. At night, the Malay opens his heart, and gives voice to his imagination; and these nocturnal conferences gave Brooke almost the influence of a prophet or a god. There is a passage in a letter of the wife of the Bishop of Labuan which discloses to us something of the nature and extent of his influence:—

'Pa Jenna paid me a visit,' wrote Mrs. McDougall to her son, 'at Sarāwak, soon after this. The Rajah was in England; but Pa Jenna coming into my sitting-room, immediately espied his picture hanging against the wall. I was much struck with the expression of involuntary respect which both the face and attitude of this untutored savage assumed, as he stood before the Rajah's picture. He raised the handkerchief from his head, and saluting the picture with a bow, such as a Roman Catholic would make to his patron saint's altar, he whispered to himself, "Our great Rajah!" This is not the only time, Charley, that I have seen how deep in the hearts of the natives lie love and reverence for Sir James Brooke. The least occasion calls it out.'

We have, happily, Sir James Brooke's own account, in a family letter, of his purpose and his mood in his great enterprise. He wrote to his mother as follows, three years and a half after he first set his foot on the shore at Sarāwak:—

'You know I am not very boastful, but I will say that I conceive what I have already done with my means is almost wonderful; the people are obedient, and all allow themselves happy. The Dyaks are coming down to the river, and building residences, which for many years they have not had; and they show a degree of confidence which is surprising, and which is only limited by the apprehension that my abode here will be temporary. The Chinese are working, and I hope will succeed in making themselves comfortable in another year; and when once they are established, the country cannot be otherwise than prosperous, for, with many vices, they are an industrious and thrifty race. I do not, however, look to their success as the best criterion of mine; for if I sought *only to enrich myself*, the readiest way to do it would be by encouraging these Chinese, and giving them power over the Malays and Dyaks; and, by winking at their op-

pressions, I might, like the Sultan of Pambas, share largely in their profits. It shall never be said of me that I have entered on this enterprise for the sake of gain; and whatever the pecuniary temptation may hereafter be, and whatever the superior ease of pursuing a bad instead of a good cause, I believe I am strong enough to hold the latter and reject the former. I am not by nature greedy of money, my own mere personal expenses have ever been moderate, and as I grow older, I am less ambitious than I was; but those far away, living in ease and safety, cannot imagine the ties which bind me to these people. To the strong desire I have to confer a lasting benefit on them by the introduction of *some* government approaching to good, the deep feeling of commiseration for the virtuous and unhappy Dyaks, and my indignation at the atrocities to which their ruin and the rapid decline of the race towards extinction, my course may be attributed. At a distance, you, my mother, cannot form a full idea of these feelings—of the stern resolution they inspire to prosecute my designs—to urge my relatives to appeal to every person of humanity to aid the cause—to lay aside all selfish and mean considerations—to exhaust all my means, and, if all fail, and I receive no help from without, to fight out the battle and to die, as I have latterly lived, for the good of this people.' (*Private Letters of Sir Jas. Brooke*, vol. i. p. 198.)

By Mr. St. John's work we learn what the change was at Sarāwak in sixteen years,—years during which all Borneans living under native rule and the government of the Dutch had been declining in all ways:—

'When Sir James Brooke first reached the spot, there were few inhabitants except the Malay rajahs and their followers, who subsequently for the most part removed to Brunei, the residence of the sultan. I saw Kuching in the year 1848, when it was but a small place, with few Chinese or Kling shops, and perhaps not over 6,000 Malay inhabitants; there was little trade, the native prahus were small, and I saw some few of them. The jungle surrounded the town and hemmed in the houses, and the Chinese gardeners had scarcely made an impression on the place. As confidence was inspired, so the town increased, and now, including the outlying parishes, its population numbers not less than 15,000.

'The commerce of the place has kept pace with it, and from a rare schooner finding its way over to return with a paltry cargo, the trade has risen till an examination of the books convinced me that it was in 1860 above 250,000*l.* of exports and imports.' (Vol. ii. p. 289.)

After testifying to the remarkable commercial honesty of the Malays, Mr. St. John explains how it has been developed by their confidence in the justice of the government under which they live. He continues:—

'This confidence, however, was the growth of some years, and the result of the system of government which I shall now describe. In treating

of the capital, I have shown the practice established there. In all the former dependencies of Brunei, there were local chiefs, who administered the internal affairs of their own districts. In Sarāwak, there were originally three, and that number Sir James Brooke continued in their employment, and permitted and encouraged them to take part in everything connected with the government of the country; obtaining their consent to the imposition of any new tax or change in the system of levying the old; consulting them on all occasions, and allowing their local knowledge to guide him in those things with which they were necessarily better acquainted than he could possibly be.

It was not to be expected that his teaching and influence should suddenly change these men, accustomed to almost uncontrolled sway, into just and beneficent rulers, and he failed in moulding the *datu patinngi*, the principal chief. As long as Sir James Brooke was himself present in Sarāwak, he could keep him tolerably straight; but no amount of liberality could prevent him oppressing the Dayaks on every possible occasion. His rapacity increasing, he took bribes in his administration of justice, and it was at last found necessary to remove him. The third chief behaved much better, and the second, *patinngi Ali*, was killed during one of Captain Keppel's expeditions.

The last named left many sons, two of whom would have adorned any situation in life: the eldest, the late *bandhar* of Sarāwak, was a kind, just, and good man, respected in his public capacity, and beloved in all social intercourse; his only fault was a certain want of decision, partly caused by a rapid consumption that carried him off about two years since. His next brother succeeded him, and appears to have all his brother's good qualities, with remarkable firmness of character. In fact, a generation is springing up, with new ideas and more enlarged views, who appear to appreciate the working of their present government, and have a pride in being connected with it.

By associating these men in the administration, and thus educating them in political life, and by setting the example of a great equality in social intercourse, Sir James Brooke laid the foundation of a government which stood a shock that many of his best friends expected would prove fatal—I mean the Chinese insurrection. None of the predicted results have followed. Trade and revenue have both actually increased, and a much better system of management has been introduced.

The example set in the capital is followed in all the dependent districts, and the local rulers are always associated with the European in the government. The effect has been to prevent any jealousy arising; and the contempt of all natives, which appears a part of our creed in many portions of our empire, is not felt in Sarāwak. Nothing appears more striking to those who have resided long in Sarāwak than the extraordinary change which appears to have been effected in the character of the people, and also in that of individuals. There is no doubt that Sir James Brooke was working in soil naturally good, or these results could not have taken place; but

yet, when we know the previous history of men, how lawless and savage they were, and yet find they have conducted themselves in an exemplary manner for twenty years, the whole circumstances appear surprising.

'I have watched the gradual development of Sarāwak with the greatest interest. I have seen districts, once devoted to anarchy, restored to prosperity and peace, by the simple support of the orderly part of the population by a government acting with justice; and it is not surprising that all its neighbours appeal to it, when their own countrymen are seen to exercise so great an influence in its councils.' (Vol. ii. pp. 295-9.)

Never was an enterprise of this character less indebted to external support than Sir James Brooke's. We do not pretend to understand why he has met with such persistent discouragement from the British Government, when all that he has asked has been the presence of the British flag in those seas, as a terror to pirates, and a support to peaceful trade. The fact of his isolation amidst this new realm is a sufficient answer to all that part of the world which believes that England is rapacious in regard to territory, and inclined to meddle wherever interference may lead to conquest: but this is small comfort to the people who live in daily dread of coming under the power of the Dutch, and in incessant doubt which way to turn for protection from the piratical tribes which are the scourge of the Archipelago. Again and again the time has seemed at hand when it would be necessary to permit the Dutch, the French, the Spanish, or the Americans to obtain a footing in the country, that the people might have the protection of one or the other flag. And the danger is not at an end, nor will be till the small boon of a single steamer in those seas is at length granted. We have made a settlement in Labuan; but it has not succeeded like Sir J. Brooke's enterprises. There has been a Christian Mission established at Sarāwak; but it has failed, nearly as completely as the Catholic Mission attempted by Spain. The causes of these failures are plain; and the counsel of the man best qualified to advise would have precluded the mischief, and secured a much greater good.

For many years there was a persistent effort made, by the self-interest of one party and the prejudices of another, to discredit Brooke's enterprise altogether. Because adventurers among the heathen and the savage have often been unworthy of the professions they put forward, it was assumed that Brooke must be seeking wealth under philanthropic pretences. He was a hypocrite he was a tyrant: he was a buc-

caner: he was everything bad that adventurers had ever been. We heard much of this for many years; but it is all over now. Such speculations were extinguished by the Chinese rising in 1857, which threatened the very existence of the government, and the independence of the native community at Sarāwak. That peril brought out as nothing else could have done the real feelings of the people towards their Rajah; and the manifestation was such as to silence all enemies and cavillers, and to cause all generous men, who before held their judgment in suspense, to avow themselves satisfied that the relation between the ruler and the people of Sarāwak was, in fact, what it professed to be.

For many years it had been considered a settled matter that a certain proportion of Chinese were necessary to the development of the resources of the country. 'My Dayaks are gentlemen,' Sir J. Brooke delights to say. Without being idle they take things easily, prefer the lightest occupations, and will not surrender their evening leisure for the sake of increasing their gains. To make production and commerce what they may be, a plodding and money-getting race like the Chinese must have a place in the community; and wherever they can find toleration, there are accordingly Chinese to be found. It is observable that they are not, in Borneo and the neighbourhood, pure Chinese who have arrived direct from their own country, but a mixed race, the offspring of former immigrations. In fact, it seems to be difficult to draw the line between those who are loosely called Borneans and Chinese; for it is contended that the people of Borneo are themselves descended from ancient Chinese cultivators of the pepper and rice grounds, the traces of which are very common. However this may be, there are people called Chinese, prone to industry and money-getting by the celestial side of their constitution, and to raids and rebellion by the Malay element now intermixed with it. The Dutch are oppressive rulers and hard taskmasters of these people; and they have naturally flocked to the Sarāwak territory, where they have been to a certain extent welcome, and would have been entirely so if the rural labourers among them had stuck to their proper business. Every encouragement was given to their agricultural efforts; but the gold-seekers overwhelmed the rice-growers, and carried them off to the mines. As their force increased, they made difficulties by encroaching on the lands of the Dayaks in search of gold; and in 1853 it was necessary to control them by force of arms. The cul-

tivators used their opportunity to get back to their rice-grounds and gardens, and Mr. St. John saw, in 1856, about 500 of them 'engaged in a war against the jungle.' About 800 were living in the capital and its environs; and up the country, in the mineral district, there had been a clandestine immigration, persistently denied on the spot, which brought the number of gold-seekers and their dependents up to 3,000.

The immigration was not much to be wondered at, nor the secrecy: for the Dutch authorities over the frontier exact a payment of 6*l.* from every Chinese who leaves their territory; and the punishment for leaving without paying is very severe. To get into Rajah Brooke's territory, and to get there unnoticed, was therefore the Chinaman's natural ambition. Yet Sir J. Brooke was vigilant, and suspicious of some design against his proper subjects. The perpetual ground of suspicion of the Chinese, asserted by all who have made acquaintance with them in the Eastern Archipelago, is their fondness for secret societies. By such organizations they carry on smuggling, communicate with such centres of power as Singapore, learn what is going on abroad, and overawe their own weaker members at home. Mr. St. John was dosed with opium by his own servant, a Chinese boy, under the control of the officers of a secret society, who stole the consul's property while he was sunk in his thirteen hours' sleep. The Sarāwak revenue was cheated, through the same instrumentality, by the smuggling of opium from Singapore. The society was fined 150*l.*, after having made many thousands; and the illicit trade was stopped.

This happened just after the Chinese had heard that the English had retired from Canton. Their information was that the English had been beaten back; and the British power was supposed to be humbled. Humble as it was, Brooke and his colleagues in the government were supposed to have no benefit of it. There was no evidence of the English Government feeling any concern about Sarāwak; and the persuasion among the Chinese was that if Brooke and his aids could be got rid of, no inquiry would ever be made, so long as the other European residents were not meddled with. Such were the suggestions of an emissary sent from Singapore and Malacca, encouraged by certain native parties in the Dutch territory adjoining. Mr. St. John's Chinese servants were told, in the Consulate at Brunei, four days before the rising, that all the white men at Sarāwak were going to be killed immediately, and Mr. St. John soon after, so that his servants had better join the



society which was thus about to come into power. There was no time to send warning to Sarāwak, even if Mr. St. John had believed the tidings which his butler revealed to him in great trouble of mind. He put the government at Brunei on its guard; and that government made it clearly understood that every Chinese should be destroyed if any outrage were offered to its European ally. In Sarāwak, however, the only warning given was by a swift Malay rower, who pulled down to Kuching, the capital, and told that a Chinese expedition was just behind him. As the Rajah was ill, it was resolved to wait till morning before troubling him with the news. What happened in the night of that Feb. 18. 1857, we all remember—how the Rajah escaped through his bath-house, and by swimming the river; how his guest, Mr. Nicholets, was slain in one of the garden-houses; how Mr. and Mrs. Crookshanks were wounded, and how the constable's two children and lodger were killed. As long as the belief prevailed that Brooke was dead, all was forlorn and hopeless. The Chinese sat in the Rajah's seat in the court-house, and aped his authority. This was the drop too much. One of the native citizens protested—somewhat prematurely.

'He was a sturdy man,' Mr. St. John tells us, 'with a pleasant cheerful countenance, and a warm friend to English rule; and his first words were, "Are we going to submit to be governed by Chinese chiefs, or are we to remain faithful to our Rajah? I am a man of few words, and I say I will never be governed by any but him; and to-night I commence war to the knife against his enemies." This was the unanimous determination of the assembly; but they were divided as to the course to be pursued.' (Vol. ii. p. 350.)

The Chinese had all the arms from the arsenal; the Malays were burnt out of their homes, scattered and pillaged: but they attacked the Chinese boats, and fought when, where, and as they could. They were apparently of the same mind with their fellow-citizen, who, dying in the struggle, said that he would rather be in hell with the English, than in heaven with his Mohammedan countrymen. When Brooke was known to be alive, and yet more when he appeared, they did wonders in defence of their persons and property. Yet all seemed to be over, as the town was burning, when the Borneo Company's steamer arrived to furnish a base of operations for the defence of the settlement. The details may be read in Mr. St. John's book: the point that concerns us now is the proof afforded by this insurrection, of the nature and temper of the connexion between Rajah Brooke and his Dayak

subjects. From hour to hour it became clearer that the Chinese could never have had a chance of success in their attempt to usurp the government. Dayaks were thronging from all parts to avenge their ruler, when he led his people to victory over the aggressors; and the whole country was resolved to sacrifice everything, rather than the beneficent rule which they need never have submitted to again but by their own choice. Since that date we have heard no more charges or insinuations against Sir James Brooke as Rajah of Sarāwak.

Mr. St. John's sketch of the aspect of the seat of government after the disturbance was over, will interest our readers. The wretched insurgents had for the most part perished, and the survivors were dispersed. Many were found hanging in the woods, or dead by other methods of suicide; and most of them with their booty on their persons—money from 5*l.* to 20*l.*, silver spoons, forks, and other portable treasure. Meantime, while these victims of their secret society authorities were proving their essential harmlessness as rebels, the capital was rising from its ashes.

'The news of the insurrection reached me,' says Mr. St. John, 'after a very long delay, as the first intimation I had of it was through a letter from Mr. Ruppell, dated Singapore, as he had left Sarāwak after the failure of the Sunday attack: and I was kept in suspense for above a week, when a more rapid sailing-vessel brought me the news that Sir James Brooke had triumphed.'

'I went down to Sarāwak by the first opportunity, and reached it in July, to find everything proceeding apparently as if no insurrection had occurred. Though the Malay town had been burnt down, yet the inhabitants had soon recovered their energy, and had built their houses again, which, though not so substantial as the former ones, still looked very neat. Some things were missed in the landscape, and the handsome government-house, with its magnificent library, had disappeared; Mr. Crookshank's and Mr. Middleton's houses were also gone, and, with the exception of the Rajah, they were the principal sufferers, as the Chinese had had no time to destroy either the church or the mission-house, or the Borneo Company's premises; and, although they all suffered losses from pilferers, yet they were comparatively trivial, when placed in comparison to that noble library, which was once the pride of Sarāwak.'

'I found, as I had expected, that the loss of worldly goods had had little effect on the ruler of the country, who was as cheerful and contented in his little comfortless cottage, as he had ever been in the government house. His health, which before was not strong, had been wonderful, improved by his great exertions to endeavour to restore the country to its former state; and I never saw him more full of bodily energy and mental vigour than during the two months I spent at Sarāwak in

1857. Everybody took their tone from their leader, and there were no useless regrets over losses; and it was amusing to hear the congratulations of the Malay chiefs: "Ah, Mr. St. John, you were born under a fortunate star to leave Sarawak just before the evil days came upon us." Then they would laughingly recount the personal incidents which had occurred to themselves; and tell with great amusement the shifts they were put to for want of every household necessary. There was a cheerfulness and a hope in the future, which promised well for the country.' (Vol. ii. p. 361.)

It would seem that Rajah Brooke has solved the problem which Sir Stamford Raffles and many other good men have taken to heart—that of winning the mind and heart of races with which measures of conquest, of commerce, and of missionary enterprise have always failed. The evidence seems to have turned up everywhere, as well as within sight of the Rajah's dwelling, and the influence of his personal conduct. Mr. St. John tells us how his ear was caught by the name of Brooke when he was in the wilds, attempting the exploration of the interior mountains. There, among his hungry followers, and suspicious strangers, beyond the Limbang River, exhausted by bleeding from the leeches which fastened upon him in his daily walk, encompassed with perils, and, as it were, lost in the furthest wilderness of the world, he heard, as he sat by the night-fire, the sound of 'Tuan Brooke' often repeated. On inquiry, he learned that the natives were proud and delighted to see in him, with their own eyes, the adopted son (as they had been told) of the great Rajah, the friend of the aborigines.

Their only surprise was, that he who had given peace and happiness to the Southern Dayaks should neglect to extend his benefits to the Northern. On investigating the origin of their notions of the great Rajah, Mr. St. John found that, among the natives, the mightiest event in human history was the humiliation of the Bornean Sultan, when his government was driven to hide in the jungle, and to apologise for its oppressions at the bidding of the British. With this piece of history was linked the story of the justice with which Britons rule; and especially of the blessings which one Briton had brought to that part of the country which he was pleased to inhabit. 'What dwelt in their minds was, that there were some of their countrymen who were happy under the rule of Tuan Brooke.' (Vol. ii. p. 107.)

The question arises whether this influence is to expire with the life of a peculiarly-gifted man. It is a question of the highest importance. By the delays and impediments which have been interposed for twenty

years, we must conclude that the difficulties are also great; but we never have been able to see, and we do not now see, how they can be conceived to bear any proportion to the benefits to everybody concerned of confirming and perpetuating the work prescribed by Raffles, and begun with singular success by Brooke. Nobody wants to enter on a course of enterprise which can lead us into a policy of annexation like that which has made us the conquerors and owners of India. Nobody wants that we should involve ourselves in such a scheme as that of the French in Cochin China, nor in responsibilities at all resembling those which we are beginning to find embarrassing at Shanghai. What we have done thus far has not been what was asked, nor what was desirable. We have mismanaged the Labuan settlement and the Sarawak Mission; and we seem to have been unable to apprehend the principle and aim proposed by the one great English friend of the Malay races, and carried out by the other. We seem to have been thus far unable to perceive that our call is to be the guardian and friend of these Eastern people, exactly as far as they desire us to be so; and by no means their masters by the strong hand, nor their priests by self-appointment. Speaking practically, the thing needed is the presence of our flag in their seas as a terror to pirates, and a tranquillising assurance to the orderly and industrious. Wherever there is a social system presided over by rulers of English birth, or of English training; wherever there is a fair institution of an English habit of mind and manners, there should be means of appeal to English protection or countenance. If there is always such a resource plentifully provided where we have established ourselves at our own pleasure and by our own power, why not when we are present by invitation, and by the free choice of the inhabitants? If there is protection for us by sea and land when we impose the institutions, and order the industry, and control the affairs of the people we would civilise, why not when the institutions and the industry and the interests of native society grow up from indigenous roots? This is the point which seems never to have been explained; and all that can be conjectured from the confused and vacillating resistance made by successive administrations to the demand of the friends of those Eastern races is that Government dreads being involved in rash schemes of colonisation or annexation, rendering England responsible for the destinies of obscure races, which spread over a great part of the Eastern Archipelago, and expose us to col-

lision with any ambitious or mercenary Power which may be jealous of our entrance upon that scene.

There should have been no confusion of ideas, or vacillation of purpose about this matter for a long time past, because there has been no choice about our appearance on the scene. A glance at the map makes this very clear. A quarter of a century ago, the eminent hydrographer of a foreign government put his finger on Singapore, then recently risen from being a sordid fishing hamlet, frightful to all observers from the roaring of tigers, and the scorching of fevers, and said that the holders and improvers of Singapore would prove to be the possessors of the key of the whole wealth of the East. We now see that much of the value of Singapore will, sooner or later, lie in its being the avenue to Borneo, and the groups of islands amidst which it holds its place as a very centre of wealth. Borneo has fine harbours, fit to be not only the refuge of our ships in the storms of the tropical seas, but the rendezvous of our naval and merchant service, when either assumes the proportions indicated by the growth of our colonial empire. Borneo is the proper station for telegraphic communication, when we shall have carried our wires from London into the Southern seas. Borneo contains coal along its whole western coast, by which we may keep our steam fleets going very cheaply, at that vast distance from home. Mr. St. John's volume will satisfy all readers of the abundance of natural wealth by which the prosperity of the inhabitants may be ensured, and great privileges obtained for our own colonies. In short, here lies a great island, between our own India, Australia, and New Zealand, and and our Chinese settlements, and, we may add, British Columbia, which will some day be reached by this route by traders. This great island teems with the raw materials of commerce: it offers us harbours and coal, and every convenience of a central station: its native polity is sinking into ruin; the Dutch rule is injurious and abhorred, as far as it extends; and it threatens to extend wherever it is not guarded against. The inhabitants of one region are a rising, prosperous, happy and grateful people under English influence and training. The same training and influence are desired wherever they have been heard of; and if we do not grant them, some other Power will step into our place, and snatch the opportunity we are throwing away. This seems a strong and plain case. It only remains to consider what it is that constitutes an acceptance of the opportunity. It is simply granting so

much countenance as consists in floating our flag permanently in those seas, for the purpose of enabling private enterprise to pursue its course, without fear of insult or impediment.

No part of Mr. St. John's work is more impressive than those passages of his second volume which describe the decline of Borneo Proper, under the rule of the Sultans of Brunei. From his long residence in the district, our author is the best living authority on that point; and nothing can be clearer than his exposition of the facts and the causes. Amidst all the disadvantages of Sarawak and of Labuan they were advancing, while Brunei, whose Sultan is regarded almost as a god from sea to sea, was declining, in spite of its ancient prestige.

'The trade of our colony is small,' Mr. St. John says, 'though it is increasing; while that of Brunei is rapidly decreasing, and recent arrangements will tend to accelerate its fall.' . . . 'Full of faults as the Bornean rajahs doubtless are, oppressors of their subjects, and totally unfitted to rule, yet they are, in my opinion, the most agreeable natives I have ever met. As a companion, few Europeans could be more interesting than was the shabandar, the Makota of Keppel's book, and "The Serpent," as he was popularly called. I never wearied of his society, and always enjoyed the little pic-nics to which he invited me. His death, which I have related in my "Limbang Journal," was tragic, though he deerved his fate. They all display, in the most exciting discussions, a propriety of behaviour and gentleness of manner that wins those who have dealings with them. Procrastination is their greatest fault, and sometimes trying to the temper.

'The Sultan and nobles deplore the decay of their country, but cannot, or rather will not, understand that it is their own unreflecting rapacity which destroys the springs of industry.

'There are no fixed impositions, but the aborigines suffer from the exactions of all, until, they have told me that, in despair, they are planting yearly less and less, and trusting to the jungle for a subsistence.' (Vol. ii. pp. 266, 267.)

We hear a good deal of the disappointment about our colony of Labuan, when Borneo is spoken of at all; but the settlement has done some good, and has opened the way for more. About a thousand of the hillmen from Borneo Proper have settled there, and are felling the timber of the finest forest imaginable. The clearing and timber trade are proceeding apace. The coal will make the wealth of a station which is 350 miles from Singapore, 400 from Sarawak, and 600 from Manilla, whence it is 600 more to Hong-Kong. Already the character of slavery in Borneo is totally changed, through our presence in Labuan; and piracy must decline from the hour when

the news spreads that England, planting her foot on Labuan, wills that piracy should stop. As for the material of commerce, there is variety and abundance enough to occupy British speculation and capital till the capacities of the country are fully developed. We have seen how busy the Chinese are about gold: and they find silver and copper in the Dutch territory. The ore of antimony abounds in the Sarāwak territory, and yields the substance of the state revenue. There is, as we have said, plenty of coal. In the north-east of Borneo elephants abound, and there is a considerable ivory trade. The forests yield a variety of fine timber; and from the jungle the traders bring gutta percha, india-rubber, camphor, wax, and the best rattans in the world. Wherever the Chinese have left their traces in the open country, the crops are large; the sugar canes are of enormous girth; the rice stalks are taller than men; the pepper vines form a splendid growth; and, as for the orchards, Mr. St. John tells us 'The groves of fruit trees are immense; and no idea can be formed of them, unless we imagine our pear and apple trees of the size of the most gigantic elms. They are generally planted on the gentle slopes of low hills; and the cool and well-shaded paths among them are dry and pleasant to tread.' (Vol. ii. p. 269.) These orchards are in the neighbourhood of Brunei. In places far distant from each other we hear of cotton crops, past or present. There was a large growth of cotton in the northern districts till the pirates—the scourge of all industry—extinguished the production. Elsewhere there are beginnings made from the seed sent by our Cotton Supply Association; and there is no reason why any quantity, of the best kinds, should not be obtained wherever there are Chinese enough to grow it. There is already a large trade in sago, and in edible birds' nests. The sandy shores of the bright islets round the coast swarm with turtle; and sea-slugs, many kinds of fish, and pearls are yielded up by the waters. The country is full of life; the woods abound in game,—wild swine, deer, wild cattle, bears, and a fair proportion of the fowls of the air; the rivers swarm with fish; the trees and the rocks are infested with wild bees. In short, anybody may live there; and any merchant may there find a commerce worthy of his capital and his care, if only he can hope to see piracy put down, as it might easily be by the constant and well-recognised presence of the British flag in those seas. The people already demand large supplies of 'gray shirtings' and chintzes; and of brass wire, and any sort of common metal in any form.

The old barbaric commodities of red cloth and beads are in request; but arms and implements, dress and utensils that can in any way be accommodated to their modes of life, will be eagerly bought as civilisation advances. The pride and indolence of the Dayaks, who take life easily, are seen to give way sensibly before the facilities for obtaining conveniences and adornments. In short, the people of Borneo, of all tribes and diversities, are very like the people everywhere else. The saddest part of the whole story of Borneo, in which many things have gone wrong, is the ruin wrought to industry, peace, and progress by the liability to the attacks of pirates. Nothing could be done at Sarāwak till the people were protected from the piracy to which they were before liable; and the way to raise other parts of the country to the condition of Sarāwak is to put down piracy with the strong hand, at the same time giving profitable commerce with the open hand.

Mr. St. John's pictures of 'Life in the Forests of the Far East' are bewitching to readers acquainted with many latitudes, because their truthful touches revive impressions very vividly. Judging by what we see, the book is also very welcome to readers whose travels are all by the fireside. This may arise, not only from the beauty of the author's descriptions, but from the freshness of his disclosures of the actual life of the people. We can hardly expect ever to see again an intensity of curiosity to equal that with which we all, old and young, seized upon the revelations of African life, when Mungo Park and his successors opened that wild scene to us: but next in degree, we could easily imagine, might be the interest of reading of explorations of limestone mountains, within which caves beyond caves are lined with the hollow balls of gelatine,—the edible birds' nests, of which so much soup is made in many countries; the interest of climbing the mighty peaks and table-lands which stand dressed in such lovely hues in Mr. St. John's frontispieces; the interest of following him in his courageous voyagings up dangerous rivers, among unknown tribes, in search of mountains sacred to demons, and approachable only through defences of omens which no faint-hearted stranger could break through; the interest, finally, of entering the long village houses, raised on piles, where dozens of families live under one roof, and where everybody's ways, from the great chief's to the spoiled child's, may be observed. But, besides all these disclosures, Mr. St. John gives us innumerable narratives illustrative of the life of the people, political, social, and domes-

tic; and these are so strange, so new, so wild, and yet so easily conceivable, that we are not surprised that the book is eagerly read, notwithstanding its faults of construction.

Those faults are very great, the work being in fact a mass of raw material which the reader must shape for himself, if he desires more from it than the amusement of the moment. Thus the work is as provoking as a book of its order can be which has the prime quality of evident and perfect truthfulness. There can be no more doubt of the simple honesty of the writer in copying his notes than of his courage among a head-hunting banditti, or his zeal in climbing Kina Balu, or his essentially good manners, as a representative Englishman, among the wild pagans, and no less wild Mohammedans, of the Malay tribes: but the artlessness of the book is carried much too far. It is confused to the last degree, as a whole, and in almost every paragraph. This makes it difficult to exhibit by specimens; as it is scarcely possible to present any point otherwise than by picking sentences from various parts, and putting them together, as the author should have done with their meaning. The portion least affected by this fault is the exposition of superstitions and manners by narratives and anecdotes. The travels and the accounts of the various tribes of inhabitants are hopelessly confused; and not one reader in a hundred will probably bring away any clear notion of the distinctive histories of the Bornean tribes, or of the order and bearings of Mr. St. John's travels among them. Yet will some passages leave as vivid an impression as the whole might have done. As this:—

'I do enjoy the exploration of new countries: I especially enjoy an evening such as this. It is a fine starlight night. We have pitched our tents on a broad pebbly flat, and the men have collected a great pile of wood, with which to keep up a cheerful fire. Most of us are sitting round it, and that everlasting subject of discussion arises—how far are the Kayans off. The hut to-day appeared as if very lately used; but if we are to be attacked, I hope it will be in the day-time. The conversation was beginning to flag, when suddenly we heard a bird utter three cries to our right. "Ah!" cried Japer, "that is a good sign," and instantly reverted to head-hunting and omens. I will here introduce a story illustrative of the practice. Its cool atrocity always makes my heart sick. Japer told it in illustration of various omens. I will try and relate it in his own words, whilst they are still ringing in my ears.' (Vol. ii. p. 61.)

The story, too long for extract, deserves to be called atrocious. But the decline of head-hunting is very marked. By degrees

it appeared that any human heads could do as well as those of warriors; then it was only the heads of *bonâ fide* foes, which were sought alive; and then it came to taking them from the graves where the European practice of sepulture exists; and Mr. St. John tells us that during his journeys up the Limbang River, and in all his wanderings near Kina Balu, he only once saw the dried heads of enemies hung up. 'Yet when falling in with parties of head-hunters on the track of their enemies, I have always,' says our author, 'avoided spending a night in their immediate neighbourhood, and have kept our arms ready for service.' This precaution was not remitted after he overheard, from a Bornean hareem, a remark which tended to reassure him against the head-hunters of that country of flashing eyes. While he was thinking how yellow and smoke-dried the young ladies looked, he heard one of them observe, 'How very dull his eyes are!' Thus there was hope that his head was not very attractive. 'Profitable agricultural industry' is the prescription for the cure of this social disease.

Wherever he went, our author bore in his mind the conception of the future establishment of our civilisation there. At the end of his description of the view obtained from a lofty ridge of a wide extent of coast and plain, he tells us that the rice tillage extended almost to the top—the jungle having been cleared away for the purpose; and, by natural association of ideas, proceeds thus:—

'We carefully examined the noble buttress on which we were encamped, and were convinced that if ever the north of Borneo fall into the hands of a European Power, no spot could be better suited for barracks than Marei Parei. The climate is delightful: at sunrise the average was 56°, mid day 75°, sunset 63°; and this temperature would keep European soldiers in good health. There is water at hand; and up the western spur a road could be easily made, suited to cattle and horses: in fact, buffaloes are now occasionally driven from Labang Labang to Sayap.' (Vol. i. p. 880.)

In the concluding chapter may be found Mr. St. John's reasons for warning us that the redemption of Borneo will not be wrought by the Sarawak Mission, unless the management of it is totally changed. It has created a painful sensation in England lately, that a Christian bishop should have boasted of the number of pirates he had killed with his breech-loading weapon. Necessary as it is to put down piracy, we should not think of commissioning our first bishop in that region to perform an office for which the sacred book he carries affords no warrant. A not less unfavourable impres-

sion exists in Sarāwak, evidently from our neglect of the pregnant hint of Sir Stamford Raffles, so well acted upon by Sir James Brooke,—that the growth of these people must proceed from indigenous roots of civilisation, and that it will never answer to impose upon them new thoughts and manners, foreign to their minds and customs. In a single sentence of our author's we find the results of the neglect and of the observance of this hint, in the religious and civil life of the Sarāwak people. After telling us how the chief operation of the Mission has been to fill the Mohammedan temples, Mr. St. John says:—

‘That the present management is decidedly faulty, may be gathered from this, that, of all the officers in the Sarāwak government service who have been employed there during the last fourteen years, I only know of one who has abandoned his position, and that one under peculiar circumstances; while, as I have said, five-sevenths of the missionaries have left their posts, though their work is not harder—certainly not nearly so dangerous as that of the officers—and is as well paid. (Vol. ii. p. 375.)

It is success and non-success that makes the difference in the conduct of the civil and religious officials; and these depend, as we were warned long ago, on whether we watch for the native guidance, for the native good, or impose our own, for the satisfaction of our own preconceptions.

ART. VI.—*Gloucester Fragments*.—I. *Facsimile of some Leaves in Saxon Handwriting on St. Swidhun, copied by Photozincography, at the Ordnance Survey Office, Southampton; and published with Elucidations and an Essay.* By JOHN EARLE, M.A., Rector of Swanswick; late Fellow and Tutor of Oriel College, and Professor of Anglo-Saxon in the University of Oxford.—II. *Leaves from an Anglo-Saxon Translation of the Life of S. Maria Egyptiaca, with a Translation and Notes.* 4to. London: 1861.

ABOUT five and thirty years ago, a few leaves of Anglo-Saxon manuscripts, found in the Chapter Library at Gloucester, were marked by the librarian as discovered in ‘Abbats’ Braunche and Newton’s Register,’ laid aside, and forgotten. On these leaves Mr. Earle was requested to prepare a memoir for the meeting of the Archæological Institute in 1860; and from the interest ex-

pressed in the subject, he was led to publish facsimiles of the fragments, taken by the process of photozincography. The first MS., thus reproduced, belongs to a narrative of the translation of St. Swithun, and was written, in Mr. Earle’s opinion, about the year 985. The condition of the language in the reign of Æthelred, and the familiarity of English readers with the name, if not with the history of Swithun, suggested the idea of making its publication serviceable as an introduction to English literature. The second fragment from a life of St. Mary of Egypt, exhibits the language in a state much like that of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle in the beginning of the twelfth century, and may serve to give a good idea of the devotional reading of the age. To the facsimiles of these fragments Mr. Earle appends the text in Roman letters, with a literal translation and some notes, neither too many nor too long, for the benefit of Anglo-Saxon students. Unfortunately, with regard to the first fragment, the good fortune of having made a discovery cannot be added to Mr. Earle’s merits as an editor. A manuscript in the British Museum\* contains the homily of which the leaves found in the Chapter Library at Gloucester form a portion. If we regret that Mr. Earle had not acquainted himself with the existence of this MS. before publishing his volume, it by no means follows that the value of his work is seriously impaired. For the purposes of philology, the comparison of the two fragments remains not less useful, while the chief interest of the work for ordinary readers lies in the ‘Essay on the Life and Times of Swithun,’ which follows the text of the fragments. Mr. Earle’s materials may be somewhat less original than he appears to have thought them, but he makes up for this disappointment by the originality and quaintness of his own remarks.

The facts of St. Swithun’s life, so far as they are known to us, may be told in a few words. Yet his history, as Mr. Earle rightly insists, is not necessarily apocryphal because we cannot adduce much of contemporary evidence for it. The nearest approach to such testimony is that of Asser, the biographer of Alfred. From him and from some incidental statements elsewhere, we learn that Swithun was a monk, prior, and afterwards Bishop of Winchester,—that he built a bridge,—that he was appointed by Egbert tutor to his son Æthelwolf, who looked on him always as his most faithful counsellor and friend, and that after his death he was buried on the north side of his

\* Ælfric’s Liber Festivalis. Cotton MS. Julius, E. 7.

cathedral church. Yet although to later generations his name was linked with a mere prognostication of weather, there are some important events of his own time with which the historian may be naturally led to associate his memory. It may seem no strained inference to conclude that he compiled the early history of Wessex,—that he accompanied Alfred in his pilgrimage to Rome,—that he suggested the donation of Æthelwolf, and brought about the compromise which guaranteed to Æthelbald the more important kingdom of Wessex. But while Mr. Earle rejects such a reconstruction of history, he thinks that a middle course yet remains, which, by a fair examination of the time, may enable him 'to appreciate the relative position of the morsels which concern Swithun' (p. 23.). The Saint of the Summer Rains is as unquestionably historical as Alfred. In the absence of authentic incidents, his life might in a ruder age be embellished by fictions: in our own day it is clear that 'its chances of rehabilitation are over, and the only way of investing the relic with a meaning is to recover its antiquarian history' (p. 22.).

The connexion of Swithun with Æthelwolf cannot be called in question. Yet, in spite of arguments which may be drawn from his sanctity and authority, a strict historical criticism will hesitate to maintain that 'under such a tutor the personal character of the prince would be well cultivated, and his tastes would be well regulated. Swithun would never have forgotten to direct his attention to business, to the art of governing, to the importance of industry, as well as to the value of a pure creed and Scriptural learning' (p. 26.). From the presence of Ealchstan and Swithun at the court of Æthelwolf, it is fair to infer that their example may have influenced Alfred, but less judicious perhaps to conclude, from Alfred's ignorance of letters at the age of twelve, as well as from his subsequent military career, that the instruction of Ealchstan was more acceptable than that of Swithun. The inference is plausible which makes Swithun the companion of the young prince in his journey to Rome. That pilgrimage, Mr. Earle believes, was made immediately after Swithun's promotion to the see of Winchester; and the bishop may well have gone to Rome to seek a benediction, as Metropolitans were already accustomed to journey thither for their pall. It is scarcely so safe, to connect Swithun directly with that donation of Æthelwolf which has been the subject of so much controversy.

On this point Mr. Earle fully admits the absence of strictly contemporary evidence,

while at the same time he rejects the idea that the donation consisted in the legal establishment of tithe, to which, however, he thinks that it eventually led. It was with this very object that Swithun led the king to set the example of devoting a portion of his land to religious uses, and so of making a provision for the clergy, which was the more needed in times of war and trouble. Mr. Earle is thus at once carried to the conclusion that the donation of Æthelwolf was absolutely necessary for the spreading and establishment of Christianity, and that it consisted in setting aside the tenth part of every manor in his possession for the purpose of building a *minster*. This minster was not to be itself a parish church, although it might become the parent of many such. It might expand hereafter into a great monastic house: but in itself it was an outpost of the Christian Church, with a body of priests living under rule in some of those isolated stations which have ever since retained the 'maternal title' of *Minster* (p. 41.).

These conclusions, even if they lie open to no antecedent objections, assume a less plausible character when compared with the conflicting accounts which seem almost to call the bare fact of the donation into question. Shortly before the close of a long and not untroubled reign, Æthelwolf, in the words of Asser, freed the tenth part of his whole kingdom from all royal service and tribute, and devoted it to the Holy Trinity for the salvation of his soul and the souls of his forefathers. No one, probably, will hesitate to admit with Hallam, that from such a passage 'it seems impossible to strain his words into a grant of tithes.\*' Nor does it seem irrelevant to remark that Æthelwolf is said to have made two dispositions,—the one establishing something like a secular provision for the poor—the other doing away with obligations hitherto imposed on certain lands. It is not unreasonable therefore to conclude that his act left a tenth part probably of all hereditary lands free of those imposts and duties of which the monastic bodies so earnestly complained, even if we may not further believe with Hallam that the king granted to the Church certain actual possessions, together with immunity from the *trinoda necessitas*. Of itself, a privilege extending apparently to laymen not less than to the clergy, could have conferred no special and exclusive right on the latter. Their claim to tithe, if not legalised in this country till the reign of Æthelstan, dates, whether in England or on

\* Middle Ages, chapter vii. note 1.



the Continent, from an earlier day than that of Egbert and Charles the Great. It was part of the old inheritance of the Christian priesthood, handed down from that Levitical law, of which, in this as in other such matters, they had never admitted the abrogation.

The condition of monachism in this country from the days of Augustine to those of Dunstan and Æthelwold is one of the most momentous questions in all English history before the Conquest. It is by no means one of the easiest; and the very anxiety to do full justice to men so differing from each other as Swithun, Dunstan, Edward the Confessor, and Harold, seems likely to involve the subject in some confusion. The warfare between the secular and regular clergy was carried on in England not less fiercely than in Milan or at Rome. But was it a battle between the soldiers of a sacerdotal army, who (whether consciously or unconsciously) were establishing the great Papal Empire, and the weaker upholders of a Christian liberty which seemed to their adversaries more favourable to the growth of national churches than of their vast spiritual empire? Or was it simply, as Mr. Earle supposes, the struggle of men who, seeking to do all things decently and in order, employed that organization which in a barbarous age was indispensable, against others who desired, at all costs, to secure a life of worthless and disorderly self-indulgence?

In truth, the history of monachism in England down to the reign of the second Harold has as a whole no parallel elsewhere. In the conversion of England Augustine employed the same machinery which Boniface afterwards found so effectual in Friesland and Bavaria; and hence the Benedictine monasticism of this country acquired a distinctively missionary character. The houses founded by Benedict and his disciples in Italy or Gaul all furthered, more or less, this work of conversion; but they existed in the first place for the spiritual discipline of their inmates. In the foundation of the English monasteries, the first thought was for the heathen; and the monastic rule was chosen chiefly as furnishing the best means for effecting their conversion. Thus every station, in the advance made by the Roman missionaries, received the name of monastery or minster, and retained it long after the place of the monks had been filled up by secular priests. The storms of Danish invasion swept away the monastic communities, and, with these, most of the monastic buildings; nor were the labours of Alfred directed towards restoring the

system by which Augustine had carried on his warfare against English heathenism. Secular priests worked alone, or were established in colleges throughout the land, without the restraints of a monastic rule. But, in some cases, the old buildings remained; and the preservation of a few charters gave the impulse to monastic restoration, while it seemed to justify the efforts of the reformers. They were sorely needed, if such a restoration was a thing to be wished for, or if it was ever to be accomplished. Even at Glastonbury the sacred fire had well-nigh gone out. There was nothing of monastic religion there, according to one in whose judgment that profession involved the abandonment of all free-will in submission to a spiritual ruler. In the estimation of such men, Dunstan would indeed be the first abbot of the English nation.\*

On this view, the work of Dunstan becomes at once clear and intelligible. He had no battle to fight against secular chapters. His task was to build up the waste places, and to people them with true followers of the Nursian Benedict. With Hildebrand, the desire to impose celibacy was prompted by a political instinct; with Dunstan, as with Peter Damiani, it was the one mode of escape from the intense corruption of the world. His effort was, not to expel a secular clergy who had intruded their chapters into monastic houses, but to introduce monks into places which had not originally belonged to them. The cathedrals were, in their institution, secular. In spite of Dunstan's crusade many of them remained so, till the fall of Harold prepared the way for the more complete ascendancy of Rome. Dunstan's first object was to restore monachism in its strictest form, as exhibited in the rule of Benedict—a monachism not only more severe than the degenerate form which had been crushed by the Danish invasions, but more stringent even than that of Saint Augustine. To reach this end, the enforcement of celibacy on the clergy in general was no unimportant step; but this victory, if gained, was chiefly to serve for the further extension and the permanent supremacy of his order.

The projects of Dunstan involved the exaltation of Swithun. That Swithun would have promoted his schemes, is an inference which we can neither affirm nor deny. That Dunstan, with Æthelwold, took advantage of a 'foregone opinion of his sanctity' to bring about his translation, we cannot hesitate to believe. The light which

\* *Anglia Sacra*, ii. 91-101.

these Gloucester fragments throw on the process constitutes their chief interest.

'The initiative,' says Mr. Earle, 'was with the people, though it rested with their leaders to ignore it or give effect to it. It was some broken-down smith, or some poor peasant body; or, again, three blind women from the Isle of Wight, who, or whose friends, are the deponents, either in their own persons or through the priest, in the drawing up the case for the translation of Bishop Swithun. The case prepared, it is brought by the bishop under the notice of the king, who thereupon notifies the bishop of his will, that the remains of the holy man be "translated;" and so the movement, having begun with the people, and having, through the priest and bishop, ascended to the throne, is next repeated *inversely*—the order for the "translation" issues from the king, and, through the bishop and clergy, descends to the people. . . . Regular as the transaction is, and void of any tumultuary feature, yet, at the same time, Swithun is no *canonised* saint, but a saint by popular conviction and popular enthusiasm—*vox populi vox Dei*—a saint by acclamation.

'Whatever be the measure of esteem which we accord to the titles of ecclesiastical "Saints," we may find room for gradations of respect, and prefer the home-made "saint" to the "saint" canonised at Rome. It was nearly 200 years after the translation of Swithun, when, popular enthusiasm running high after saint-making, the chiefs of the hierarchy at Rome assumed the direction of this passion, founded a committee to sit on the merits of saints, and commenced the chapter of "canonisation." And it was this cold-blooded, evidence-weighting institution that, entering into things which it had not seen, pretended to dispense crowns of celestial merit, while waiting nations were impatient to honour their departed worthies,—it was this that brought the very name of "Saint" into contempt, and imparted to it a jarring, incredulous, and ironical sound. The earlier and simpler doings of the national Church must not be confused with a later system. Swithun was called a saint, much in the same way as, now-a-days, in many a Protestant family, one whose life has exhibited a consistent profession, witnessed of many witnesses, is unhesitatingly and unmixingly pronounced "a saint in glory."' (P. 40.)

As the idea of a translation gained ground among the people, an ample array of signs and wonders announced the favour of the saint, and justified the design. The vigorous growth of the mythopœic faculty is not limited to times and countries strictly pagan. Until by long practice the human mind has acquired the historical sense, it craves for mythological food with a greediness which admits of no denial. In this condition it does not dispense with a standard of credibility, but that standard is one which utterly ignores all historical evidence. It requires conformity not with actual events, but with its ideal of chivalry or saintliness. The faculty may exist with great force in

men who are not dishonest or false; yet it has a direct tendency to run into the very worst falsehood and dishonesty. The different versions given of almost every wonder are at once a proof that all versions would be equally acceptable, as long as they harmonised with the ideal which they were designed to illustrate. In the instance of Swithun, the wonders which preceded his translation were not indeed consistent with all that he had said or done; but the inconsistency did not extend too far. A despised, if not an unknown, grave had been his ambition while he lived; and he was buried at his own desire on the north side of his church, where the water from the eaves might drop upon his tomb. But the visions and marvels which occur when his translation is first thought of (or, as Mr. Earle hints, when Dunstan and Æthelwold had intimated that such wonders would be acceptable), represent the saint as disinclined to lie any longer in the humble resting place which he had chosen. The movement originates in the people, not without the sanction of the archbishop and his colleague; but Swithun has again and again to urge by his messengers his claim to a more exalted sepulchre. In the first instance he gives to the *man* or *villain* of Eadsige (a priest who had been suspended by Æthelwold) a charge ordering Eadsige to make known his wishes to the bishop. But Eadsige has no liking for his spiritual superior, and he ungratefully refuses to obey the command, 'although the saint was related to him in worldly kindred.' Nothing abashed by this remissness, the saint appears to an 'awfully humpbacked ceorl,' whose obedience wins for him the blessing of becoming outwardly like to other men; and the preparations for the translation are at once set on foot. The popular tradition is that the ceremony was interrupted by torrents of rain; but Mr. Earle leaves us at liberty to imagine that it was a fair summer's day, because we have no record to the contrary, while 'it agrees ill with what else we know of our sturdy forefathers, that when they had set their minds on a national celebration, and had met together from all parts for the purpose, they should have been deterred even by the most violent thunder-storm.' The feast itself was no mere religious celebration. The rites of the Church were accompanied by banquets in which there was no stinting of food or drink.

'The sturdy worshippers were recruited by an abundant festival, and day after day the solemn chant was heard alternating with the merriment of festivity. A sad countenance was nowhere seen, for every heart was glad. Food was abundant and various. The wine-drawers skipped

to and fro—crowning the vessels with wine—pressing the guests to drink; and then, with their empty cans, to the cellar they hasten again. But the national drink prevailed, and mead was preferred to wine. Many an honest face, eclipsed by the roomy tankard, emerged to view betimes, in fuller orb'd glow. A drop from the brimming bowl had bedewed the shaggy beard; a jerk of the chin dislodged it, and the beard was itself again. As a shower from a summer cloud, so Saxon converse broke. At first in single drops, widespread, full, weighty, express, monosyllabic—then a pause. But soon it burst anew in a rattling shower of words, and soon it flowed in streams, for all were talking at once.' (P. 49.)

If the grand ovation almost kindles with a poetic fire the prosaic hexameters of Wolstan, Mr. Earle's prose, under the same influence, becomes curiously anapestic in reproducing the elegiac couplets which tell the story of the feast to Bishop Elfeg.

The saint had done some wonders in his life. He performed more, when he had grown tired of his resting-place on the north side of the church. But these were a mere prelude to wholesale benefits which the saint lavished on his worshippers at and after his translation. They who were healed were counted not by tens or hundreds, but by thousands. The sick and diseased crowded the churchyards, so that it was hard to pass through them to the minster; within a few days not five remained infirm. The walls of the church were loaded with the tokens of the saint's holiness and power. Crutches and cripples' stools were conclusive evidence of the truth that 'Christ is Almighty God, who his saint demonstrated through such benefits.' The means may appear strange, but they were intended to enforce a lesson which cannot be questioned,—the duty, namely, of earning God's kingdom with good works, 'just as Swithun did who now shineth through wonders.'

The fancy which associates the name of Swithun with rain in summer does not derogate from the idea of his goodness; and Mr. Earle has remarked that other countries have their raining saints not less than England. The popular notions attached to the name of Dunstan have possibly some better foundation in historical truth; it is significant that they do not extend to him the holiness of St. Swithun.

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ART. VII.—1. *The Life of Edward Irving, Minister of the National Scotch Church, London.* Illustrated by his Journals and Correspondence. By Mrs. OLIPHANT. 2 vols. London: 1862.

2. *Memoir of the Life of the Rev. Robert Story.* By ROBERT HERBERT STORY, Minister of Rosneath. Cambridge: 1862.

A good deal has been said as to the uniformity of belief characteristic of the Scotch Church. The common idea of Presbyterianism north of the border is that it has been always, and is even now, everywhere marked by the same stern rigidity of feature and the same stiff adherence to a hard, abstruse, and somewhat morose creed. However it may differ as to certain questions of ecclesiastical polity, it is supposed to be closely united in theological opinion—to be free from those divergencies of doctrine and extremes of religious sentiment and feeling which characterise other and larger sections of the Christian Church.

There is some truth, but there is also some ignorance and exaggeration, in this view. There is less breadth of Christian thought, and, consequently, less diversity of theological opinion, on the north than on the south of Tweed. Puritanism prevails on the one side—although in modified forms to that in which it excited the vituperative eloquence of Mr. Buckle—while on the other side, Puritanism is only one among various elements of religious influence and culture. It is far from the truth, however, to suppose that this prevalence has at any time amounted to uniformity, or that the stream of Calvinistic and Puritan thought in the Scotch Church has not been frequently crossed by varying currents, some of them intellectual and sceptical, and some of them rich, catholic, and warm as any that have entered into the more composite religion of the south.

The two religious biographies at the head of this article are sufficient evidence of our assertion. They are both directly associated with one of the most novel, original, and singular paroxysms of religion which have anywhere occurred within the present century, and which had its origin in the very heart of that Scotch faith notorious for its devotion to the letter of the Covenant and the narrowest form of Puritanism. Nay, Edward Irving, of whom we are particularly to speak, remained to the last something of a Covenanter in his heart; the ring of the old Puritan watchwords awoke echoes in him, and thrilled him to patriotic music after the Church of his fathers had cast him off, and he had placed himself at the head of a movement which, whether we regard it on its intellectual, its spiritual, or its professedly miraculous side, was infinitely removed from the old Presbyterianism in which he had

been bred. He is a striking and picturesque figure, whom our age, in the multiplicity of its distractions, had well nigh forgotten, but whom it is worth while on many accounts to recall.

We have placed the life of the late Mr. Story of Rosneath along with that of Edward Irving at the head of these pages, because the men were at the most interesting periods of their lives closely associated, and especially because the spiritual movement with which Irving became identified, and which gave birth to the 'Catholic Apostolic Church,' sometimes known by his name, began in the quiet parish by the Gairloch, of which Mr. Story was minister.

The memoir of Mr. Story's life by his son is a graphic and extremely interesting volume. The life of a Scotch minister in a sequestered parish—well known to the tourist now, but during a great part of Mr. Story's ministry lying far away from the busy world—is set forth in a series of picturesque and effective sketches, which serve to bring before the reader with remarkable vividness a saintly, elevated character, and a career at once singular in its spiritual contrasts and external circumstances. There is an ever-graceful tenderness and heroic gentleness in the minister of Rosneath, scarcely less rare in character than the soft and peaceful loveliness of his parish is rare amidst the ruder or grander scenery of Scotland. Such a man must have had in all his activities a Christian influence in the district where he dwelt. The angularities of his native creed melt into harmonious and attractive proportions in his life of faithful earnestness and watchful love for his parishioners and friends. His face, like his character, is one of peculiar elevation; gleams of poetic depth blending in it with a wrapt spiritual simplicity and grace. His son has done well, in these days of religious biography, in which so much that is one-sided in zeal and doctrine is admirably set before the public, to present us with a memoir of such a life and character—so free from all sectarianism; especially as he has performed his task with taste (if also with some tartness here and there where the Free Church is his theme), and with reflective discernment as well as literary skill.

Mrs. Oliphant's 'Life of Edward Irving' supplies a long felt desideratum. It is copious, earnest, and eloquent, carrying the reader along with something of the same excited admiration and pathetic sensibility with which it is written. On every page there is the impress of a large and masterly comprehension, and of a bold, fluent, and poetic skill of portraiture. Irving as a man and as

a pastor is not only fully sketched, but exhibited with many broad, powerful, and life-like touches which leave a strong and even exaggerated impression. Exaggeration is in fact the fault of the book—exaggeration of admiration for the hero, and of censure or contempt for others who either unhappily crossed his path, or were brought into conflict with him. Mrs. Oliphant seldom balances her judgments with a scrupulous caution, or pauses to analyse the complex motives and influences which are felt at every step of Irving's later history. The result is that while she draws so full and vivid a picture, she leaves many parts of it under a strange bewildering haze which the reader tries in vain to penetrate. The sort of 'nimbus' which enwrapped Irving from the time that he came upon the stage of public life—which many of his contemporaries, not without sympathy to appreciate and welcome such a man, found infinitely puzzling—still surrounds him everywhere in Mrs. Oliphant's 'Life.' He moves through her pages in a cloud of admiring incense, which exalts but at the same time shrouds his figure. You wish to understand him, and trace some thread of intelligible if not rational connection through all the strange phases of his career; but Mrs. Oliphant's applauding rhetoric fails to supply it. She is ingenious, ardent, and brilliant, but seldom expository. And you are not much nearer at the last than at the first from comprehending how a man of Irving's extraordinary powers and elevation of character should have made such a wreck as he did. For that he made a wreck of his fame and influence, we hold to be indisputable. It is impossible to read the deeply-touching narrative of his closing years, and not feel that he had sunk from the leadership which was his natural right even in the small sect which had gathered around him. It is difficult to see what there remained for him to do but to die disappointed and broken-hearted—as he did die in Glasgow.

Mrs. Oliphant has formed an entirely different idea of Irving's life. In her view it was a great martyr-tragedy—a heroic self-sacrifice from beginning to end. Its very failures were only the culmination of his mission to render up everything 'in conflict with the shows of things, and vehement protestation for the reality.' Her whole book is constructed upon this idea. Even when she finds it necessary to apologise, she does so as for an inspired prophet—'a passionate, splendid, human soul,' obeying its own law of action, and justifying its own conduct, however abnormal and extraordinary. We do not think that anywhere in the course of

her two volumes she judges Irving to be in the wrong, or even dubiously in the right, in the various oppositions which he encounters. The world misunderstands him; the press defames him; Chalmers, Coleridge, Carlyle, alike fail to comprehend him, and how he must prove, amid 'agony and passion,' 'the devotion of a loyal heart to his Master's name and person.' The Scotch Church, the London Presbytery, even his own session, who accompanied him with a touching loyalty to the very verge of his last extravagances, all fail to appreciate him, and even treat him with cruel misapprehension and severity. Mrs. Oliphant has worked out this conception of her hero with great resource and fluency of style. But she has nowhere vindicated it; she has nowhere rendered reasons for the ideal which she draws. She has had a dream of Edward Irving, and she paints her dream with fitting accessories, and (less excusably) with bold, scornful dashes in the face of those who might otherwise mar the harmony of her composition. There is no abatement to the strain of hero-worship throughout. The tone never falls. The glory around her hero never dies down. His very personal peculiarities, even to his squint, are exalted and touched with a certain vague magnificence. This, we are bound to say, is rather the art of the novelist than the skill of the biographer.

Edward Irving was born on the 4th of August, 1792, 'in a little house near the old town-cross of Annan.' The times were exciting; but no excitement had penetrated to the rural capital of Annandale, lying insignificant and unforgotten at the head of the Solway and under the shadow of Criffel. The political and ecclesiastical atmosphere alike stagnated in Irving's native parish. *Moderatism*, reputable and dignified in Edinburgh, and even capable of a gentle spiritual excitement in those sermons of Blair's which were once found in every drawing-room, had sunk in many rural parishes into a half decent, half profane observance of religious rites. It is a curious picture, if we had time to dwell upon it. In Annandale, however, there were also the remnants of a more vigorous faith. The spirit of the Covenanters survived in a small community of seceders from the National Church, who met for worship at the little village of Ecclefechan, about six miles from Irving's native town. His lofty spirit was caught by the stories of heroic endurance and conquering principle that were still told round many a fireside. He felt as a boy all the nobleness of the martyr traditions that lived in the villages, and clung to many a sacred

spot in the country round. This could be told from his after-writings, if from nothing else. One of those richly poetic passages which gem his sermons, celebrates the 'blood of martyrs' which 'mingled with our brooks; and whose hallowed bones, mouldering in peace within their silent tombs, were dressed by the reverential hands of a pious and patriotic people.' Mrs. Oliphant has shown his connexion with the little band of seceders who professed to inherit the covenanting spirit, and to keep alive the genuine power of Presbytery. It was his occasional habit to accompany these worthies to their place of worship at the neighbouring village, and to hold grave and high converse with them as he went. The charm of these youthful associations never died out of his agitated life. They left their ineffaceable impress on his manners and character. 'The whig elders, no doubt, unconsciously prepared the germ of that old-world stateliness of speech and dignity of manner which afterwards distinguished their pupil; and they, and the traditions to which they had served themselves heirs, made all the higher element and poetry of life which was to be found in Annan.'

Amid such influences Irving grew up one of a family of eight stalwart sons and daughters. There is no particular information as to his school progress. He does not appear to have taken any remarkable position at the Annan Academy. 'He does not seem even to have attained the distinction of one of those dunces of genius who are not unknown to literature.' He had his share of the hard discipline characteristic of the time, and which, as subsequent events prove, was not without its effect upon his own temper and ideas of scholastic discipline. He came home at times with his ears 'pinched until they bled;' and, while other things were forgotten about him, it was clearly remembered that he had been 'kept in,' and 'comforted in the ignominious solitude of the school-room by having his "piece" hoisted up to him by a cord through a broken window.'

His parents were remarkable for sound sense and energy of character; his mother also for a certain sweet attractiveness and beauty of person inherited by her son. He had a great love and regard for her, as one of his most striking sayings shows. 'Evangelicalism,' he said, 'has spoiled both the minds and bodies of the women of Scotland; there are no women now like my mother.' His father was a tanner, respectable, sagacious, and prosperous. He became one of the magistrates of the little burgh, and went to church in state with his

brother-magistrates, and 'set an official example of well-doing.' When his son got whipped or pinched at school, he had no solaces or coaxing for him, but mightily took the teacher's part, and trained the boy in all due hardness, as became a Scotch father in the beginning of the century. It has been stated that Irving's manners, even thus early, had a touch of stateliness and undue solemnity,—a tradition which Mrs. Oliphant is inclined to discredit. 'I can find no traces of any such precocity,' she says; 'nor is it easy to fancy how a natural boy in such a shrewd and humorous community, where pomp of any kind would have been speedily laughed out of him, could have shown any such singularity.' It is not easy to fancy such a thing, but it may be true nevertheless. For there was, as we shall have more occasion to show, a strange depth of eccentricity in Irving's nature, and a total absence of humour. Whatever may be the touch of comedy in the 'kept-in' schoolboy having his 'piece' hoisted to him in at the school-room window, there is no evidence that Irving himself felt the fun of the business, or that he could feel it. He had a deep affinity for the lofty and tragic—for all mystery and magnificence—but no perception of the ridiculous, no faculty, apparently, which could perceive it.

In 1805, when he was only thirteen, Irving entered the University of Edinburgh. Chalmers entered St. Andrews at an equally early age. The habit was nearly universal at the time, and was not of course conducive to the acquirement of accurate learning, or those more scholastic habits associated with the English Universities. Edinburgh College, in the beginning of the century, presented even fewer traces of academic life, as it is known in the south, than the other Scottish Universities. As Mrs. Oliphant truly says, 'it was a mere abstract mass of class-rooms, museums, and libraries, and the youths or boys who sought instruction there were left in absolute freedom to their own devices.' They lived, all untended, in lodgings throughout the city, and were expected to make their appearance at the class-rooms with such preparation of their daily tasks as they best could. They supported themselves often on very small pittances, now and then receiving a box from home 'full of oatmeal, cheese, and other homely necessities.' Thus lived Irving and an elder brother, and passed from stage to stage of his academic course, taking his degree, after four years' study, when he was only seventeen years of age. There is the same lack of minute information about his university as about his school career,

save the fact of his taking his degree with apparent ease,—a circumstance which marks the facility of the process at the time as much as the extent of his acquirements. There is nothing to show what sort of a student he was. The library records, consulted by his biographer, do not tell any tale of studious research. 'The *Arabian Nights*, and sundry books with forgotten but suspicious titles,' indicate a very natural course of reading for a boy, but scarcely for a graduate in arts. One trait recorded of him by a surviving college companion is very significant. 'He used to carry continually in his waistcoat pocket a miniature copy of Ossian; passages from which he read or recited in his walks in the country, or delivered with sonorous elocution and vehement gesticulations.' There is also a story told of his having found about this time a copy of Hooker's 'Ecclesiastical Polity,' in a farm-house in the neighbourhood of Annan, which powerfully attracted him, and gave an impulse to his thoughts. There can be no doubt of his early acquaintance with Hooker, nor of the remarkable influence which his lofty argument and grand periods exercised upon his mental development.

Sir John Leslie was his Mathematical Professor, and along with Dr. Christison, the Professor of Humanity, took a friendly interest in him. These teachers had, no doubt, already discovered his peculiar aptitude for mathematical study; and this with other circumstances served to fix their choice upon him when asked to recommend a teacher for a new mathematical school at Haddington. In the spring of 1810 Irving entered upon the duties of the school, having in the meantime, after taking his degree, pursued his studies for a session in divinity. He never received any further theological training. According to a singularly absurd system, which still prevails in Scotland, he was enabled to complete his theological studies by a series of *partial* sessions, as they are called; that is to say, by merely matriculating and delivering certain prescribed discourses. Yet, strangely, Irving afterwards describes, with the enthusiasm characteristic of him, the elaborate courses of study which his Church demanded of her members.

Irving's career as a schoolmaster, first at Haddington and then at Kirkcaldy, fills the next eight years of his life. It was a period upon the whole of happy and earnest activity; it must have been a period of varied study, theological and literary, as his subsequent writings prove. Yet we have no clear intimations of his intellectual progress—the kind of books that interested

him, the kind of questions that he pondered. His intellectual life, as it appears in these volumes, is a singularly abstracted life; rich, fertile, exuberant, and for a time at least strong and healthy, but nowhere clearly showing its sources and affinities. There is a want of intelligible connexion between his successive theological speculations—those openings in the field of Christian thought which captivate his mind, and in which he triumphs as higher discoveries—and any advancing course of theological study. Was he much of a student at any period of his career? We are unable to answer this from any direct evidence. But, judging from his earlier writings, we can have little doubt that during his Kirkcaldy, and probably his Haddington residence, he was a close student of the older English literature, both theological and secular. It is to this time that his own statement must refer—the statement which he flung with such a grand defiance in the face of the critics of his ‘Orations’—‘I fear not to confess that Hooker, and Taylor, and Baxter in theology, Bacon, and Newton, and Locke in philosophy, have been my companions, as Shakespeare, and Spenser, and Milton have been in poetry. . . . These books were to me like a concert of every sweet instrument of the soul, and heart, and strength, and mind.’ It is remarkable that there is so little trace of his study of these writers at the time—of those intellectual sympathies and antipathies and confident criticisms that generally characterise the progress of youthful genius. The only scrap of his correspondence that survives during these years is not only devoid of any such trace, but a singularly crude and unintellectual production; yet with a strange anticipation of the man too. It is a letter to his friend Mr. Story, in which he communicates, in absurdly magniloquent language, his despair in reference to a young lady with whom he was disappointed in having a solitary walk. This want of literary association with the formative period of Irving's life serves to mar its interest, and moreover increases the perplexity of his later character and career. Here, when, if ever, broader and more natural and varied elements must have entered into his life and made up its activity, we get a very bare, uncertain, and shadowy glimpse of him.

The general impression is that of a tall and somewhat magnificent youth, of very lofty and honest purpose, carrying his pretensions, physical and otherwise, very high, and cherishing proud dreams of future greatness amid all the disadvantages and toils of his ecclesiastical position, and the unpopu-

larity of his first efforts as a preacher. There is a species of sublimity about the youth even as there was afterwards about the man. There is also a want of nature—of simple, youthful carelessness. There are few or none of those light touches that not only reveal the heart, but reveal an unconscious as well as honest heart, thinking of itself little if at all, rather merely giving vent to its own impulses of feeling or taste. There is, if we must say it, a kind of *altitudinising* about the young school-master at Haddington and Kirkcaldy—a self-importance which breaks out at many points. The air of grandeur is at times ridiculous—a subject for laughter and not for admiration. The stories which are meant to be most pleasantly characteristic of him show this significantly. We are told, for example, of an interesting girl-pupil that he had at Haddington, the daughter of Dr. Welsh, since united to a man whose literary fame is in every mouth, and whose relations with Irving are well known. In superintending the lessons of his pupil, it was a rule that the young teacher should give a daily report of her progress, and when the report was *pessima*, punishment was the consequence. ‘One day he paused long before putting his sentence upon paper. The culprit sat on the table, small, downcast, and conscious of failure. The preceptor lingered remorsefully over his verdict, wavering between justice and mercy. At last he looked up at her with pitiful looks, “Jane, my heart is broken!” cried the sympathetic tutor, “but I must tell the truth;” and, with reluctant pen, he wrote the dread deliverance *pessima*!’ One cannot help smiling at the misplaced solemnity of the language, and the self-exaltation that it betrays. In the very same way, when he addresses the astonished door-keeper who was guarding the entrance to St. George's Church, where Chalmers was preaching, and he wished to get in with some of his pupils whom he had taken to hear the great orator, ‘Remove your arm, or I will shatter it in pieces!’—the suggestion is one of grotesque pretension and brutal violence rather than of impressive loftiness. There was evidently a dangerous element of demonstrative egotism in this young theological hero.

One point in the scholastic career of Irving has been touched very slightly by Mrs. Oliphant, but still survives so strongly as a tradition, and suits so little with our common conceptions of him, that it might have deserved more inquiry,—we mean his alleged severity and even cruelty as a disciplinarian. The story told \* of the joiner appearing at

\* P. 53, vol. i.



the door of the school-room in Kirkcaldy with an axe on his shoulder one morning, asking, 'Do you want a hand (some assistance) the day, Mr. Irving?' is still gravely repeated, although the scene of the incident is sometimes transferred to Haddington. And there are living men in Fife who are said to recall Irving's punitive performances with something of a shudder. All this is probably to be accounted for by some wrong theory of scholastic training, such as that under which he himself had suffered at Annan, or perhaps by the impatient and semi-unconscious vehemence with which he carried through any action to which he was once aroused.

Having accomplished his due number of *partial* sessions at the Divinity Hall in Edinburgh, Irving was 'licensed' to preach. This process of license he has himself also described, clothing it with a kind of solemn and judicial severity, borrowed no doubt from his own imaginative retrospect.\* He soon began to preach at his native place, at Kirkcaldy, and elsewhere. A humorous accident is related regarding his first sermon at Annan:—

'The "haill town," profoundly critical and much interested, turned out to hear him; even his ancient teachers, with solemn brows, came out to sit in judgment on Edward's sermon. A certain excitement of interest, unusual to that humdrum atmosphere, fluttered through the building. When the sermon was in full current, some incautious movement of the young preacher tilted aside the great bible, and the sermon itself—that direful "paper" which Scotch congregations hold in high despite—dropped out bodily, and fluttered down upon the precensor's desk underneath. A perfect rustle of excitement ran through the church; here was an un hoped-for crisis. What would the neophyte do now? The young preacher carelessly stooped his great figure over the pulpit, grasped the manuscript as it lay broadways, crushed it up in his great hand, thrust it into a pocket, and went on as fluently as before.'

This, as may be imagined, proved a great success for the young preacher. His triumph was unbounded in his native parish. It was so far from being general, however, that he remained for some years altogether

unknown, and in Kirkcaldy and elsewhere very unpopular, when he appeared in the pulpit. A certain Kirkcaldy baker is remembered to have kicked his pew-door open with characteristic 'Scotch irreverence,' and to have bounced out of church when he saw Irving was to be the preacher. He had 'ower muckle gran'ner,' the people said,—a shrewd people, we are inclined to add, amid all their irreverence. They might appreciate and admire the 'grandeur' by and by, but in its first crude and inharmonious shapes they did not care for it, and are not much to be wondered at.

Irving remained at Kirkcaldy as a school-master for seven years; he then gave up his scholastic position, probably wearied with it, and betook himself again to Edinburgh, where he settled in lodgings, waiting for whatever employment in the clerical profession might open to him. This was evidently a period of uncertainty and perplexity. What was he to do? He was tired of teaching; he had no prospect of success as a preacher; no patron took him by the hand, and the people did not seem to value his peculiar oratory. His future was not very bright at twenty-six years of age.

But whatever may have been Irving's perplexities, and however much he may have felt his unpopularity as a preacher, there is no evidence that he ever doubted his own powers. He had no misgivings and no scepticism to contend with. There was a lofty confidence in him now and at all times, and his vision of the work to which he was called only grew larger and more significant as his immediate prospects seemed less hopeful. He had pondered over the ideal of a preacher of the Gospel, and he determined to rise to that ideal. He burned at his solitary Edinburgh lodgings all the sermons he had already written, and began anew to write on a grander and more worthy scale. The thought of a missionary life, simple, sublime, and self-denying as when the apostles went forth preaching 'the kingdom of heaven is at hand,' without gold or silver in their purses, or scrip, or coat, or staves in their hands, rose before him, and he resolved that this should be his life unless he speedily received some call to work at home. He had actually packed up his books and boxes, and was waiting for an opportunity to carry out his purpose, when he was arrested by a letter from Dr. Chalmers, inviting him to Glasgow to be his assistant. This was in the autumn of 1819. He went and preached to the congregation of St. John's with an unwonted feeling of distrust. 'I will preach, if you think fit,' he is reported to have said; 'but if they bear with my preaching, they

\* The passage is contained in his sermon preached previously to the laying of the foundation of the 'National Scotch Church' in Regent Square, which was built for him after he had been a few years in London. The sermon was printed, with others, some of the best that Irving ever preached, from 'the accurate notes of Mr. T. Oxford, short hand writer,' and bear internal evidence of being very close transcripts of Irving's language. A singular error, however, has crept into the passage in question quoted by Mrs. Oliphant, p. 65, vol. i. 'Ecce Jesum' is printed instead of *Exegesis*, as the name of the Latin discourse prescribed to students in divinity.

will be the first people who have borne with it! The verdict was favourable, and he now quietly settled to missionary labours and preaching.

This may be said to be the commencement of Irving's public career, although during the three years of his stay in Glasgow it seems admitted on all hands that he attracted little regard, and certainly no enthusiasm, as a preacher. 'He was generally well liked,' says one witness, 'but some people thought him rather flowery.' It was no uncommon incident, as he went into church, to find the people coming out, as they learned that it was not Dr. Chalmers himself, but only the assistant that was to preach. There is some difficulty in accounting for this, making all allowance for the full bloom of oratorical fame in which Chalmers then was, and the as yet unknown character of his assistant. For Irving evidently, in the course of his Glasgow career, largely developed his powers as an orator. He was no longer the mere Kirkcaldy probationer, labouring but crudely to express his great thoughts, and encumbered with the trappings of an ambitious and unformed style. He had risen into a higher region; he was capable of far higher achievements,—achievements but little inferior to his subsequent London efforts, as his farewell discourse shows. His mind, if not fully ripened, was fresh and unspent. He remained, however, unappreciated. His highest sermons called forth merely a puzzled amazement in the hearers who welcomed every Sunday the eloquence of Chalmers with excited enthusiasm—a remarkable instance of the effect of the preoccupation of the popular mind with a favourite preacher.

It is not our intention to institute any comparison between Irving and Chalmers. Both may be admired, though both present many points for criticism. The biographer of Irving is continually repeating that Chalmers failed to understand her hero. To some extent this is true. The mystery of grandeur and of priestly pretension which enwrapt his assistant greatly puzzled the shrewd and practical mind of the minister of St. John's, who in his highest flights of imagination and broadest generalisations of philanthropy never forgot the common working-day world around him. Chalmers' mind fitted closely to fact, and clung to the intelligible even when it soared; it was broad and opened-visioned rather than intense and deep-thoughted; it was inductive, not intuitive; it had no special gift of poetic or even of spiritual insight; but it was humorously observant of life and manners, with that sensitive horror of the ridiculous which always characterises a keen, rapid,

and broadly sympathetic intelligence. To these characteristics Irving was directly contrasted,—his intellectual life dwelling in a more etherial but far narrower region, and swaying to impulses of mere poetry, and excitements of the mere spirit, incomprehensible, or nearly so, to a mind like Chalmers'. Yet there is no reason to doubt that as Irving cherished towards the great preacher under whom he served a confiding attachment touched with reverence, and was honestly proud to say of him, 'Never again shall I find another man of transcendent genius whom I can love as much as I admire, into whose house I can go in and out like a son, whom I can revere as a father, and serve with the devotion of a child,' so Chalmers repaid the affection with warmth and sincerity, and if he mingled distrust with his friendship, the distrust was the expression of intellectual uncertainty, and not of any want of regard. He did not know whither Irving might turn; he had taken sharp scrutiny of his peculiarities and tendencies; and if he had misgivings as to the explosive nature of the machine—from its very size and magnificence—who can blame him?

How much of this want of sympathy discovered itself in Glasgow it would be difficult to say. Apparently Irving, after the first delights of clerical employment, congenial to him, began to weary of his unappreciated labours and subordinate position. The impulses of an undying ambition kept stirring in him—an ambition which could not be satisfied with his present work—heartily and nobly as he gave himself to that work. A nobler missionary certainly never laboured in its closes and wynds. It would be wrong not to advert to the devotedness with which he did his duty as a parochial visitor, the apostolic grandeur with which he invested his office here as everywhere, and the genuine pleasure that he seems to have felt in it. His heart rejoiced, he said, in taking leave of Glasgow, to recur to the hours that he 'had sitten under the roofs of the people, and been made a partaker of their confidence and a witness of the hardships they had to endure.' With a strangely solemn, yet homely, kindly manner, he moved about among the poor, blessing each house that he entered. 'Peace be to this house' was his invariable salutation. He knew the key to the hearts of the poor with all his solemnity, and by the magic of his personal ministry could produce results astonishing to the 'agency' with whom he served. But all this could not satisfy either the mind or heart of Irving. He longed for a higher field of action, and it is no wonder

that he did so. Again the idea of expatriation occurred to him; he received an invitation to go to Kingston, in Jamaica, to a Presbyterian congregation there, and is said to have taken it into serious consideration. His old plans of missionary labour once more arose before his mind; but as he pondered dubiously over the future, a way of usefulness suddenly opened to him, more inviting than he could have anticipated. The Caledonian Church, Hatton Garden, London, had been for some time without a stated pastor, and had consequently fallen into great weakness. Some worthy and intelligent Scotchmen, however, still clung to it, and having heard of Dr. Chalmers' assistant in Glasgow, they resolved to offer the pulpit to him. Nothing could have more suited with Irving's inclination; he went to London 'to make trial and proof' of his 'gifts' before the remnant of the congregation which still held together. The result was highly satisfactory: difficulties that seemed to lie in the way were smoothed over, and Irving prepared to commence his ministry in London.

It was impossible for him to conceal his extraordinary elation of mind at this prospect. He was quite carried away at the impending realisation of his dreams of a true preacher's career, and it is touching to read some of his expressions—so genuine, simple, and from the heart—yet with that suspicious taint of high-flown egotism in them that meets us so often. He writes to his *dear and lovely pupil*, to whom we have already referred:—

'My head is almost turned with the approbation I received,—certainly my head is turned; for from being a poor desolate creature, melancholy of success, yet steel against misfortune, I have become all at once full of hope and activity. My hours of study have doubled themselves; my intellect, long unused to expand itself, is now awakening again, and truth is revealing itself to my mind. The thanks of all the directors I have received formally; the gift of all the congregation of the Bible used by Her Royal Highness. The elders paid my expences in a most princely style; my countrymen of the first celebrity, especially in art, welcomed me to their society; and the first artist in the city drew a most admirable half-length miniature of me in action. And so you see I have reason to be vain. But these things, my dear Jane, delight me not, save as vouchers of my Maker's bounty. Were I established in the love and obedience of Him, I should rise toweringly aloft, into the regions of a very noble and sublime character.'

These are not the casual expressions of temporary excitement. The same flash of elated pride everywhere breaks out. We have heard one say, who remembers his visit to Paisley at the time of which Mrs.

Oliphant speaks, that he was in transports of enthusiasm with his prospects. And to his friend, the minister of Rosneath, who had expressed astonishment at some of his feats, he broke out, 'Now you shall see what great things I will do yet. You are content to go back and forward on the same route, like this boat; but as for me, I hope yet to go deep into the ocean of truth.' There is a strange pathos in these exulting expressions as we look onward across the broken arch of his career. In his own mind, even, the pathos was not far separate from the exultation, as we see from one of his most characteristic outbursts in a letter to Dr. Martin of Kirkcaldy. 'There are a few things which bind me to the world, and but a very few: one is to make a demonstration for a higher style of Christianity—something more magnanimous, more heroic than his age affects—God knows with what success.'

We quote these expressions, not only because they possess interest in reference to Irving's character, but because they give the key to the tone of his ministry in London, and the oratorical career, long sighed after, upon which he now entered, with a free field for the exercise of his powers. He had for many years conceived himself to have a special mission as a Christian instructor. 'Some preachers,' he himself had said as he left Glasgow, 'are traders from port to port, following the customary and approved course; others adventure over the whole ocean of human concern. There are ministers enow to hold the flock in pasture and in safety. But where are they to make inroad after the alien, to bring in the votaries of fashion, of literature, of sentiment, of policy and of rank, who are content in their several idolatries to do without piety to God, and love to Him whom He hath sent?' There could be no question to which of these classes of preachers he considered himself to belong; and his profound consciousness of a peculiar mission, and of peculiar powers in the pulpit, gives the colour to all his early ministry in London. It is the keynote of his first and most striking volume of discourses.

To a mind like Irving's, cherishing such lofty aspirations, his reception in the metropolis must have been exciting in a high degree. Never, perhaps, was there such a rapid rise into fame. Popularity would but ill describe the sensation that he made, and the reputation that he acquired. Within a few months of his settlement,—be himself has spoken of 'a year or nearly so, of happy obscurity,' but there is abundant evidence that he had burst from his obscurity long

before the end of his first year's ministry,—the little church of Hatton Garden was not only crowded (this might have happened with many other preachers), but it was filled with the very audience after which he had longed,—with 'imaginative men, and political men, and legal men, and scientific men, who bear the world in hand.' The Duke of York had been already interested in him at his first outset; Wilkie soon found him out and appreciated his powers; Brougham is reported as one of his early auditors, and to have taken Mackintosh, who repeated to Canning an expression which he had heard Irving use in prayer of a bereaved family being 'thrown on the fatherhood of God,'—an expression which so struck the imagination of the statesman, that he too was drawn to hear him, and to allude to his marvellous eloquence in the House of Commons. It is even said that the Tory Premier, Lord Liverpool, was let in at a window when no other access was possible. Whatever truth there may be in some of these stories, there can be no doubt that Irving saw himself, within a short period, surrounded by the most astonishing audience perhaps that ever gathered around a preacher—an audience representative of all that was highest and most intellectual in the world of London. Here was a field in which to take his 'natural liberty to expatiate over all the applications of the word of God to the wants of men.' At length he had found his right position. The choice of his heart had been granted, and he entered with a triumphant and joyful heartiness into the work which had been given him to do.

This period of Irving's early ministry is the golden period of his life. The flush of success, as high as ever his dreams could have reached, had come after weary disappointment. The hero rises with the opportunity. The triumph draws forth all his powers, and warms them into an exuberant life, energy, and fertility. Beyond question, if his published discourses are to be the criterion, this was the time not only of Irving's highest success as a preacher, but when he most deserved his success. His 'Orations,' published in 1823, the second year of his ministry, and still more a volume of his early sermons, published after his death, show an intellectual vigour and freshness, a terseness, moral healthiness and literary finish, found in few of his subsequent writings, and in none of his subsequent volumes. The causes of this may appear by and by. The fact itself is to us as indubitable as remarkable.

When we peruse these early discourses, we can understand the extraordinary impres-

sion which Irving produced as a preacher. There is in them a swelling grandeur both of thought and language, a richness of conception, a grasp of imagination, and at times a wondrous poetry of spiritual feeling which still captivate the reader. The mind moves at a lofty range in communion with sentiments which, if sometimes exaggerated, are never unworthy. The reasoning may be cloudy and ambitious, and the tone frequently arrogant and scornful; but there is the glow of awakened thought everywhere, now breaking into splendid declamation, touching the reader with contagious enthusiasm, now expanding into trains of meditative imagery, and now rising into bursts of lyric sweetness. There is great fulness, if not much clearness and precision, of intellectual life; a breadth of sympathy and openness to the influence of literature and charms of nature—although not without the signs also of that negative taste and narrowing temper which afterwards more fully possessed him. In the sermons of Chalmers there may be more completeness and more sustained strength; there is certainly a more powerful play of clear-sighted intelligence, and a firmer and more definite development of ideas; but Irving rises to heights of spiritual insight, and loses himself in wild and touching strains of spiritual music, which Chalmers never reaches. And with all the affectations of his style, it is a higher style than that of Chalmers,—more living and poetical, less artificial and rhetorical. It is impossible that such discourses, delivered with all the accessories of physical impressiveness which characterised Irving, should not have produced a powerful sensation. His remarkable height, his dark gleaming countenance, his long black hair, his commanding action, above all, his voice of marvellous compass, with a peculiar liquid roll as of distant melody, breaking into enchanting bursts under which the listeners were contented to sit in wrapt enjoyment even when the utterances were not remarkable for wisdom, were elements sufficiently fitted to arouse excitement in an audience, and to make the preacher one of the most signal attractions of the day.

Mrs. Oliphant has combated very earnestly the notion that Irving was spoiled by his unprecedented popularity. So far she seems to us to have made good her point. The honesty and simple-hearted devotion and heroic aims of the man are undeniable through all the halo of applause that surrounded him. The publication of his 'Journal,' with its quaint revelations of his inner and outer life, shows that in that impassioned and somewhat theatrical orator, there

was, nevertheless, a servant of Christ. But it is another question how far his intellectual life suffered from the unwholesome atmosphere of admiration in which he lived, and the incessant demands upon his time. Irving's intellect was of that character which required, to preserve it in healthiness, at once large nourishment and frequent repose. Its intensity was excessive. It was constantly in a glow. And in order to keep it from wasting under the sleepless fervency of its own action, it needed to have a large communion with other intellects and with nature. It needed to go abroad and rest itself in the wide fields of literature, or in the calm delights of contemplaion. But from this repose it was cut off by his London career. All its over-confidence was stimulated, and the channels of its interest at the same time narrowed. His ever-stirring, intellectual excitement could only have been happily balanced by a broad and varied experience. But this was denied him; or rather, he wilfully rejected it. He scornfully cast aside whatever opposed his intellectual prejudices, and much that would have softened and expanded as well as enriched his intellectual vision. It is a curious anomaly which his mind presents. The diversity of sympathy, the wide range of culture, which all its glowing activities seem to crave, were the very things which he despised, which he would not have. Criticism never seems to have moved him, except to indignation. He assumed from the beginning an attitude of hostility to the press, and to the pulpit as represented in the ordinary preaching of the day, which is amusing if it were not savage in its ferocity. He has no good to say of any of the manifestations of literary activity around him,—saving only the poetry of Wordsworth, which seem to interest him more from the fact of its being a subject of opprobrium to others, than from its own intrinsic excellence. He can see nothing but a display of diabolic talent either in Byron or Southey; he recognises Macaulay's genius in the Milton Essay, but deprecates his admiration of Milton's opinions; in Brougham he discovers the 'archfiend' of radicalism. He is constantly setting himself against his age, and indulging in wild abuse of it. And if any desire to see of what grand rage he is capable, when he has the 'critics' for his victims, let them read the preface to the third edition of his 'Orations.' It is a wonderful piece of invective. But Irving misunderstood himself and his strength. The critics, or some of them at least, were his best friends, if he could only have seen it. With few exceptions they recognised his genius; they ad-

mired his power; but they would have had him mitigate his heady dogmatism, and open his mind to other truths than those which he kept constantly iterating.

Irving continued in his new sphere of labour successful and happy for some years. In the autumn of the second year, the 16th October, 1823, he was married to one of the daughters in the Manse of Kirkcaldy. This engagement, which he then honourably fulfilled, had been contracted in very early life—eleven years before. He was not unconscious that the choice made by the school-usher at Kirkcaldy was not well adapted to the station he had since attained. And in this respect his marriage was an unfortunate one. A woman of higher intellectual powers and judgment might have exercised a salutary influence over his later life. But from the uniform deference and affection displayed towards his wife in the letters published by Mrs. Oliphant, no one would suspect how little Mrs. Irving was fitted to be the help-mate of a man of genius.

His reputation was probably at its height in the beginning of 1824, when he published his 'Orations.' Notwithstanding the critics and the missionary societies, who were equally puzzled and indignant with him, a splendid career of usefulness seemed lengthening before him. In the meantime his intellectual life was restlessly working in different directions. Deeper and more comprehensive views of theological truth began to dawn upon him. He had at once a singular susceptibility to new impressions and a singular tenacity of holding to his most recent impressions when once formed. He was docile as a pupil, and yet dogmatic as a master. He had a constant craving for what was positive and authoritative in religion; and to any one who came to him with the offer of a new truth his mind was open. The teacher might be very inferior to himself, but decision and self-assurance went a great way with him, and when once he had taken a step, as he conceived, forward, no uncertainty, no light of evidence, would make him retract. He was thoroughly open-minded in short, but not in the least critical. He knew not what it was to doubt and hold his mind in suspense. Coleridge was his highest and best teacher, and to his influence we would be inclined to trace those aspirations after a higher theology which henceforth animated him. He himself confessed, in the dedication of his famous missionary sermon to the Highgate philosopher, 'You have been more profitable to my faith in orthodox doctrine, to my spiritual understanding of the word of God, and to my

right conception of the Christian Church, than any or all the men with whom I have entertained friendship and conversation.'

There was from the first, indeed, in Irving an impulse of poetic faith—a blending of imagination and of thought—which must have raised him to a more catholic sphere of doctrine than that which was presented in the popular theology of the Scotch Church. It is evident that he felt its deficiencies long before he left Scotland. The argumentative form and legal phrase in which this theology sets forth the most abstruse truths, and strives to apprehend them as distinct logical propositions,—its favourite ideas of *Election* and the *Covenants*,—could never have been welcome to a mind like Irving's, which was always seeking for something above and beyond the mere logic of any truth—for a living and authoritative voice, and not for the dead echoes of that voice, however correctly represented. He has said in his 'Orations,' in reference to the catechisms of his Church, that 'the rich and mellow word, with God's own wisdom inellow, and rich with all mortal and immortal attractions, is a better net to catch childhood withal than those pieces of man's wording, however true to Scripture, or compounded of the ingredients of human wisdom.' He was already, therefore, before he knew Coleridge, and as the result possibly of his own deeper intuitions and the study of such authors as Hooker, leaving behind him many of the popular ideas identified with orthodoxy in Scotland, and aiming after a more comprehensive conception of Christian truth,—taking its start from an Incarnate Person rather than from an abstract decree. The highly systematic, abstract, deductive creed of his early years was dear to him, yet he naturally rose above it; for his mind was unsystematic and concrete in the highest degree; and from the most perfect system he turned instinctively to the living and sympathetic Will of which it spoke, and to the Church which constituted the embodiment and organic development of that Will on earth. By a natural consequence, the Incarnation and the Sacraments became the central ideas of his theology,—ideas by no means ignored in the theology of Scotland, but which had long ceased in the popular Christian teaching—and, not least, in the most evangelical phase of it—to have due prominence assigned to them.

His views of the Incarnation became, it is well known, the subject of special attack; but whatever extravagance they assumed, they had their origin in a right theological instinct. It had become usual with the Evangelical party, both in England and Scotland, to regard the Atonement as a

doctrine, if not divorced from the Incarnation, yet to some extent apart from it. But Irving's mind could not rest in such a view. He saw the more than accidental—the organic—connexion between the Incarnation and the Atonement, between the Sufferer and His sufferings. The reality of Christ's human nature, as 'bone of our bone, and flesh of our flesh,' he felt to be the turning-point in a genuine Christian theology. He was at fault here, however, as frequently, in the extremely rhetorical manner in which he treated the subject. In his anxiety to vindicate the fact of Christ's human nature and its essential identity with the common nature of mankind, he fell into expressions which seemed to speak not merely of an *essential* but a *complete* identity, sin not excepted. He used unguardedly such expressions as that 'Christ's flesh was in *every respect as ours*;' that it was *fallen*, and *sinful*, and *rebellious*, and some stronger and less happy expressions than these, which we need not quote. It is evident to any one who studies his writings in a comprehensive and charitable spirit, that he meant nothing further by these, or by any expressions that he used, than that Christ shared our nature, as he himself explains, '*under the conditions of the fall*,' that in short He shared our very nature as it exists, weak, corruptible, and sorely tempted, and not any imaginary counterpart of that nature—any higher or unfallen nature, incapable of temptation. That he denied for a moment, or doubted Christ's perfect *holiness in the flesh*, no one can honestly think who will have the candour to weigh his several expressions, and especially his own explanations of his meaning, which on such a matter ought to have been at once accepted. The single difference between him and his opponents seems to be that Christ's '*holiness in the flesh*' was to him the expression of the constant indwelling of the Holy Spirit; to them rather a substantive quality, inhering in the humanity itself, or, as he said, 'a physical change in the created thing, the creature part.' The subject is one which shrinks from analysis and dogmatic explanation, and we shall not venture further into it. Nothing could have been more distant from the mind of Irving than any idea of heresy. He supposed himself here and everywhere to be vindicating the 'orthodox and catholic doctrine,' from which the fragmentary dogmatisms of modern theology had fallen away. It was the very depth and tenderness of his spiritual nature, his profound realisation of human misery, and of the need of salvation through the power of a living, brotherly sympathy and perfect

bearing of our sins, that forced the subject upon his attention.

'I believe,' he says, in a passage quoted by Mrs. Oliphant from his treatise on our Lord's human nature—and we cannot quote any more characteristic expression of his belief, in illustration of our remarks—'that my Lord did come down, and toil, and sweat, and travail in exceeding great sorrow, in this curse of temptation with which I and every sinful man am oppressed; did bring His divine presence into death-possessed humanity—into the one substance of manhood, created in Adam, and, by the fall, brought into a state of resistance and alienation from God, of condemnation and proclivity to evil, of subjection to the devil; and bearing it all upon His shoulders in that very state into which God put it after Adam had sinned, did suffer its sorrows, and pains, and swimming anguish, its darkness, vastness, disconsolateness, and hiddenness from the countenance of God; and by His faith and patience, did win for Himself the name of the Man of Sorrows, and the author and finisher of our faith.'

Here, beyond question, we have the very essence of his belief. The Incarnation regarded as a living fact—a mystery, indeed, but also an intense, intelligible reality—and the Atonement as its necessary expression, the outcome in sorrow, struggle, and victory of the 'presence of God in death-possessed humanity.'

It is difficult to say to what extent he was indebted to Coleridge for this higher theological sentiment, and to what extent it was the mere growth of his spiritual education. Of one thing we may be sure, that all Irving's catholic tendencies, and more poetic and concrete conceptions of divine truth, were greatly promoted by all he heard from the Highgate philosopher. Whatever he learned from Coleridge, however, he failed to learn what would have done him most good—some higher philosophy of nature and religion, into which he could have fitted all his speculations, or which at least would have served to balance the intensity of his intellectual and spiritual impulses. With all his craving after truth, his impatience and incapacity of system was fatal to philosophic breadth or comprehensiveness. Then his views of life and nature from the first—notwithstanding their glow and poetry of feeling—were tainted with a gloom verging on fanaticism. In this respect, as in others, he was strangely anomalous; responsive on one side of feeling to all the beautiful harmonies of creation; on the other side, in conflict with it, as a mere devil-creation, to be destroyed utterly. From the first this morbid tinge and distemper—a kind of Tertullian fierceness and darkness—coloured his thoughts. To his lofty but

oblique vision the world was utterly out of joint,—a disordered and devil-possessed world, incapable of salvation, save through strange crises and purification as by fire. Such a view appeared to him, as it did to many of the early Christians, of the very essence of the Gospel. The present time was the 'reign of Satan,' and it could never, by any gradual progression or natural inclination, develop into anything better or happier. It could only deepen in darkness and wickedness till the wrath of God overtook it; and on its ruins a millennial reign of purity and bliss arose.\*

It is not our intention, of course, to enter upon any examination of such a view. To our own minds it appears a profoundly mistaken creed; in apparent congruity with certain intimations of Scripture, but in reality opposed to the essential spirit and meaning of the Gospel. But whether this be so or not, there was something fatal in the hold which it took of Irving,—fairly possessing him till it shut out all other ideas, and became little else than a madness. Of all things it was the one most calculated to injure his peculiar mental temperament, which required, as we have said, expansion, and not contraction, of interest. Exclusive devotion to professional study was a sufficiently trying test for a mind like

\* Mrs. Oliphant has associated Irving's millenarianism with Coleridge; and evidently, from what Coleridge says in his 'Notes on English Divines,' p. 335., he and Irving had discussed the subject, and so far sympathetically. But every one who understands Coleridge's theological and speculative spirit will know that the Apocalyptic millenarianism to which Irving abandoned himself could meet no approval from the Highgate philosopher—was in fact in direct contrast to all his teaching. Accordingly, on reading what he says, in his 'Notes on English Divines,' under the head of 'Irving's Ben Ezra,' we see at once how widely they differed. The Coleridgean millenarianism amounts to nothing more than the belief 'that the objects of the Christian redemption will be perfected on this earth,—that the kingdom of God and His Word, the latter as the Son of man, in which the *Divine Will shall be done on earth as it is in heaven*, will come,—and that the whole march of nature and history, from the first impregnation of chaos by the Spirit, converges towards this kingdom as the final cause of the world.' In short, in the Apocalyptic sense of Irving, Frere, and their followers, Coleridge is no millenarian at all. The 'Apocalyptic millennium began under Constantine,' he says. He believes, of course, with every Christian, in the gradual evolution of the Divine plan in the history of our world—always unfolding itself in an advancing Christian intelligence, in 'better manners, purer laws,' and happier circumstances—the very opposite of the Irvingite millenarianism, which rejects all idea of historical development in favour of a series of miraculous and catastrophic dispensations. Strange, surely, that this latter idea should be supposed to be the object of a higher faith than the former!



his; but a study of such a narrowing character as millenarianism, which seized upon him with all the virulence of a mental disease, was baleful in the extreme. It became not merely a speculation, but an absorbing passion—a lurid gleam, fascinating his mind and excluding all other light. The common influences of earth, in their subtle healthiness and embracing every day beauty, were less and less felt; he could see no good in anything or in any one save in relation to his wild delusion of the near approach of a new heavens and new earth. Contemporary literature and philosophy were to him mere frivolity or mere devil-sport. Art, industry, commerce, and all the pregnant activities of his time, were nothing else than the play of folly or the uproar of wickedness. In a remarkable passage in one of his occasional discourses, preached at Birmingham, on 'The Curse as to Bodily Labour,'\* he elaborates, with something of his better imagery, but also with a saddening tediousness, this very view. It was impossible that this millenarian excitement, or rather *mania*, should not have exercised a wasting and deteriorating influence on Irving's mental powers. It appears to us, with his works before us, in all seriousness, to have *been his ruin*. Other minds, of lighter texture or more elastic versatility, may indulge in religious romance with impunity—may amuse popular audiences with Apocalyptic sketches; minds of harder tenacity may devote themselves to elaborate theories, and charts of the future history of the world;—but there was an intensity of spiritual passion, and a wild earnestness in Irving, which made such speculations no mere gentle excitement or ingenious exercise of logic, but a dangerous intoxication. Let any one only turn from the perusal of his 'Orations' or early sermons to his 'Babylon and Infidelity Foredoomed,' or even his 'Last Days,' and they will realise the truth of what we say. It is difficult to measure, by any ordinary standard, the declension of mental freshness and force in the first of these books, which was also the first of his prophetic writings. Through many pages of weary maundering, from which we vainly try to gather a coherent meaning, or the slightest thread of interest, he discourses of 'The Little Horn and the Beast,' and 'The Battle of Armagedon,' and the 'Time, Times, and Dividing of Time,' symbols from which the jargon of millenarian commentators have well nigh extracted all reverence. It is sad to see a powerful intellect bearing such a burden of trash, and adapt-

ing itself with a delirious fondness to the burden. In the 'Last Days,' there is more vigour and life of thought, but abundant evidence of the same deterioration. The poetic touches and the healthy natural feeling are gone, and the vigour sounds hollow, and dim, and flaccid beside the declamation of the 'Orations' or 'The Judgment to Come;' all is sicklied over with 'the pale cast' of a fevered despair, or an equally fevered rapture.

The baleful influence of Irving's prophetic studies appears everywhere in his writings. They turned the balance of his mind the wrong way just at the crisis of his intellectual fate. They, rather than the mere idolatry of fashion and popularity, shed a foul light upon him—'intoxicating, poisoning.' There was too much manly purpose and honest-hearted feeling in him to be utterly spoiled by the latter; but there was an original taint in his mind which made him a fatal prey to religious delusion. No intellect can well survive such poison—least of all an intellect like Irving's, in which imagination and passion so largely blended; which could not idly play nor coldly argue with this or any subject, but which seized with an eager and proud vehemence upon its most unintelligible splendours as a 'light from heaven.'

Mr. Hatley Frere, a prophetic enthusiast of the day, has been principally associated with Irving's unhappy devotion to prophetic study. 'Babylon and Infidelity foredoomed of God,' is dedicated to this gentleman, and in the dedication Irving confessed that the subject of the 'present times, as foretold in the book of Daniel and the Apocalypse,' was first suggested by his conversation. We have already adverted to his strange facility of impression in the hands of any confident teacher, however inferior in mental grasp to himself; and Mr. Hatley Frere was evidently not blameless in the matter. With that rare cruelty with which an inferior mind of narrow dogmatism will sometimes dominate over a larger intellect of vague and generous susceptibilities—a cruelty which poor Irving was destined to taste in its most humiliating bitterness—he had evidently marked his victim in the great preacher, and pursued him with his prophetic jargon till he hunted him down. But Irving was no unwilling victim. He may have offered objection, and even considered the matter 'more than a year,' as he says; but there was an unhappy congeniality in his whole mental constitution to the poison so adroitly administered. An unhealthy gloom kindred to the theme; an utterly uncritical and unhistorical spirit, a yearning

\* Sermons, Lectures, and Discourses. 1828.

impatience of faith, a craving after palpable effect, a rapture of Christian ambition, rather than a clear resting in the light and love of God,—all made Irving, if not a speaker with 'tongues,' what was still more melancholy, a believer of those who professed to speak with them.

We have been led onwards in our effort to analyse Irving as an intellectual phenomenon far beyond the period of his life to which we had advanced. We must now gather up very rapidly the events of his career as they followed in swift and tragic succession. After his marriage and the publication of his 'Orations,' Irving continued abundant in his ministerial labours. He was always a 'workman not needing to be ashamed,' rejoicing in his duty, and evidently discharging the irksome and unostentatious parts of it no less steadily than the preaching, by which he attracted thousands. But the tone assumed by Irving was not likely to ingratiate him with his brother-clergymen, and it is obvious that he stood aloof in his grandeur from the clerical society of the metropolis. He was a kind of portent which the ordinary evangelical clergyman did not know what to make of. The missionary societies were equally suspicious of him. Yet they could not afford to pass him over. Accordingly he was invited by the London Missionary Society to preach one of their anniversary sermons in May 1824. The manner in which he performed this duty was characteristic, and brought down upon him the ill-dissembled indignation of the directors and agents of the society. The idea of the missionary life in its loftiest phase was, as we have seen, familiar to him. He had long brooded over it, and the opportunity now granted him to hold forth to the world this idea was too tempting to be resisted. In a discourse of extraordinary length he unfolded his theme to the admiration, but also to the bewilderment, of many of his audience. He had not a word to say of congratulation of success; not a word of money or of means, of committees or of agents. It was the ideal missionary after the apostolic mould that he depicted—'without staff or scrip, without lumber or provision, abiding with whomsoever would receive him; speaking in haste his burning message, pressing on without pause or rest through the world lying in wickedness; apostle responsible to no man; a messenger of the Cross.' The society expostulated through Mr. Orme, their secretary, as to what they conceived to be the misrepresentations of the discourse; but he elaborated it into a 'Series of Orations, in Four Parts,' and gave it to the

world with the striking dedication to Coleridge from which we have already quoted.

In the following year the Continental Society employed his services, and his sermon to them gave rise to scarcely less commotion. This sermon was in fact the germ of the 'Babylon and Infidelity Foredoomed,' and if he inflicted much of the tediousness of the volumes as they now stand upon the audience, we confess to some sympathy with those 'leading members of committee' who, we are told, 'had neither Christian patience nor decorum to hear the preacher out, but abruptly left the place.' His unhappy communications with Hatley Frere had by this time begun, and his mind taken its inveterate and fatal bias towards the study of prophecy.

As yet, however, other and higher studies shared his attention. The doctrines of Baptism and the Trinity greatly occupied his thoughts, and were the subjects of extended pulpit exposition. The death of his eldest child fixed his mind intently on the former subject, and gave an impulse to his Sacramentarian views. This great sorrow in fact exercised a powerful influence on the whole of his subsequent life. 'No other event penetrated so profoundly the depths of his spirit,' and there is a deep-hearted and nameless tenderness in all he writes about it. To this event we owe the very interesting 'Journal,' which forms a considerable part of Mrs. Oliphant's first volume. It is a quaint and striking autobiography—as characteristic perhaps as anything of the kind that ever was written, and formed the daily transcript of his doings, sent to Mrs. Irving, who remained at the Manse in Kirkcaldy for some time after the loss of their child. The laborious devotedness which it records—its frank unreserved confidences, with that strange touch of magnanimity in them, as in all he says and does—the beautiful light of affection playing through all, and softening all, shedding something of nature over the high-pitched narrative of his priestly offices day by day, make a strange and touching picture. None can doubt the genuineness of the man after such a self-revelation. But it is scarcely less conclusive as to the singular defects of his intellectual character. Touching and thoroughly honest, there is yet no familiarity and playful undress in it, and not only no humour but a total absence of observant shrewdness. We confess that everywhere this over-solemnity, this grand priestly air, tires us in Irving, and is, to our apprehension, a notable defect of intellect.

Irving's prophetic hopes took a more confident tone from intercourse with Henry Drummond, and certain meetings at his

house at Albury, in 1826. In his preface to 'Ben Ezra,' he has given a remarkable description of these meetings, to which we refer our readers as among his most characteristic passages. The preface altogether is esteemed one of his finest compositions, and amid a good deal of tediousness and digressive declamation, the vice of all his latter writings, contains some very eloquent passages.

This tediousness is so much a part of himself, and unhappily of most of his writings, that it deserves some notice. Perhaps one of the most prominent indications of it occurs at this period of his life on the occasion of the opening of his new church, in Regent Square. Dr. Chalmers is the complainant. He had come to London to open the new church. The eager and crowded congregation had assembled to hear him; they had been already three hours assembled before the service began. Irving said he would assist him by reading a chapter. '*He chose the longest in the Bible, and went on for an hour and a half.*' On another occasion he assured Chalmers he would be 'short.' 'How short?' he asked. 'Only an hour and forty minutes,' was the reply. The lengthiness of his sermons, even at the height of his popularity, or at least after the first flush of it, was plainly a frequent subject of remonstrance on the part of the kirk session. But he was inaccessible to remonstrance. 'I told them,' he says, in his 'Journal,' 'that I would submit to no authority on that matter. I am resolved that two hours and a half I will have the privilege of.' What was this? Not egotism, at least not in any vulgar sense; but a want of fitness and consideration—an intent and solemn tone of mind savouring of egotism, but with nobler elements mixed. He had no thought for the time, save that which possessed him; he never looked around and realised the thoughts of others. It was nevertheless an intolerable infliction, even at the hands of such a preacher as Irving, as it must have greatly weakened the effects of his oratory. It takes from the life and permanence of all his writings; and his hearers were sometimes as severely visited as the poor boys at the school of Kirkcaldy.

Up to this time, whatever might have been thought by many of Irving's extravagances, none had accused him of heresy. But now, in 1828, arose the first rumours of his heretical views as to our Lord's human nature. 'An idle' clergyman, of the name of Cole, one of those creatures not unknown at all times in the Church, who having failed themselves to interest any auditory, prey upon unwary preachers having the misfor-

tune to be popular, first set abroad those rumours, which ere long spread into Scotland, and kindled something of a commotion there. The 'Christian Instructor,' a periodical at that time under the management of Dr. Andrew Thomson, whom Irving has thoroughly well described as 'a gladiator of the intellect, his weapons being never spiritual but intellectual *merely, and those of an inferior order,*' opened its logical batteries upon him in a series of elaborate articles not without ingenuity, but woefully arid and unintelligent. We have sought them out and tried to read them at the expense of having our notions very much confused on the subject. According to what we have already said, Irving was no heretic on this or on any doctrinal point. His vehement rhetoric hurried him into unguarded expressions; but even when he was most at fault there was a principle at the root of his declamation. A Saviour who could not be tempted as he himself was, in whom the process of conflict, and passion, and victory was in any sense phantasmal, and not real and living as his own experience, was to him no Saviour at all. His deep feeling of the identification of Christ with the nature which He came to redeem, and of the importance of the truth to the whole system of Christian doctrine, led him into exaggeration; but it is impossible, in the face of his own earnest reiterations, to accuse him of having impugned the perfect holiness of Christ in the flesh. The question was one which ought never to have been agitated, and which certainly received no illumination from the discussion that ensued. To no other logic save that of the Evangelicalism, then beginning its rampant career in Scotland, could Irving, on account of his views on the Incarnation, have appeared in the light of a heretic. Irving uses a very remarkable expression, in a letter to Chalmers, at this time—having really more of the character of a prophecy than anything attributed to him or his followers. 'Mind my word,' he says, 'the Evangelical party in the Church of Scotland will lay all flat, if they be not prevented.'

But the Church of Scotland was at this time in one of those panics of orthodoxy to which all Churches are liable. Mr. Campbell of Row, a name since well known in religious literature, had broached certain views as to the universal love of God to man, and the comprehensiveness of the Atonement, which had startled not only his Presbytery, but gradually disturbed the whole of the west of Scotland. There was a natural affinity of sentiment between Mr. Campbell and Irving, and in the autumn of this same year, they made each other's ac-

quaintance in Edinburgh. Irving had made a visit to the northern metropolis to give his lectures on Prophecy. The excitement with which he was received was greater than on any former occasion. Crowds assembled to hear him as early as five in the morning, and Chalmers records that he tried in vain to force his way into the church through the excited multitude. It was in the midst of all this enthusiasm, of which he was the centre, that the quiet minister from the Gairloch sought out the great orator to consult him in the midst of his difficulties. Irving welcomed him with the characteristic exclamation, 'God may have sent me instruction by your hands.' Whatever may have been the special nature of their communications, their names were henceforth bound together as the most conspicuous of a group destined to be offered on the altar of Scotch orthodoxy.

It is impossible to look back upon the excitement which then prevailed in Scotland, and the consequences which flowed from it, in the expulsion of Mr. Campbell, Irving, and others, from the National Church, without a feeling of profound sadness. We shall not use harsh words of Dr. Chalmers or of any others, although we have nothing to say in mitigation of the language that Mrs. Oliphant employs on this subject. Chalmers perhaps could not have arrested the progress of the doctrinal furor then animating the Church, any more than afterwards he could arrest the course of the ecclesiastical excitement under which she so rapidly moved forwards to her disruption. With greater clearness, consistency, and breadth of mind than Irving, he was yet too unhappily like him in the failing of being easily moved by minds of inferior power but more dogmatic hardihood. He had the horror which every mind that has canvassed doctrinal questions from various points of view has of being involved in a heretical squabble on his own account. Unable to lead (Mrs. Oliphant is wrong in supposing he could have done this as a matter of course, and in virtue of his mere position), and deeply disliking the logical janglings into which such discussions almost always degenerate, he kept himself aloof from them; he was not (we understand) a member of the General Assembly of 1831, which deposed Mr. Campbell, and shook an ominous warning in the face of Irving. The story is that he was resident at Burntisland, and that on looking into the newspapers next morning he exclaimed, with a kind of relief, that, 'one vote would not have made any difference.' This may seem directly to justify Mrs. Oliphant's imputation of cowardice; and certainly the church

and the public had a reasonable claim for something else at Chalmers' hand.

But it was not any communication of doctrinal excitement from the banks of Gairloch that was chiefly to move Irving. Notwithstanding the suggestions of his magnanimous humility, he had nothing to learn from Mr. Campbell in doctrinal comprehensiveness. But ere long a new and very different excitement took its rise along these quiet banks, on which the calm of nature rests so sweetly; and this strange movement was destined to give a new impulse altogether to Irving's life and fortunes. In a little farm-house of Fernicarmy, at the head of the Gairloch, there had lived and died, in an odour of sanctity, a young woman of the name of Isabella Campbell. Her parish minister had written a memoir of her, which attracted a wide-spread attention, and brought many pilgrims to visit the spot where she had lived and prayed. These visits and the saintly reputation which had gathered around the name of Isabella, had a very remarkable effect upon her surviving sister Mary,—gifted with the same spiritual temperament, with powers of mind of no ordinary character, and moreover, with the 'personal fascination of beauty.' The full details of this girl's story will be found in Mr. Story's memoir, to which we have already referred. Suffice it to say here, that she professed by and by not only to be miraculously cured of an apparently mortal sickness under which she was labouring, but to have received 'the gift of tongues,' which had been lost since the time of the primitive Church. The contagion of her spiritual enthusiasm spread along the shores of the Clyde. A quiet family at Port Glasgow, of the name of Macdonald—sober, steady people, it is said—became subjects of the same ecstatic influence. The news of the wondrous gifts soon travelled to London, and were caught up by Irving as an approaching realisation of his prophetic dreams. He does not seem to have hesitated for an instant. His mind was all a-fire; his heart was miraculously akin to all wonders and 'splendours'; and he hailed the manifestations in the west of Scotland as merely the natural answer to his aspirations and prayers.

In a short while manifestations of a similar character appeared among his own flock; at first privately, at certain meetings they held in the early morning, about the time of the sitting of the General Assembly which deposed Messrs. Campbell and M'Lean. He was greatly excited by the prospect of this assembly; and shortly after its close he wrote to his friend Mr. Story, strongly

denouncing its proceedings. In the same letter he added, 'you keep too much aloof from the good work of the Spirit which is proceeding beside you. Two of my flock have received the gift of tongues, and prophecy. . . . Draw not back, brother, but go forward—the kingdom of heaven is only to be won by the brave. Keep your conscience unfettered by your understanding.' The attitude of rational doubt, of calm inquiry, was unknown to him. He had gradually intensified by over-indulgence the mystical, and what we may call the *thaumaturgic* side of his mind, originally too strong, till he was prepared to see miracles any day. The prophetic utterances from the Gairloch, therefore, were no astonishment to him. They were not objects for a moment of curiosity, but from the first of faith. He evidently expected their appearance in his own congregation; and when they did make their appearance he could not refuse to acknowledge them. He hesitated, indeed, to recognise them in the public Service for a while, but only for a while. He had gone too far to pause; he saw his own dilemma, and urged it before the Presbytery afterwards, with a puzzling bluntness of logic:—

'For look you at the condition in which I was placed,' he says. 'I had sat at the head of the Church, praying that these gifts might be poured out on the Church. I believed in the Lord's faithfulness, that I was praying the prayer of faith, and that He had poured out the gifts on the Church, in answer to our prayers. Was I to disbelieve that which in faith I had been praying for, and which we had all been praying for?'

It would not serve any good purpose to enter into an examination of the pretended gift of tongues, whether as manifested in the west of Scotland or in London. That there was nothing miraculous in it, it is needless for us to say; that it was from beginning to end a gross delusion—in some cases a shallow imposture—we feel bound to say. Mary Campbell herself was probably half enthusiast, half impostor. Her character comes out in a very ambiguous light in Mr. Story's memoir. A Mr. Baxter, of Doncaster, who had been among the earliest and most prominent of the speakers with tongues connected with Irving's congregation, and who appears to have been a thoroughly earnest, but weak-minded man, ere long recanted, and wrote a 'Narrative of Facts' explanatory of his delusions. Little, however, is to be made of it, or indeed of anything that one has read or can learn of the subject. There is not a thread of reason, of sense, or of utility—in a word, of moral meaning, throughout the whole

business. Save as a picture of human weakness, we honestly confess that it has little interest for us even of a psychological kind. And that a mind so rich and grand as Irving's should have sunk so low as to have been befooled by such pretended prophecies would really have been unintelligible, had we not been able to trace the steps by which he passed from one degree of excitement to another. The faith, or rather the credulity and presumption together, which can profess to expound with confidence the destinies of the world from the unintelligible symbols of the Apocalypse, appear to us capable of any absurdity. If they stop short of the extravagances of Irving, it is not any consistency or remnants of reason that save them.

The disorders introduced by the 'prophets' into the once staid congregation at Regent Square did not, of course, long pass without notice. The London newspapers once more opened their fire upon the preacher whom they had not spared in the heyday of his fame. The Presbytery looked on with amazement; but as Irving had withdrawn himself from formal connexion with them, did not know very well what to do. The blow at length came from the quarter that perhaps he least expected, and whence it fell most cruelly. The members of his kirk session had hitherto stood by him with a hearty unanimity in all his difficulties. Only a year before they had subscribed along with him a declaration in which they repudiated with abhorrence 'any doctrine that would charge with sin, original or actual, our blessed Lord and Saviour Jesus; and when the London Presbytery had condemned him, they withdrew with him from their jurisdiction, and appealed to the general Church of Scotland. They were his best friends, to whom his heart clung, and who cordially loved and admired him in turn. It was from this body of men that there now came to Irving first remonstrance, then appeals, and finally threats. Under all he was alike immovable. Pliable as a child in the hands of his prophets, open to impression to all who came to him with an offer of truth, when once he has yielded to the impression, he remains unassailable by any argument or reason, with that strange mixture of facility and yet of obstinacy, of docile faith and yet of blind wilfulness, that characterises him. 'He is so thoroughly convinced in his own mind, that it is impossible to make an impression upon him,' writes his sister-in-law.

Unable to move him, the kirk session and trustees of the church are driven to take such legal steps as seem fit to them. Sir E.

Sagden's opinion is taken as to what they should do. He advises them to make complaint to the Presbytery of London, whose jurisdiction they had shortly before wilfully set aside. It was rather a humbling necessity; but they had no alternative but to leave matters alone or proceed as they were directed. Irving sent them a letter of solemn adjuration, protesting that the work against which they were proceeding was 'the work of God—verily the mighty work of God, the most sacred work of the Holy Ghost—which to blaspheme is to blaspheme the Holy Ghost;' but feelings of deep opposition had by this time been engendered, and they made a formal complaint to the Presbytery, setting forth in detail the disorders which he had introduced into the Church service.

The issue of the investigation before the Presbytery could not be doubtful. The disorders complained of were unquestionably contraventions of the order of Presbyterian service, for which the church had been built and set apart. It is needless to urge on the other hand the question upon which Mrs. Oliphant has enlarged. 'Is there anything in the constitution of the Church which forbids the exercise of the prophetic gift, supposing it to be real?' Who was to determine the reality of such a gift? What rational inquiry could there be into a pretension which in its very character divorced itself from all reason? Neither Irving nor his followers gave or could give any evidence of the reality of the assumed gift. His own reiterated *ipse dixit*, in his speech before the Presbytery, that he had asked, and the Lord had given, is all he urges or can urge; and surely it was his part to show, or to try to show, by some tangible evidence, the reality, rather than the Presbytery's part to investigate it. Irving deserves every sympathy under the charge of heresy for which he was finally condemned and expelled the Church by the Presbytery of Annan which ordained him; but we cannot blame the Presbytery of London in their dealings with the disorders which he had openly permitted and sanctioned in Regent Square Church. The charge of heresy was, if not actually unfounded, yet in many respects ignorantly urged and incompetently disposed of. It would be a very liberal or else a very narrow judgment that would conclude the Presbytery of Annan the fitting arbiters of a question of so much complexity and delicacy as Irving's views on the Incarnation. But the question before the Presbytery of London was, after all, a practical one, which they were as competent to settle as any

other body of men. The disorders in the Church service were abundantly proved; they were admitted on all hands. It was equally plain that they had imparted to the service a new character; it was no longer the Presbyterian service, or the 'forms of worship and mode of discipline of the Established Church of Scotland,' for which, according to the trust-deed, the Church had been expressly instituted. A plea of *special divine* right to set aside the old and institute new usages of worship, is one which no church court could entertain, and which if it did it could never competently dispose of.

This conclusion shut the Regent Square Church against Irving and his prophetic followers, and virtually severed him from the Church of Scotland. He was not deposed, indeed, by the Presbytery of Annan till the spring of the following year, March, 1833. But with his departure from Regent Square Church his career as a Presbyterian minister was over. Not only so, but his public career may be said to be ended. Henceforth the nominal head of a new sect, he is dead alike to the world and the Church which he had disturbed.

We shall not follow him into the comparative obscurity of the two remaining years of his life. So far as we can understand them from Mrs. Oliphant's description—and she is, perhaps purposely, not very clear in her statements as to the relations in which he stood to the 'apostles and prophets'—Henry Drummond and others—upon whom, as its pillars, he built his new 'Catholic and Apostolic Church'—they were sorrowful and somewhat darkened years. To a nature like Irving's the wrench from the Church of his fathers, wildly as he may have denounced her coldness and her shallow theology, was a blow that went to his heart. This Church was still to him that of his early love, which he had lauded in his first successful years as the most perfect Church on earth; and amidst all the raptures of his new faith he could not easily forget it. There were evidently also personal causes for disappointment. The apostles and prophets that had gathered around him actually raised their voice against him, and for a time withheld their sanction from his preaching. We confess to a feeling which we would rather not clothe in words, as we think of the last and dark indignity to which his great, if erring, spirit was subjected. It was an unhappy fate in his case—certainly, for the greater to serve the lesser.

In the autumn of 1834 he set out on a mission to Scotland, commissioned as a 'prophet' to do a great work there for his Church. He had not been deemed

worthy of the higher office of 'apostle'; and amongst the worthies who had assumed this office in London his presence appears to have been somewhat of an embarrassment. It is sufficiently intelligible, therefore, that the voice of 'prophecy' should call him to Scotland. He travelled northwards through Herefordshire and Wales; and from point to point on his journey sends letters to his wife so touched with a gentle sadness, and so beautiful in the tender picturesque glimpses they give of the scenery through which he passes, that there are few can read them without emotion. How his mind seems to expand and gain its early freshness in contact with nature! More than ever we feel what a ruin the dank unhealthiness of millenarian superstition has made of this man.

He was unwell almost from the beginning of his journey; but he braved his illness and fatigues with a mingled manfulness and credulity pathetic to contemplate till he reached Liverpool, where his wife joined him, and they proceeded to Glasgow. Here he rallied for a brief space; but all noted the change in his appearance — 'his gigantic frame' bearing 'all the marks of age and weakness;' and 'his tremendous voice no longer firm, but faltering.' The 'word of the Lord' had come to him that he would recover, and his wife had 'never a doubt of it;' but he sank in a rapid consumption, and died on the 8th of December, with the words on his lips, 'If I die, I die unto the Lord. Amen.'

Our estimate of Irving has been sufficiently indicated. At least we have nothing more definite to add. It is impossible, we think, to read his works, or at least such of them as any longer possess a literary interest, without recognising his remarkable powers of mind. It is impossible to read Mrs. Oliphant's volumes without something of love and admiration for the man. It has been to us equally impossible not to recognise his great defects both of character and intellect — defects which wrecked the latter, and only left the former untouched because its native purity was more than proof against the deteriorating weakness which so deeply mingled in it. We cannot acknowledge in him the hero, pursuing his path through inevitable conflict and radiance of tragic glory which she has painted him; but neither can we allow him to be the fanatic or charlatan that others have supposed him to be. He is not without heroic mould; yet the mould is flawed and distorted at different points. He would have been greater, if not so grand. If his spirit

had been less theatric, he might have risen to genuine sublimity.

ART. VIII.—1. *A History of Discoveries at Halicarnassus, Cnidus, and Branchida.* By C. T. NEWTON, M.A., Keeper of the Greek and Roman Antiquities, British Museum; assisted by R. P. PULLAN, F.R.I.B.A. London: 1862.

2. *The Mausoleum of Halicarnassus Restored, in conformity with the recently-discovered Remains.* By JAMES FERGUSON, Fellow of the Royal Institute of British Architects, &c. London: 1862.

It has been a favourite topic with moralists and poets, in all ages, to inveigh against the vanity of those who strive to secure to themselves, by costly and elaborate monuments, that fame after death which they had not earned by the actions of their lives, and who thus, in the fine language of Cowley, 'by the proofs of death pretend to live.' Nowhere, certainly, is this truth more forcibly impressed upon the mind than as one wanders through the long line of tombs that border the Appian Way, in an almost continuous series, from the gates of Rome to the hills of Albano. Sepulchres of the most massive construction arise on each side, the solid masonry of which has defied the destructive agencies of near two thousand years, and still looks as if it might defy them for two thousand more; while the profusion of architectural and sculptured fragments that lie scattered around them sufficiently attest the elaborate decorations with which they have once been ornamented. But in the great majority of cases there remains not one line or letter of inscription to record to posterity the name of the individual over whose remains was raised this costly structure.

There are, however, some notable exceptions to this remark. The tomb of Cecilia Metella is one of the most striking and conspicuous of the monuments of Roman greatness; and that 'stern round tower of other days' has rendered her name familiar to thousands who would never have heard of the wife of Crassus or the daughter of Metellus Creticus. Still more remarkable has been the fortune in this respect of Mausolus, prince of Caria. The obscure despot of a petty province of Asia Minor has been raised to immortality by the celebrity of his tomb alone; and the monument erected to his memory by the affection or ambition



of his wife was long regarded as one of the wonders of the ancient world, while it has given to the whole class of similar monuments a name that has been adopted and incorporated into the language of every civilised nation.

There is abundant evidence that it was not solely, or even principally, on account of its magnitude that the far-famed tomb of Mausolus at Halicarnassus was ranked by the ancients, with the Pyramids of Egypt and the Colossus of Rhodes, among the seven wonders of the world. It owed this preeminence to the beauty of its architectural design, and in even a greater degree to the excellence and variety of the sculptures, upon which four of the most eminent artists of the day had bestowed their skill. Lucian, in one of his humorous Dialogues of the Dead represents Mausolus as arrogating to himself a superiority over all the other shades, on account of his possessing a tomb which surpassed all others in size as well as in the beauty of its decorations, 'being adorned with figures of men and horses of the most admirable design, and wrought in the finest marble, so as to surpass in this respect even the most splendid temples.' Pliny also tells us expressly that it was to the sculptures with which the Mausoleum had been enriched by Scopas and his rival artists that that monument owed its place among the wonders of the world; and the language of Vitruvius is precisely to the same effect. The monument itself long remained to tell its own tale, and appears to have survived through many centuries. We have, indeed, reason to believe that it was still in existence, and retained at least some portion of its pristine magnificence, down to a late period of the Middle Ages. But from that time all trace of it had been lost; and only a few years ago the most celebrated of all sepulchres might well have been cited as one of the aptest illustrations of the vanity of all such monuments. The period of its destruction was unknown, but that destruction had been so complete that the very site was uncertain. Mr. Donaldson, who visited Halicarnassus early in this century, and examined its remains with the eye of an architect, could only say, 'Of the tomb of Mausolus there are no remains, and it is difficult even to fix its site.' Mr. Newton was the first to indicate its true position; but even after this, Lieutenant Spratt, who was employed by the Admiralty to make an accurate survey of the locality, assigned to it a different situation; while the learned German traveller, Dr. Ross, who visited Halicarnassus in 1844, differed again from

the conclusions both of Mr. Spratt and Mr. Newton.

But though all trace of the building itself had thus been lost, there remained to us a brief description of it by Pliny, which, though extremely concise and obscure, was more detailed than most similar notices preserved to us by ancient writers, and contained some precise statements of numbers and dimensions which bore the appearance of being derived from an authentic source. Hence the restoration of this celebrated building became one of those problems which has exercised the ingenuity of modern artists ever since the revival of a taste for classical architecture. 'What the squaring of the circle is to the young mathematician, or the perpetual motion to the young mechanician, the Mausoleum at Halicarnassus was to the young architect; and with the data at his disposal, this problem seemed as insoluble as the other two.' (*Fergusson*, p. 6.) Not less than forty or fifty of these designs have been published, and in one instance the author had the satisfaction of embodying his conception in a more tangible form than those of his rivals — the steeple of St. George's Church, Bloomsbury, having been avowedly constructed by its architect as a correct restoration of the Mausoleum. Fortunately for our opinion of ancient taste, we are now able to assert with confidence that this unsightly edifice is *not* like that which was so much extolled by Vitruvius and Pliny. 'All these designs (observes Mr. Fergusson) had only one thing in common, — that they were all wrong — some more, some less so, but none seizing what now turn out to be the main features of the design.'

But if there appeared no reasonable hope of arriving at any definite idea of the architectural features of the Mausoleum, there was still less prospect of our obtaining any conception of the sculptures with which it was once adorned, of those miracles of art to which it owed its chief celebrity. Even the subjects of them are not mentioned by any ancient writer, and we can only infer from the use of the word 'cælavit' by Pliny, in speaking of them, that they were principally works in relief rather than detached statues. At the same time, the fact that they were deemed worthy to occupy four of the most eminent sculptors of Greece during a period of several years, and that they were continued by them as a labour of love, and from a spirit of emulation, even after the death of the Queen Artemisia, is a sufficient proof that they must have been works of an extensive and varied character.

It was in this state of things that attention came to be directed to certain slabs of marble, adorned with bas-reliefs, which, were built into the walls of the castle at Budrum—the Turkish town occupying the site of the ancient Halicarnassus — and which had been noticed by successive travellers, from Thevenot, in the middle of the seventeenth century, to Mr. W. J. Hamilton, in 1837. The beauty of these fragments, which had the appearance of having belonged to the frieze of some ancient edifice of the best period of Greek art, naturally led to the supposition that they had been taken either from the Mausoleum itself or from some of the other buildings with which the ancient Halicarnassus was adorned, and had been removed from thence to the position they occupied in the castle by the Knights of St. John, who were known to have built the castle itself, during the period that they occupied Halicarnassus. Hence a wish was excited in this country, among persons interested in ancient art, that these marbles—the excellence of which had elicited high commendations from all who had seen them—could be rescued from a position where they were so difficult of access, and exposed to so many chances of total destruction. At length, in 1846, Sir Stratford Canning, then British Ambassador at Constantinople, succeeded in obtaining a firman from the Porte for their removal; and the sculptures in question were safely conveyed to England, and placed in the British Museum. Here their great merit was at once acknowledged; and though considerable difference of opinion was expressed, both by English and foreign archæologists, as to the degree of their excellence, it was generally admitted that they had formed part of the frieze of the Mausoleum itself—a supposition now converted into certainty by the discovery of other slabs, of a similar style, and of corresponding dimensions, in the immediate neighbourhood of the Mausoleum.

Public attention having been thus especially directed to the celebrated monument of Halicarnassus, and to the sculptures brought from it, a singular discovery was made, that three fragments of an ancient bas-relief which had long remained neglected in the villa of the Marchese di Negro, at Genoa, corresponded so precisely in their style, subject, and dimensions with those of Budrum as to leave no doubt that they had originally formed part of the same frieze. The fragments thus replaced were the more valuable, because they were in far better preservation than the greater part of those in the British Museum, which had suffered so much from atmospheric and

other injuries as to throw great difficulties in the way of a correct appreciation of their artistic merit. But while the sculptures thus collected were admitted to be a valuable addition to the existing remains of pure Grecian art, they were, nevertheless, more calculated to increase than to diminish our regret for the disappearance of the far more numerous and important works which had given a world-wide celebrity to the tomb of Mausolus; and it was natural for the public—or at least that small portion of the public which takes an interest in archæological researches—to inquire whether there was not any possibility of recovering, by excavations on the spot, some more considerable remains of these celebrated sculptures, such as had rewarded the labours of the excavators on the site of the temples at Bassæ and Ægina. The object was, in this instance, the more desirable, because the sculptures of the Mausoleum, from their well-ascertained date and known authorship, would be a peculiarly valuable contribution to our knowledge of the history of Greek art, and especially of that later Athenian school, of which so few authentic examples are at present known to us.

The circumstances of the case were indeed not promising. The building itself had, as already mentioned, been so entirely destroyed that its very site was still a matter of question; and a curious document, brought to light by Mr. Newton, from a writer of the sixteenth century, containing an apparently authentic narrative of the final destruction of the monument, in the year 1522, while it afforded a striking testimony to the remains of its original magnificence down to so late a period, seemed to prove also that these valuable relics had been then annihilated. We shall have occasion to recur in the sequel to the interesting narrative to which we refer. On the other hand, the important results obtained by excavations systematically carried on upon other ancient sites, and especially the extraordinary series of accidents that led to the restoration of the beautiful Temple of Victory at Athens, might lend some colour to more sanguine speculations as to the result.

The first point was evidently to determine the actual site of the Mausoleum, and the merit of this discovery is unquestionably due to Mr. Newton. In a memoir, published in the '*Classical Museum*,' in July 1847, he had already suggested the probability that the 'fragments of a superb Ionic edifice,' noticed by Mr. Donaldson, when he visited the ruins of Halicarnassus, were in fact the remains of the Mausoleum

itself, 'lying *in situ*;' and he was confirmed in this view when he had himself an opportunity of visiting Budrum, in 1856. He then observed that not only were the fragments on this particular spot of the finest period of Greek architecture, but that no other remains of a similar character were to be observed in any other part of the ancient city. Hence, when he was enabled, by the liberality of her Majesty's Government, to commence his excavations at Budrum, it was to this spot that his efforts were immediately directed, and they were soon rewarded by incontestable proofs that he was right in his original conjecture. His labours were continued until he had completely discovered the ground-plan of the long-lost edifice, and traced out the line of the *peribolus*, or surrounding wall of its sacred enclosure. Numerous architectural fragments, of a highly ornamental character, were also brought to light in the course of the excavations, together with four additional slabs belonging to the same frieze as those already in the British Museum, and various fragments of other sculptures, some of them of a high order of merit, but almost all in a very mutilated condition.

We cannot attempt to follow in detail the progress of the excavations which were carried on by Mr. Newton upon the site of Halicarnassus, from the month of November 1856 till that of March 1858. Those readers who are desirous to trace his operations step by step, will find them related in the fullest detail by Mr. Newton, in his recently-published work. Our purpose in the following pages will be to examine how far the results of these long-continued labours, under the direction of so competent a scholar and archæologist as Mr. Newton, have fulfilled the hopes naturally entertained from them by the public, and have enabled us to form a more correct idea of the long-lost Mausoleum, both as regards its architectural design and the sculptures with which it was decorated. The results of these researches had been already partially communicated to the public in two official reports from Mr. Newton, addressed to the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and laid before Parliament in March 1858 and August 1859, while many persons had become familiar with the most important of the sculptures discovered on the site, which have been for some time past deposited in the British Museum, though they are not yet accessible to the general public. But it was not until the appearance, in February last, of Mr. Newton's elaborate volume, that the whole results of the expedition were laid before the public, or that it be-

came possible for archæologists to appreciate the full extent of the advantages actually gained, and the additional materials obtained towards a knowledge of ancient architecture and sculpture.

There is indeed much in the form in which these results are even now produced by Mr. Newton to which we are disposed to take exception. The costly mode and form of publication, which have the effect of rendering the work itself inaccessible to the great majority of those who would be interested in its contents, might be excused, if it were really required for the adequate illustration of the subject; but many of the plates by which the folio volume now before us has been swelled to its present bulk, might undoubtedly have been spared, without omitting anything that possesses the smallest real interest. The perilous facility which the process of photography affords for reproducing every step in the progress of such labours as those in question, has misled Mr. Newton into laying before the public many trivial and uninteresting details, which contribute nothing to our real knowledge, either of the Mausoleum itself or the sculptures with which it was adorned. But it is a still graver defect in this volume that, while it contains much that is useless and unnecessary, it omits a great part of that which the public would have reasonably expected to see, and which would have formed a valuable addition to our knowledge. We find two large views of a single squared stone, and two others of a stone coffin, of the most ordinary construction; but we remark, with equal surprise and regret, that while these details are thus elaborately represented, and no less than seven plates are devoted to the illustration of the mediæval castle of Budrum, the greater part of the sculptures which form the most important result of the expedition have been unaccountably omitted. Mr. Newton has indeed figured the four additional slabs of the frieze representing the battle with the Amazons, and belonging to the same series as those previously known; but he has omitted the beautiful fragments containing a chariot race, which certainly belonged to a distinct frieze, and one apparently of far superior execution. Still more remarkable is it that he should not have thought fit to present us with the statue of Mausolus himself, the crowning-point of the whole monument; nor with the noble fragments of the horses of his chariot; nor even the admirable torso of the warrior on horseback\*, by far the finest

\* This fragment is generally considered to be that of an Amazon on horseback; but an attentive

work of art discovered in the course of the excavations. We should have been glad, also, to have seen the slabs from the castle at Budrum reproduced in connexion with those newly discovered: these important sculptures are not, so far as we are aware, published in any work generally accessible to the English reader\*, and certainly would have occupied with advantage some of the space now devoted to the mediæval towers and modern bastions of the Castle of St. Peter's. It is much to be regretted that the results of Mr. Newton's labours should be given to the public in a form so little calculated to render them generally useful; but it is still more lamentable that a work produced in so costly and elaborate a form should fail in presenting us with a complete and satisfactory view of the results actually obtained.

Before we proceed to inquire more particularly into the architectural questions connected with the Mausoleum, and to examine the elaborate attempt at its restoration by Mr. Pullan, it may perhaps be useful to some of our readers if we give a brief account of the history of Mausolus himself, and the circumstances that led to the erection of the monument which has given immortality to his name.

Mausolus, prince or despot of Caria, was the eldest of the three sons of Hecatomnus, a Carian by birth, who had for a considerable period ruled over that country with virtually sovereign power. Of the steps by which Hecatomnus attained to power we have no information at all, nor are we able to determine with any certainty the precise nature of his relations to the supreme authority of the king of Persia. But it is probable that he availed himself of the disturbed state of the Persian empire under the reign of Artaxerxes Mnemon to establish himself in a position of practical independence, without venturing openly to disclaim allegiance to the Great King. The policy of Hecatomnus was carried on and developed by Mausolus, who succeeded him in the year 377 B.C., and, during a

reign of twenty-four years, attained to an amount of wealth and power far exceeding that of any former ruler of Caria. He not only made himself master of all the Greek cities in that province, but of several of the neighbouring islands, together with portions of the adjoining provinces of Lydia and Ionia. Neither Hecatomnus nor Mausolus, however, ventured to assume the title of king: the Persian monarch was still emphatically 'the king' in the eyes of all the rulers of the Asiatic provinces, whether they exercised their authority nominally as his satraps or vicegerents, or openly defied it and assumed the position of independent potentates.

It was doubtless with a view to identify himself more completely with the Greek portion of his subjects, and to promote the extension of Hellenic influences in his dominions, that Mausolus determined to transfer his capital from Mylasa, the seat of government of Hecatomnus, to Halicarnassus, one of the most important of the Greek cities on the coast recently added to his dominions. Though both Hecatomnus and Mausolus were of Carian origin, and would consequently have been regarded by all persons of pure Greek descent as 'barbarians'—a name applied by them without distinction to all races that did not speak Greek—there can be little doubt that Mausolus had received, in part at least, a Greek education: and he appears to have been a man of sufficient ability to appreciate the superiority of the Greek civilisation of his time to that of the Asiatic nations by which he was surrounded. The favourable situation of Halicarnassus for commercial purposes, and the excellence of its port, as well as the natural strength of its position, were the circumstances that determined him in the choice of his residence: but not content with these advantages, he called in the assistance of Greek architects to embellish the city with splendid public buildings, and render it in all respects a capital worthy of his dominions.

So considerable were the additions thus made to the old city of Halicarnassus, that it assumed in great measure a new aspect; and it is cited with especial commendation by Vitruvius as an example of a city laid out upon a general plan so as to take the fullest advantage of the natural resources of the locality. The situation had something of the form of a theatre, formed by gentle hills rising round an oval basin in the centre, which constituted the principal port. On the low ground near the port was placed the Agora or Forum, while a broad street was carried round the curve, about half way up,

consideration of the details of the figure has convinced us that Mr. Newton is right in describing it as that of a warrior. The *anaxyrides*, or close-fitting trousers, though frequently found in works of art representing Amazons, are equally applicable to any Asiatic warrior.

\* Mr. Newton himself refers his readers to the engravings of these bas-reliefs, published by the Roman Institute of Archaeological Correspondence, a most valuable series of publications, but unfortunately little known in this country. Considering that these marbles have now been in England for sixteen years, it is a disgrace to our artists and archaeologists that they should not yet have been published in this country.

so as to resemble the *præcinctio* of a theatre. In the middle of this street stood the Mausoleum, 'a building constructed in so magnificent a manner as to be considered one of the seven wonders of the world.' On the summit of the citadel, which rose midway along the curve, stood a temple of Mars, while the two horns or extremities were respectively marked by conspicuous edifices — that on the right by the temple of Venus and Mercury, and that on the left by the royal palace, which was so placed as entirely to command a secret port, that served as the station of the royal fleet.\*

It will be observed, that in the passage just cited from Vitruvius the Mausoleum is noticed as if it formed part of the original design of Mausolus himself. There would have been nothing unsuited to the habits of Oriental thought in such a provision for his own monument, and it is not improbable that its position may have been already determined by himself, with reference to the general plan of the city. But the general testimony of ancient authors distinctly ascribes its construction to his widow, Artemisia, who succeeded him on the throne of Caria.

Artemisia was the second princess of the name who figures in the history of Caria. The exploits of the first, who commanded the contingent of Halicarnassus in the great expedition of Xerxes, will be familiar to most of our readers from the spirited narrative of them given by Herodotus. It was the energy and courage displayed by her at the battle of Salamis that called forth the exclamation from Xerxes himself, that 'his men had become women, and his women men.' The second Artemisia, who was very probably descended from her namesake, though we have no positive evidence of the fact, appears to have possessed much of the same masculine vigour of character. She was the daughter of Hecatomnus, and married — according to a custom prevalent in many Oriental countries, though wholly opposed to Greek ideas — to her brother, Mausolus, whom she succeeded on the throne of Caria. Her reign only lasted two years, during which she gave many proofs of her aptitude for command, and ruled over the dominions which she inherited from her husband with a strong and vigorous hand. The Rhodians having attempted to discard her authority, and emancipate themselves from the dependent condition to which they had been reduced by Mausolus, soon found that they had mistaken the character of the adversary with whom they had to deal, and

were speedily defeated and reduced to submission.

But it is not to her military prowess, or to the vigour of her administration, that Artemisia owes her place in history. 'The name of the Carian princess' (observes Mr. Newton) 'is associated for ever with the world-famous monument by which she has commemorated her husband's renown and her own sorrow.' Well were it, if the same lofty conception and liberal application of the noblest arts to monuments dedicated to the memory of the illustrious dead were to be met with in the structures of our own age!

'In the obsequies of Mausolus (says Mr. Newton) the refinement of Hellenic culture was happily employed in giving scope and meaning to Asiatic magnificence, and in converting an ephemeral and sumptuous pageant into an abiding monument of beauty.

'At the funeral games, four renowned rhetoricians contended for prizes in oratory and poetry, the theme being an eulogium on the departed prince. In this competition Theodectes obtained the prize for his tragedy "Mausolus," and Theopompus vanquished his master in rhetoric, Isocrates. It is to be regretted that no fragments of the prize compositions have been preserved to us; as they would probably throw light on the history of the Carian dynasty, and perhaps on the motive of the sculptures of the Mausoleum.

'While rhetoric and poetry were thus invited to celebrate the memory of Mausolus in fleeting words, the genius of the most famous architects and sculptors of the day was employed in the construction of his tomb. This monument was of the class called at a later period *Heroon*, but surpassing in beauty of design and sumptuousness of material all similar monuments in the ancient world. The architects were Satyrus and Pythius, who composed a treatise on the structure of the edifice, cited by Vitruvius, but which has unfortunately not been preserved. We learn from Pliny that the tomb was a peristyle building, surmounted by a pyramid, on the summit of which was a chariot group in marble. The sculptural decorations were chiefly executed by four renowned artists, Scopas, Leochares, Bryaxis, and Timotheus; a fifth sculptor, who seems to be the same as Pythius, the architect of the tomb, made the chariot group on the summit. The material was Parian marble of the finest quality. In the descriptions of this monument which have been handed down to us, its extreme costliness is especially dwelt upon, a statement which has been amply borne out by the discovery of its remains *in situ*.

'The extreme grief of Artemisia for the loss of her husband is said to have been the cause of her death, which took place B.C. 351. Her short reign of two years did not enable her to see the completion of the magnificent structure which she had commenced, but the artists who had been employed continued their work after her death till it was finished; and if we are to believe Pliny, this was a labour of love carried out

\* Vitruvius, lib. ii. c. 8.

with no other reward than the fame it won them.' (P. 56.)

There can be no doubt that a monument adorned with such splendid works of art would be preserved with jealous care as long as any respect remained for the arts of ancient Greece. Lucian, writing in the second century of our era, speaks of it as an object which the Halicarnassians took a pride and pleasure in showing to strangers; and we have no reason to suppose that at this time it was in any degree shorn of its original magnificence. Again in the latter part of the fourth century, Gregory of Nazianzus alludes to the Mausoleum in terms from which it may fairly be inferred that up to that period it still remained uninjured. The subsequent notices are less satisfactory; for though it is mentioned by Constantine Porphyrogenitus in the tenth century, and by Eustathius as late as the twelfth, as a monument still subsisting, we are hardly entitled to assume from mere passing notices in writers so vague and inaccurate as the later Byzantine compilers, that it still preserved its integrity. Mr. Newton supposes it to have been first reduced to a ruined condition by an earthquake; and the circumstances attending the discovery of the fragments belonging to the upper part of the building lend much probability to this conjecture.

But at whatever time the building first fell into decay, we learn with certainty that it had passed into a state of complete ruin before the year 1472, when a Venetian traveller, who visited the site in company with the expedition of Pietro Mocenigo, speaks of having seen some vestiges (*'vestigia quædam'*) of this celebrated monument among the ruins of the city. Halicarnassus had at that time been for seventy years in the possession of the Knights of St. John, together with the adjoining island of Rhodes; and it is certain that they had made use of the materials furnished to their hands by the ruins of the ancient city, including perhaps those of the Mausoleum itself, for the construction of the strong castle with which they fortified the rocky peninsula that commands the harbor. But notwithstanding all these chances of destruction, we learn from a curious account accidentally preserved to us, that even in the beginning of the 16th century the 'vestiges' still subsisting of the Mausoleum were far more considerable than the expression of the Venetian traveller would have led us to suppose. The narrative in question, which has been brought to light by the industry of Mr. Newton, is so curious that we give it entire:—

preparing to attack Rhodes, the Grand Master, knowing the importance of the castle of St. Peter, and being aware that the Turks would seize it easily at the first assault, sent some knights thither to repair the fortress and make all due preparations to resist the enemy. Among the number of those sent was the Commander de la Tourette, a native of Lyons, who was afterwards present at the taking of Rhodes, and came to France, where he related what I am now about to narrate, to M. d'Alechamps, a person sufficiently known by his learned writings, whose name I mention here only in order to make known my authority for so singular a story.

'When these knights had arrived at Masy (Budrum), they at once commenced fortifying the castle; and looking about for stones wherewith to make lime, found none more suitable or more easily accessible than certain steps of white marble, which rose in the form of a terrace in the midst of a level plain near the port, where had formerly been the great Place of Halicarnassus. They therefore pulled down and took away these marble steps, and finding the stone good, proceeded, after having destroyed the little masonry remaining above ground, to dig lower down in the hope of finding more. In this attempt they had great success; for in a short time they perceived that the deeper they went the more the structure was enlarged at its base, supplying them not only with stone for making lime, but also for building. After four or five days, having laid bare a great space one afternoon, they saw an opening as into a cellar. Taking a candle, they let themselves down through this opening, and found that it led into a fine large square hall, ornamented all round with columns of marble, with their bases, capitals, friezes, and cornices, engraved and sculptured in half-relief. The space between the columns was lined with slabs and bands of marbles of different colours, ornamented with mouldings and sculptures, in harmony with the rest of the work, and inserted in the white ground of the wall, which was all covered with histories and battle-scenes sculptured in relief. Having at first admired these works and entertained their fancy with the singularity of the sculptures, they ultimately pulled it to pieces and broke it up in order to apply it to the same purpose as the rest. Besides this hall they found afterwards a very low door, which led into another apartment, serving as a kind of antechamber, where was a sepulchre with its vase and helmet of white marble, very beautiful and of marvellous lustre. This sepulchre, for want of time they did not open, the retreat having already sounded. Having returned there the day after, they found the tomb opened and the earth all round strewn with fragments of cloth of gold and spangles of the same metal, which made them suppose that the pirates, who at this time swarmed along the coast, having had some inkling of what had been discovered, had visited the place during the night and had removed the lid of the sepulchre. It is supposed that they discovered in it much treasure. It was thus that this magnificent tomb, which ranked among the wonders of the world, after having escaped the fury of the barbarians, and remained standing for the space of 2247 years, was discovered and destroyed to repair the Castle of St. Peter, by

'In the year 1523, when Sultan Solyman was

the Knights of Rhodes, who immediately after this were driven completely out of Asia, by the Turks.\*

It must be confessed that this narrative was not calculated to raise our expectations of the probability of making important discoveries by excavations on the site of the Mausoleum; and if we are at first disposed to feel disappointed with the result of Mr. Newton's researches, we may perhaps, on second thoughts, feel grateful that even so much has been rescued from destruction. The architectural decorations have indeed disappeared to even a greater degree than might have been anticipated; but we have nevertheless obtained some important materials for the restoration of the edifice; while the sculptural remains that have been recovered, few and mutilated as they unquestionably are, still serve to give us some notion of the artistic treasures that are lost to us for ever.

It is unquestionably the fact, and is indeed admitted on all hands, that the architectural data obtained by the researches of Mr. Newton would not in themselves have been sufficient to convey to us any idea of the celebrated edifice to which they belong; and that we must still have recourse in the first instance to the description of the Mausoleum preserved to us by Pliny:—'Had not this description been extant (says Mr. Pullan), 'anything like a correct restoration would have been an impossibility, as neither the character of the design, nor the magnitude of the work, could have been inferred from the existing remains' (p. 159.). It is important to bear in mind, in considering the attempts that have been recently made to reproduce the original building, that they must still be based principally upon the same authority with those which have preceded them.

The celebrated passage of Pliny, which has so long exercised the ingenuity of commentators and architects, is to the following effect:—

'Scopas had as rivals in the same age, Bryaxis, and Timotheus, and Leochares, who should be mentioned together, because they were equally employed in decorating the Mausoleum with sculpture: this was a sepulchre erected by his wife Artemisia to Mausolus, King of Caria, who died in the second year of the 107th Olympiad. It was mainly owing to the artists just mentioned that this work came to be reckoned one of the seven wonders of the world. It extends on the north and south sixty-three feet, but is shorter on

the two fronts. The whole circumference is four hundred and eleven feet. It is raised in height twenty-five cubits, and is surrounded by thirty-six columns. This circuit is called the Pteron. The sculptures on the east side were by Scopas, on the north by Bryaxis, on the south by Timotheus, and on the west by Leochares. Before they had finished their work the queen died; but they did not cease from their labours until the work was completed, regarding it as a monument both of their own fame and of art. And to this day it is disputed which of their productions is of the greatest merit. A fifth artist was also joined to them; for above the Pteron there was a pyramid, equal in height to the lower part, contracting by twenty-four steps to a summit like that of a *meta*. At the top of all was a chariot with four horses, in marble, the work of Pythius: the addition of this completes the height of the whole work to one hundred and forty feet.' (*Plin. Hist. Nat.* xxxvi. 4.)

A very slight consideration of this passage is sufficient to show that it appears to involve inconsistencies and difficulties from which it is impossible to extricate ourselves without explanation from some other source. How, for instance, could a building which was only 63 ft. in length, and shorter on the other sides, have a circumference of 411 ft.? and, if the height of 25 cubits (27½ ft.) be applied to the Pteron, and the same height be allowed for the pyramid above it (which seems the most natural construction of Pliny's words), how are we to make up the whole height of 140 ft.? Whether or not Pliny himself had any distinct conception of the building which he undertook to describe, may well be doubted; but at all events it is certain that his description, taken by itself, is drawn up in such a form as to be utterly unintelligible to future generations. We cannot indeed wonder that, while they had no other assistance to guide them, the speculations of architects should have diverged so widely from one another, and from what we now know to be the truth.

The only other definite statement transmitted to us from antiquity was calculated to perplex the matter still more. Hyginus, a writer of little authority, enumerates among the seven wonders of the world, the monument of King Mausolus 'built of Parian marble, 80 feet in height and 1340 feet in circumference.' Vitruvius, though he alludes to a work describing the Mausoleum by the two architects Satyrus and Pythius, in a manner which would seem to imply that it was still extant in his day, has unfortunately left us nothing that can contribute to our knowledge of its architectural design. Lucian and Pausanias furnish nothing but vague admiration of its general splendour. The only other hint concerning it is found in Martial, who speaks of 'the

\* Guichard, 'Funérailles des Romains, Grecs, &c.' Lyon: 1881. We cite from Mr. Newton's translation, with some slight alterations.



Mausoleum hanging in the vacant air,\* a remarkable expression, which undoubtedly points to some corresponding peculiarity in the construction of the monument.

When we compare the two attempts that have been recently made to restore the Mausoleum, in accordance with the results obtained by the late excavations—the one by Mr. Pullan, the architect who accompanied the expedition, embodied in the plates to Mr. Newton's work, and to which Mr. Newton has given the sanction of his high authority †; the other subsequently put forward by Mr. Fergusson, in a separate publication, the first impression undoubtedly must be, that if it is still possible for architects to come to conclusions so widely different, there has been but little positive gain from the recent researches on the spot. And yet this conclusion would be greatly exaggerated. We unquestionably do not possess adequate materials for such a restoration as every one would desire to see—a complete reproduction of the original building, based on authentic and satisfactory evidence: but we have gained a certain amount of positive facts, which are the necessary conditions of the solution of the problem. And, what is perhaps the most important of all, we have obtained conclusive evidence, from the agreement of some of the ascertained dimensions of the building with those stated by Pliny, that the description given by that author, obscure and perplexing as it may be, is nevertheless derived from some authentic source; and that, while attempting to explain and reconcile his statements, we are not at liberty to reject them as worthless, or arbitrarily to alter his numbers in accordance with any preconceived hypothesis.

It is not difficult to understand, from what we know of the manner in which Pliny composed the vast miscellaneous compilation to which he gave the name of '*Natural History*,' how he should have left us a description so confused and unintelligible, but at the same time containing so much that was valuable. His reading was enormously extensive, but at the same time hasty and desultory; he was in the habit, as we learn from a well-known letter of his nephew, of making notes and extracts from all that he read, and this at all possible times, even

during meals or on a journey. The results of this process are apparent throughout his large and laborious work, into which the contents of his note-books have been frequently discharged, with scarcely any attempt at method or arrangement. Nowhere is this more strikingly the case than in that portion of his work which relates to the history of art; a subject of which he had evidently no real knowledge, but concerning which he had read a number of Greek authors, whose statements and opinions he has thrown together into one confused mass, without attempting to criticise their assertions or reconcile their discrepancies. Among these authors it is not improbable that he may have made use of the work on the Mausoleum by Satyrus and Pythius, already noticed as referred to by Vitruvius,—or rather perhaps some more compendious abridgment, taken in the first instance from that original work,\*—and may have jotted down from thence some accurate statements of dimensions, without troubling himself either to form a clear idea in his own mind of the building he was describing, or to transmit any intelligible conception of it to his readers. Now that we have the means of verifying them (remarks Mr. Fergusson), these figures are ten times more valuable than the most vivid description of the general appearance of the building would be to us: but it is only now that we feel this.'

Hence it will be found that, widely as the restorations proposed by Mr. Pullan and Mr. Fergusson differ in their general effect, they still possess many points in common; and the field of discussion between them is materially narrowed, as compared with the wide gulf of divergence that separates them from all previous designs.

The most important of the points which may now be considered as settled by the recent discoveries are the following:—

1. The determination of the ground plan of the building, by the extent of the foundations, which were found to occupy a quadrangular area of 127 feet in length by 108 in breadth. Throughout this extent the rock had been excavated to a depth varying from 4 to 15 feet, in order to receive the massive blocks of greenstone which had formed the foundations of the edifice. No doubt can therefore be entertained as to this being the actual area occupied by the base of the Mausoleum.

\* '*Ære nec vacuo pendentia Mausolea.*' Lib. i. Epigr. 1.

† It is but just to add that the merit or demerit of this design is due in great part to Lieutenant Smith, who, as stated by Mr. Pullan himself (p. 159.), had previously determined the general character of the edifice, and especially the form of the pyramid. His restoration is appended to his official report, published among the papers presented to Parliament.

\* Mr. Newton supposes him to have made use of the original work; but this seems to us scarcely probable, as no notice of it is found in the list of authorities given by Pliny himself for the contents of each book.

2. The discovery of portions of the chariot group which crowned the whole edifice, sufficient to enable us to determine with tolerable certainty that its height was about 13 or 14 feet.

3. The ascertaining the true dimensions and form of the pyramid that formed the upper portion of the building. Numerous blocks were found, which obviously formed part of the steps of which this was composed, and as the number of these is known to us from Pliny, it is not difficult to obtain a correct knowledge of the general form and character of the pyramid thus constituted. The result is remarkably different from that adopted by Mr. Cockerell and Mr. Falkener, in their recent attempts at the restoration of the Mausoleum,—the last which had been made previous to the late discoveries. Both these eminent architects had been misled by Pliny's expression of the pyramid contracting 'in metæ cacumen'—to give it an elevation out of all proportion to its breadth. The unsightly effect thus produced has been now clearly shown to have formed no part of the original design. Both Mr. Pullan and Mr. Fergusson, though differing as to the precise dimensions, concur in the general form of the pyramid.

4. The various architectural fragments discovered on the spot have been sufficient to enable us to restore the whole 'order' of the Pteron, or second story of the building, with very tolerable certainty; and it is found that the result accords as nearly as possible with the 25 cubits, or  $37\frac{1}{2}$  ft., assigned by Pliny to that portion of the edifice. This remarkable coincidence, while it materially confirms our faith in the accuracy of that author's numerical statements, supplies valuable assistance towards determining the dimensions of the remaining portions.

5. It appears to result beyond a doubt from the existing evidence, that the Pteron, which, as we learn from Pliny, was surrounded by 36 columns, was simply peripteral—i. e. that the columns were ranged in a single row, and that there were 11 of them on the longer faces, and 9 on the shorter. In this respect both the restorations of Mr. Pullan and Mr. Fergusson agree; and the latter author says, 'No other arrangement seems possible with the evidence now before us.' This result is the more remarkable, as both Mr. Cockerell's and Mr. Falkener's attempts at restoration were based principally upon the assumption of the *dipteral* arrangement of the colonnade of the Pteron; a 'discovery' upon which the latter writer especially dwells with much complacency. Mr. Newton also (writing in 1847), censures 'the inartificial scheme' of those previous restorers

who made Pliny's 36 columns surround a solid structure in a single row. Yet we are now compelled to admit that this 'inartificial scheme' was that really adopted in the building which was so long the admiration of the world.

6. It may be considered as clearly resulting from the architectural data now before us, that the length of 63 ft. given by Pliny, can refer only to the *cella*, or interior solid structure within the Pteron, analogous to the *cella* of a temple. This had been already suggested long before by Colonel Leake, with that intuitive perception which so rarely failed him in anything connected with Greek antiquities.

7. The measurement of 411 feet given by Pliny for 'the whole circuit' of the building is found to correspond so well with the dimensions obtained from recent researches, as to leave no doubt of its correctness, though it may still be a question at what precise point it was measured. On the other hand, the assertion of Hyginus, that the whole circumference was 1340 ft., a statement evidently preposterous if applied to the monument itself, obtains a reasonable explanation if supposed to refer to the *peribolus* or outer enclosure, the existence of which has been ascertained by Mr. Newton's researches.

Such, then, being the positive data that may be considered as fairly established by the evidence now before us, and adopted as the basis of their attempted restorations alike by Mr. Pullan and Mr. Fergusson, it is not a little curious to see how widely their designs have diverged, while keeping within the limits thus prescribed to them. Mr. Pullan has produced a very ugly building, of which the leading characteristic is massive solidity. Mr. Fergusson presents us with a design of a richly ornate character, but at the same time so light and elegant, that there is something of a *modern* aspect about it; and we involuntarily hesitate to accept it, as scarcely suitable to the gravity of a sepulchral monument. We feel disposed to question whether the latter design does not owe too much to the inventive genius and fertile imagination of its author; but when we turn to its more prosaic competitor, we seek in vain for any evidence of that genius and imagination which are never wanting in the higher specimens of Greek art. To sum up our impressions in one word: we do not feel satisfied that Mr. Fergusson has succeeded in reproducing the Mausoleum as it was; but we feel satisfied that Mr. Pullan has not. Nothing short of positive and irresistible evidence would induce us to accept Mr. Pullan's tame and spiritless restoration

as a true representation of the edifice so renowned in antiquity for its elaborate magnificence. And so far from its possessing this conclusive evidence in its favour, we think it will be found, upon examination, that it fails to satisfy almost all the tests by which such a design must be tried; and we shall briefly state the reasons which render it impossible for us to accept it as a satisfactory solution.

Mr. Newton has justly remarked that, 'from the general analogy of Greek art, it may be assumed that the chariot group which crowned the apex of the Mausoleum was the key to the whole design.' It is therefore especially fortunate that sufficient fragments of this group have been preserved to determine its dimensions with tolerable accuracy. But this group being of such paramount importance to the whole design, it was evidently of the utmost consequence to determine in what manner it was placed on the pyramid, and how it was connected with it. Both Mr. Pullan and Mr. Newton have assumed, without a word of explanation, or even hinting at the possibility of another arrangement, that the pyramid itself served as the base or pedestal on which stood the chariot group: and Mr. Pullan has further assumed, without giving any reasons at all for so remarkable an hypothesis, that the platform which supported the chariot was considerably larger than was necessarily required for the purpose, so as to leave 'a margin' of 2 feet 11½ inches at each end, and one of 1 foot 9 inches on each side. A more infelicitous arrangement, as it appears to us, could not possibly be devised. Apart from the consideration that in all other cases of a nearly similar character with which we are acquainted, such a group or statue is raised upon a pedestal of its own, distinct from the building which it crowns, we think that a glance at Mr. Pullan's restoration will be sufficient to convince our readers of the absolute necessity of such an addition. In the particular case before us, moreover, it has the further advantage of giving something like an intelligible explanation of Pliny's expression '*in metæ cacumen se contrahens*;' a phrase utterly incomprehensible if applied to such a pyramid as that which surmounts Mr. Pullan's edifice, without any special pedestal to support the quadriga.

But if the chariot and horses were to be placed on the top step or platform of the pyramid at all—an arrangement which we must regard as absolutely inadmissible—it would have been at least essential to have given them what effect was attainable in so disadvantageous a position by bringing them as near as possible to the edge of the plat-

form on which they stood. But instead of doing this Mr. Pullan has aggravated the difficulty by unnecessarily introducing the wide 'margin' already referred to, without considering the effect which this must necessarily produce upon the appearance of the group when seen from below. Awkward and unsightly as appears their position in Mr. Pullan's design, where the whole building is represented in strict elevation, it would have been ten times worse when viewed in perspective, as it must necessarily have been from any distance at which it was possible to appreciate the merit of the sculptures. From any such point of view the 'margin' so gratuitously left by Mr. Pullan would have hidden from sight the hoofs and part of the legs of the horses, as well as a portion of the wheels of the chariot, and thus have marred the effect of the whole group. Mr. Fergusson justly remarks that 'anywhere, but more especially at such a height as this, a sculptor would bring the hoofs as near to the plinth as possible:' and both in Mr. Cockerell's and Mr. Falkener's designs, though the more taper form of the pyramid adopted by them rendered it much better adapted to serve as a base for the chariot group, they have thought it necessary, in order to give sufficient effect to this group, to make it project sensibly beyond the pedestal which supports it.

The next portion of the building to be considered is the pyramid, on which the quadriga was elevated, and which, as Mr. Pullan himself remarks, is the key to the whole building. Now we are distinctly told by Pliny that this pyramid was equal in height to the part of the building that supported it, i. e. to the Pteron, of which the elevation is now ascertained beyond any reasonable doubt. But when Mr. Pullan comes to construct his pyramid, he interprets these words of Pliny to mean that the pyramid *with the addition of the quadriga* was equal in height to the Pteron,—a construction which appears to us at variance with the whole tenor of the description. For Pliny, after describing the Pteron, says that there was 'a pyramid above it of equal elevation, contracting to a summit like a *meta*,' and then adds,—'On the summit is a quadriga of marble, *the addition of which* makes the whole height amount to 140 feet.' It seems to us perfectly clear that Pliny here mentions three distinct portions of the monument, and that it is the pyramid *without* the quadriga which he describes as equal in height to the Pteron. And we are confirmed in this view by finding that both Mr. Cockerell and Mr. Falkener have understood the words of Pliny in this sense; the only one, we are

convinced, that an unprejudiced scholar would naturally attach to them. But Mr. Pullan found himself in this difficulty: the portions of the steps which had been found were sufficient to determine the angle of inclination, and therefore the general form of the pyramid; and it thus became impossible to give it an elevation equal to that of the Pteron, without departing from the statement of Pliny concerning the number of the steps and increasing the base beyond what the known area of the building would admit of. The exact height of the pyramid itself, as deduced from the steps, cannot indeed be determined, but it may be fixed within narrow limits\*; and must undoubtedly fall considerably short of the 25 cubits required by Pliny's description. Hence Mr. Pullan is obliged to make up the deficiency by supposing the quadriga to be included, in direct opposition to the words of Pliny; while the solution of the difficulty is found by Mr. Fergusson in the much more plausible suggestion that the elevation given by Pliny includes not only the steps of the pyramid, but the pedestal on its summit, the 'metæcacumen' noticed in his own words. Assuming such a pedestal to have been a necessary addition to the pyramid—as all the recent restorers, with the exception of Mr. Pullan and Mr. Newton, have agreed in thinking it,—Mr. Fergusson's explanation of the words is so natural that we should have no hesitation in accepting it, even if we were not driven to it by the necessities of the case.

In the attempt to reconstruct an edifice like that before us, one part of the design is so necessarily dependent upon the other, that an error committed in any one portion must almost of necessity affect the whole. And thus we find that the most glaring and obvious objection to Mr. Pullan's restoration—the excessive height of the basement, as compared with the rest of the building—results in great measure from those adverted to. Having no pedestal to support the quadriga, he was obliged to include the quadriga itself with the pyramid in the 25 cubits assigned to this portion of the building, and the height of the Pteron or second story being also known to be 25 cubits, the two together gave only 50 cubits or 75 feet. Now we learn from Pliny that the total height of the building, including the quadriga on its summit, was no less than 140 feet, and there thus remain 65 feet unaccounted for, the whole of which is therefore at once assigned by Mr. Pullan to the basement of the edifice.

\* Mr. Pullan fixes it at 24 feet 6 inches; Mr. Fergusson approximately at 26 feet.

Mr. Newton himself admits that this basement 'is the part of Mr. Pullan's restoration least substantiated by the evidence of remains found *in situ*,' and that 'its height is arbitrarily determined on the authority of Pliny's text.' But had he not previously departed from the plain meaning of Pliny's text by including the height of the quadriga in that of the pyramid, instead of reckoning it separately, he would have brought down the base of the pyramid to a level 13 or 14 feet lower, and therefore diminished by a corresponding amount the excessive height of the basement. The advantage gained by such a change in the relative proportions of the two stories of which the building was composed, would have done much towards removing the main objection to the proposed restoration.

But it is not only to the disproportionate height of the basement story in Mr. Pullan's design that we are disposed to object. We look in vain for any authority for the massive simplicity which he has chosen to assume as the characteristic of this part of the edifice. It is certainly not to be found in Pliny, who does not mention the basement at all, so that its very existence is only assumed as a necessary inference from his other numerical statements. It is equally little substantiated by the evidence of existing remains, from which we learn only that the core or internal structure was constructed of masses of green ragstone, great quantities of which had been removed to the Castle of Bûdrum. But of the marble casing with which this internal masonry was covered, not a vestige remains; and Mr. Newton himself suggests that it may probably have been removed at a comparatively early period of the Middle Ages. If so, who knows what amount of architectural and sculptural decoration may not have been lavished on this part of the building? Is it probable that all the treasures of art with which the Mausoleum was adorned were removed to a height of more than fifty feet from the ground, and that the whole of the building below that level presented nothing but a bare unsightly wall? Mr. Falkener, in his attempted restoration of the Mausoleum in 1851, defends the introduction of an elevated basement (though far less lofty than that suggested by Mr. Pullan) by observing that 'a lofty basement does not necessarily imply a bare plain wall, without the opportunity of embellishment. On the contrary (he says), I conceive that the basement was the most richly decorated part of the structure, and that it was to the sculptures of this part of the monument that the praises of Pliny,

Pausanias, and Lucian are directed.\* Unfortunately this valuable hint has been altogether lost upon Mr. Pullan, who has been content to go on putting together the edifice 'stone by stone,' even though the greater part of the stones had undoubtedly disappeared, and who has tacitly assumed that what has not been found could never have existed.

There is undoubtedly no part of the building concerning which we are so much in the dark as this basement or lower story. But when we have so little information to guide us it seems all the more necessary to avail ourselves of the little that we possess. Yet Mr. Pullan has unaccountably discarded the only evidence that remains to us with regard to the interior of this portion of the building, in the curious narrative already cited from Guichard. 'His account of the remains (as Mr. Fergusson observes), and of the discovery of the chamber in the basement, is so clear, so circumstantial, and in every respect so probable, that there does not seem any reason to doubt that it was substantially correct, and no restoration can be accepted which does not admit of or explain its details.' (P. 33.) Even if we are not prepared to place too implicit faith in this account, transmitted to us only at third hand, we must remember that it is the only authority we have upon the subject, and is certainly entitled to consideration in the absence of all evidence against it. But it is summarily dismissed both by Mr. Pullan and Mr. Newton, because no traces have been found of this internal decoration, although we learn from the narrative itself that they were broken to pieces and destroyed by the very persons that found them, in order to burn them for lime. Mr. Pullan has in consequence filled up the interior of his building with two plain vaulted chambers (one on each story), for which he has no authority at all, except an assumed analogy with a tomb called the Koul Oba, near Kertch, which is supposed to be the birthplace of one of the Greek kings of the Bosphorus, and a still more far-fetched analogy with theanomalous buildings known as Nur-hags in Sardinia, which there is no reason to believe to be of Greek origin at all.

There is one other point in Mr. Pullan's restoration to which we feel it necessary to advert. Our readers will remember that Pliny gives 63 feet as the length of the building (that is, as has been already shown, of the *cella* within the *Pteron*), and adds that it was 'shorter on the fronts.' Mr.

Pullan arrives at the remarkable conclusion that it was *shorter by one foot!* the width being, according to his arrangement, just 62 feet. We certainly cannot believe that so trifling a difference could have been noticed by Pliny in the manner referred to: but still less can we believe that any Greek architect would have constructed an edifice of such singular proportions, departing from the regularity of a perfect square without even approximating to the symmetry of any other proportion. Mr. Fergusson's design, in which the width of the *cella*, as determined from other arguments, amounts to 52 feet 6 inches (or in the ratio of 5 to 6 with the length), appears to us much more in accordance with the expression of Pliny, as well as with the proportions usual in Greek architecture.

We cannot enter further into the details of Mr. Pullan's attempted restoration. We have endeavoured to show that he has failed in the problem that he has proposed to himself, and that his design, notwithstanding the advantages which he possessed over all his predecessors, must be consigned to the same limbo with those of Mr. Falckner and Mr. Cockerell, of MM. Caylus and Quatremère de Quincy. Our limits will not allow us to enter into an equally detailed examination of the more elaborate and ingenious design of Mr. Fergusson; but we have already expressed our conviction that in several leading points he has seized the true meaning of Pliny's description, and the true proportions of the edifice, more successfully than Mr. Pullan. If we do not feel satisfied that he has succeeded altogether in solving the problem that has so long exercised the ingenuity of architects, it is but just to add that we do not believe the solution of that problem to be possible, with the means at our command. Much has undoubtedly been gained by the recent researches, but much still remains, and in all probability must ever remain, uncertain or unknown. We may perhaps eventually arrive at some agreement as to the general architectural character and principal dimensions of the celebrated Mausoleum, but we shall never learn to know that building as we know the Parthenon or the Erechtheum; or be able to restore it in all its completeness, as we can do with the temples at Bassæ or Ægina.

There is, however, one part of Mr. Fergusson's restoration to which we cannot omit to advert, because we believe it to involve a principle of the most vital importance in Greek architecture, and one which contains the key to the true solution of all such problems as the one before us. The prin-

\* Museum of Classical Antiquities, vol. i. p. 179.

ciple to which we refer is the system of definite proportions. It had long been suspected that some such principle had been adopted by Greek architects; but it is only recently that sufficient materials have been collected to prove the singular completeness and accuracy with which it was carried out by them. In those buildings with which we are fully acquainted in detail, such as the Parthenon, the Temple at Bassæ, and that at Ægina, it has been established by the most elaborate investigation that 'every part was proportioned to those parts in juxtaposition or analogy to it in some such ratio as 3 to 4, 4 to 5, 5 to 6, and so on,—not by accident, but by careful study, and the whole design was evolved from a *nexus* of proportions as ingenious in themselves as they were harmonious in their result.' (Fergusson, p. 17.)

To give only a few instances, in explanation of the system pursued. In the Parthenon, of which the front measures precisely 100 Greek feet, the flank bears to the front a ratio of 9 to 4, while the total height of the building is just seven-twelfths of the breadth, and two-sevenths of its length. In the temple at Bassæ, again, the length is to the breadth as 5 to 2; while the height bears to the breadth the proportion of 3 to 4. Of this height the columns form nearly half, bearing to the remainder of the total elevation the proportion of 6 to 7.

Mr. Fergusson has been the first to apply the doctrine of definite proportions to the restoration of the Mausoleum; and the results are in many cases so satisfactory as to leave little doubt of the fact that in this case also the whole building was conceived according to one symmetrical plan, every part of which bore a definite proportion to the others. A few of the leading dimensions, indeed, lend themselves so readily to this scheme, as almost of themselves to suggest it. Thus the total length of the building, measured along the line of foundations, is, according to Mr. Newton, 127 English feet, or within a small fraction of 126 Greek feet; and it strikes us at once that this is just double of the 63 feet given by Pliny (who would undoubtedly use Greek feet in his statements) as the length of the *cella*. But again, if we assume 14 feet as the height of the chariot group, a very probable estimate—Mr. Newton makes it 13 feet 3 inches, but it is evident that in such a case no great accuracy can be attained—we find that, deducting this from the 140 feet given by Pliny as the total height, there remain just 126 feet for the height of the building itself; that is to say, its height was exactly equal to its extreme length. Again, the dimensions deduced by

excavation for the foundation or ground plan of the building are, according to Mr. Newton's statement, 127 feet by 108; but there appears to be some doubt as to the accuracy of these measurements, and Mr. Fergusson has pointed out that if the latter dimension be taken at 106·31 English, or 105 Greek, feet, this would give exactly the ratio of 5 to 6 for the proportion of the width to the length of the whole edifice. Now this is precisely the same proportion as Mr. Fergusson deduces from independent considerations for the length and breadth of the *cella*, a proportion which certainly agrees very well with Pliny's expression that it was 'brevius a frontibus.'

It is by following out the principle thus indicated, and which has been already found to prevail in other well-known examples of Greek architecture, that Mr. Fergusson has produced a scheme for the restoration of the Mausoleum far exceeding in symmetry and beauty of proportions any of those previously put forth. And although much ingenuity is required in putting together the various parts of an edifice so peculiar in its character as that with which we have here to deal, and it is probable that many similar attempts may hereafter be made with more or less success, we feel convinced that Mr. Fergusson has been the first to strike out the true path of discovery, and that a skilful application of the system of definite proportions will be found the only clue to the restoration of the long-perished Mausoleum.

Undoubtedly the part of Mr. Fergusson's design that least carries conviction to our minds is the manner in which he has dealt with the basement or lower story of the building. This is indeed the main difficulty in any restoration, for, in truth, we know absolutely nothing concerning it. But the analogy of other monuments of a later date than the Mausoleum, and which we may reasonably suppose to have been in some measure designed as imitations of it, would certainly lead us to suppose that the basement had a more solid and massive character than that suggested by Mr. Fergusson. This does not, as already pointed out, by any means exclude the introduction of the richest ornament; and especially of that sculptural decoration for which the building, as a whole, was so celebrated. Mr. Newton himself is disposed to suggest the introduction of 'one or two belts of friezes, so disposed as to give an agreeable alternation of sculpture and plain masonry,' instead of the uniform monotony of Mr. Pullan's basement; but he afterwards rejects this idea because no such remains were found *in situ*.

Yet he himself admits that the marble casing of the basement has entirely disappeared, and suggests, with much probability, that this may have taken place at a comparatively early period of the Middle Ages, long before the fall of the pyramid and the Pteron, and still longer before the Knights of St. John began digging among the ruins in search of marble to burn for lime.

But however we may account for this disappearance, one fact remains unfortunately but too certain, that the sculptures which once gave its chief celebrity to the Mausoleum have almost entirely disappeared. The few fragments that have been recovered are sufficient to give us a faint glimpse of the glorious works that we have lost, but they are very far from enabling us to realise, even in imagination, the character of those works. We are still almost as much in the dark as heretofore as to the nature, the design, and even the subjects of the compositions by which Scopas and his rival artists gave immortality to the tomb of Mausolus.

The sculptures that have been discovered and brought to England consist exclusively of two classes: portions of friezes, adorned with reliefs, but none of them exceeding the usual dimensions of such architectural members; and fragments of statues, or, as they are technically termed by Mr. Newton, 'sculptures in the round.' Some of these last, as the statue of Mausolus himself, and that of the goddess who appears to have accompanied him in his chariot, have been found in such a condition that it has been possible to restore them in great part by merely reuniting the disjointed fragments; but these, as well as the two colossal portions of the horses of the chariot, were the work, as we know from Pliny, of a separate artist, probably the same who is mentioned also as one of the architects of the building. The noble fragment of a colossal figure on horseback is the only other work of this class that has been preserved to us in such a state as to enable us to form any idea of the original to which it belonged; and even to this we are wholly unable to assign any position in the building, or to determine whether it was an isolated figure or formed part of a group. The other fragments found, besides two or three heads, consist for the most part of portions of extremities, hands, feet, legs, and arms; and these are sufficiently numerous to indicate the existence of a considerable number of separate statues; most of which appear to have been isolated figures, in a standing posture and in attitudes of tranquillity. These are supposed by Mr. Newton to have been placed in the

intercolumniations of the Pteron, or in other positions of a similar character. But no portions have been discovered that can be referred to works in relief on any larger scale than those of the friezes.

Yet it is certain that it is to works of this latter class that the words used by Pliny—'*cælavere* Mausoleum'—where he speaks of the labours of Scopas and his brother artists, would naturally refer. Mr. Newton, indeed, goes so far as to say that 'the expression *cælavere*, used by Pliny in reference to their respective works, seems to indicate that they were all employed on friezes.' (P. 239.) But this conclusion seems to us wholly unwarranted. Sculptured metopes, sculptures let into panels, or broad slabs sculptured in relief,—anything, in short, except detached statues,—would equally come within the scope of Pliny's expression. It appears to us, on the other hand, absolutely impossible to suppose that the celebrated works of the masters in question could have been confined to so subordinate a part of the building as the mere decoration of friezes, more especially as those friezes must have been raised to a height nearly double that required even in the largest temples.

We are very far from wishing to depreciate the value of the slabs of frieze that have been so fortunately preserved to us. Their merit has been indeed very variously estimated by writers upon ancient art; and we certainly think that they must be admitted to be of very unequal excellence; some of them, especially the four slabs discovered by Mr. Newton, and the one still remaining at Genoa, being entitled to a very high place among works of their class, while several of the others are so inferior, both in design and execution, that we find it difficult to believe that they belong to the same period and school of art. But even their most sanguine admirers will not venture to place them in comparison with the noble frieze of the Parthenon. Yet we shall look in vain in all the authors of antiquity for any special mention of the latter work, while, if we are to believe Mr. Newton, it was to a few narrow friezes that the Mausoleum owed its world-wide celebrity.

The negative evidence, on which Mr. Newton lays so much stress, is to our mind wholly inconclusive. At whatever period the marble casing was stripped off from the basement of the edifice, it is certain that all trace of it has disappeared. The fragments of statues found are in all probability portions of those which adorned the Pteron. Nor have any remains of architectural, any more than of sculptural decorations been discovered, which can with any probability



be referred to the basement. We are therefore compelled either to acquiesce in Mr. Pullan's supposition that none such ever existed, and that a building celebrated in all antiquity for its highly ornamented character was in its most important member one of the plainest of edifices, or to admit that the lower part of the building had been plundered long before the upper story; and that the immortal works of Scopas and his fellow-labourers perished at this earlier period. This latter hypothesis seems to us at once the most plausible and consistent with the analogy of other similar cases.

Let us be thankful for what we have got. We owe much to the exertions of Mr. Newton, who has rescued from oblivion, as well as from all chances of further destruction, the few fragments that had survived the vicissitudes of so many centuries: but we cannot consent to magnify the value and importance of these scanty relics by assuming them to have formed any considerable portion of the great works referred to by ancient writers. We must venture to doubt, notwithstanding the high authority of Mr. Newton, whether any portion of the friezes that we possess can be ascribed to the master-hand of Scopas or of his scarcely less celebrated rivals. It is certain that in most cases the execution of the friezes was left to subordinate workmen — pupils or young artists who possessed skill enough to execute the designs of the master mind to whom the conception of the whole was due. There is every reason to believe that this was the case even with the exquisite frieze of the Parthenon itself; we know it to have been the case with that of the Erechtheum, a building upon which the Athenians were undoubtedly desirous to lavish all the resources of art. But even if we allow the friezes of the Mausoleum the highest merit that can possibly be claimed for them, they can no more be considered as representing the masterpieces of those great artists than would a corresponding portion of the frieze of the Parthenon have sufficed to give us an adequate idea of the glorious works of Phidias.

Of some of the other fragments recovered it is indeed difficult to speak too highly. The figure of Mausolus himself is full of dignity and grandeur, and has a monumental character peculiarly suited to the position for which it was designed. The same style of treatment is still more observable in the horses that belonged to his chariot, and which bear evident proofs of having been executed with reference to the lofty situation in which they were to be placed. It is very instructive to compare them in this respect with the torso of the equestrian figure, the surface of which,

as Mr. Newton observes, is highly wrought, as if meant for close inspection. Cruelly mutilated as it is, this equestrian fragment is undoubtedly entitled to rank among the finest works of Greek sculpture remaining to us. We are indeed unable to make out with certainty the action of the rider, or the subject that it was intended to represent; but it is certainly probable, as suggested by Mr. Newton, that it formed part of a group. A figure in such violent action would have seemed unmeaning and exaggerated without some apparent motive for its attitude. But whether detached or combined with other figures we are wholly at a loss to assign it any place in connexion with the building to which it undoubtedly belonged. We can only infer, from the laws of architectural symmetry, that such a group must of necessity have had corresponding groups in other parts of the building. Of these, however, no remains have been discovered — an additional proof, if any such were wanting, how imperfect, after all, is our knowledge of the famous Mausoleum.

Our space will not admit of our attempting to follow Mr. Newton in his interesting researches at Cnidus and Branchidæ. But we cannot omit to bestow a passing word upon the noble lion that he has brought from the former place, which is indeed, as he himself terms it, 'a magnificent example of colossal Greek sculpture,' and deserves to rank with the statue of Mausolus, and the fragment of the equestrian figure from Halicarnassus, among the most valuable specimens of Greek art. It is probably of somewhat earlier date than the sculptures of the Mausoleum; and Mr. Newton suggests that the monument which it surmounted may have been erected to commemorate the victory gained by the Athenian fleet under Conon in B. C. 394 — an action which was fought in the immediate neighborhood of Cnidus, and probably in full view of the conspicuous site on which the ruins were discovered. If this hypothesis could be established, the monument would possess almost as much historical as artistic interest.

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ART. IX. — 1. *A Perfite Platform of a Hoppe Garden.* By REYNOLDE SCOT. 1574, 1576, 1578.

2. *A Declaration and Protestation against the Illegal, Detestable, Oft-condemned New Tax and Extortion of Excise in general; And for Hops (a native uncertain Commod-*

- ity) in particular. By WILLIAM PRYNNE, of Swainswick, Esq<sup>r</sup>. 1654.
3. *The Riches of a Hop-garden explained.* By RICHARD BRADLEY, Professor of Botany in the University of Cambridge. 1729.
  4. *The Hop Farmer.* By E. J. LANCE. 1838.
  5. *Evidence before the Select Committee on the Hop Duties.* 1857.
  6. *Plain Facts as to the Excise Duty on Hops.* By GEORGE P. BACON, Honorary Secretary of the Hop-Excise-Duty Repeal Association. 1860.
  7. *Report by Mr. Bonar, H. M. Secretary of Legation at Munich, on the Manufacture, Consumption, and Commerce of Beer in Bavaria.* Munich: 1860.
  8. *Debate on 5th March, 1861, On the Motion for the Repeal of the Hop Duties.* Published by the Central Hop-Duty Repeal Association. 1861.

FIELDING, in his 'Don Quixote in England,' makes Sancho Panza say, 'I am so fond of the English roast beef and strong beer, that I don't intend ever to set my foot in Spain again, if I can help it.' A most improbable sentiment for a native of wine-drinking La Mancha ever to have expressed. Had the original Sancho visited one of our inns, he would have made wry faces over the host's ale, still more over his beer, whether flavoured with the ground ivy or fern leaves of early days, or with the hop which was then rapidly superseding them. Could the liquor, however, have been in accordance with modern notions of excellence, the honest squire would, in all probability, have pronounced it as execrable as the balsam of Fierabras. And no wonder, inasmuch as a liking for beer, especially for highly-hopped beer, is in most men the result of habit.

It has taken centuries to form and develop our present national taste, and its origin is perhaps due to necessity rather than to choice. According to some accounts, at least, a bitter was originally admitted into the cask, not to gratify the palate, but to preserve the ale by checking fermentation. Be this as it may, hops, when first introduced into England in the fifteenth century, were by no means relished. Not only were they considered unpalatable, but they were conceived to dry up the body, and to engender melancholy. Henry VI. is said, on the authority of a German writer, to have prohibited their cultivation by his subjects. Certain it is that bluff King Hal would have none of the 'pernicious weed,' and imperatively forbade his brewer to put hops in the royal beer. Civic dignitaries, from time immemorial studious of good living, petitioned Parliament against the use of hops, 'in regard they would spoyl

the taste of drinke, and endanger the people. This was in 1528; but taste and doctors' opinions are alike capricious. By 1552 a revolution of feeling had evidently taken place. In that year we find an Act extending certain privileges to such lands as were 'set with saf fron or hops.' Twenty years later a Bill was brought into Parliament which had for its object directly to promote and encourage 'planting and setting.' About the same time Bacon wrote, 'The planting of hop-yards is profitable for the planters, and consequently for the kingdom.' The consumers' interest before long became the care of the Legislature. In 1580 a Bill was introduced 'against false packing;' and in the first year of James I. an Act was passed for 'avoiding of deceit in selling, buying or spending of corrupt and unwholesome hops.' More unmistakeable evidence that hops had, in the words of Walter Blith, 'become a national commodity,' is afforded by 'An Ordinance of the Lords and Commons assembled 'in Parliament, dated 8th July, 1644,' requiring the planter to pay an excise duty of 6d. for every value of 20s. of 'hops, and so proportionably for a greater or lesser value.' The Lord Protector and his Council, by an Order made in 1653, imposed a duty of 2s. per cwt. on English, and 5s. per cwt. on foreign hops. Cromwell's Excise Act, four years afterwards, confirmed and continued this excise, and raised the customs' duty to 10s. per cwt. The Restoration relieved home-grown hops from taxation; but the exigencies of war again brought them under the exciseman in the reign of Queen Anne. From 1711 down to the present day no other record than the statute-book is needed to attest the growing appreciation in which hops were held by the British public. Suffice it to say that the use of the 'wicked weed,' at first prohibited, then tolerated, then encouraged, came in the last century to be prescribed by the Legislature, and brewers were forbidden, under heavy penalties, from employing even such innocent bitters as quassia or gentian, not simply, as might be imagined, for the protection of the revenue, but for the sake of the health and comfort of the people.

The progress of the national taste for hops and its causes are well traced by Reynolde Scot, in a passage to be found in the later editions of the 'Perfite Platforme':—

'Whereas,' he says, 'you cannot make above eyght or nyne gallons of indifferent Ale out of one bushel of Mault, you may draw XVIII or XX gallons of very good Beere; neyther is the Hoppe more profitable to enlarge the quantitie of your drinke, than necessary to prolong the Continuance thereof. For if your Ale may endure a fortnight, your Beere through the benefite of the

Hoppe shall continue a moneth, And what Grace it yeeldeth to the taste all men may judge, that have Sense in their Mouths, And if the Controver-sie be betwixt Beere and Ale, which of them two shall have y<sup>e</sup> Place of Preheminence: it sufficeth for the Glorie and Commendation of the Beere, that here in our own Countrie Ale giveth place unto it, and that most part of our Country-men doe abhorre and abandon Ale, as a lothsome drinke, whereas in other Nations Beere is of great Estimation, and of Straungers entertayned as their most choyce and delicate Drinke. Finally, that Ale which is most delicate, and of best account borroweth the Hoppe, as without the which it wanteth his chiefe Grace and best Verdure.'

We find that at this time (1576) 2½ lbs. of hops were considered the maximum quantity to be brewed with a quarter of malt; or, according to a writer in 1616, ½ lb. of hops was held amply sufficient to a barrel. Since that date the taste for well-hopped beer has progressed, till at the present day it has culminated in the popularity of that, according to Mr. Gladstone, 'incomparable article,' pale ale, brewed with from 5 lbs. to 8 lbs. of hops to the barrel, which has usurped not only the place, but the name of the original Saxon liquor made from malt alone;

The old distich,

'Hops, Reformation, Bays and Beer,  
Came into England all in one year,'

or the variation thereof,—

'Turkies, carp, hoppes, pickerell and beer,  
Came into England all in one year,'

marks the period when the first English hop yards were formed. The cultivation appears to have been originally established in Kent. At Bourne, near Canterbury, there is a plot of ground which is known to have been a plantation in the first year of Elizabeth. The plant was introduced from Flanders; and 'the trade of the Flemming,' i. e. his method of culture, and 'his Ostes at Poppering' were held out as 'a profytable patterne and a necessarie instruction for as many as shall have to doe therein,' by the author of the 'Perfite Platforme.'

When this little work was published, the capability of our soil and climate for producing hops was still much doubted, and our supplies were in great measure drawn from the Low Countries. Scot writes not only to explain the cultivation, but to recommend its extension, and somewhat indignantly complains of the Fleming as 'dazeling us with the discommendation of our soyle, obscuring and falsifying the order of this mysterie, and sending us into Flanders as farre as Poppering for that which we may find at home in our own backside.' Whether owing to the

information diffused by Scot's writings, or to other causes, hop growing was pursued with such success, that eighty years later Walter Blith, in his 'Improver Improved,' declared of the English produce:—

'It is usually a very good commodity, and many times extraordinary; and our nation may ascribe it unto itself, to raise the best Hops of any other nation.'

Kent and the eastern portion of Sussex became, and, as is well known, continue to be, the chief seats of the cultivation of hops. Next to these in importance rank Worcestershire, Herefordshire, and the district about Farnham, which, from the excellence of its produce, was termed by Bradley in the beginning of last century 'the first capital town for hops in Britain.' Colonies are found in different parts of England, some, known as the 'North Clay districts,' in the high latitudes of Yorkshire, Lincolnshire, and Nottinghamshire; others dotted about the midland and southern counties, from Suffolk in the east to Cornwall in the south-west. The several varieties of hops which careful and systematic culture now produces in England differ as widely in price and in quality as different growths of wine. The Worcestershire red-bine is said to bear the closest resemblance to the old Flemish hop; this latter Bradley, in 1729, describes as small, close in texture, with a red bine and dark green flower, resembling the indigenous British hop that grows wild in our own hedges.

Any one wishing to inspect the hop districts for himself, cannot do better than go by the South-Eastern Railway from London to Tunbridge. He may then continue his journey along either branch of the fork into which the trunk line there divides, or explore any of the roads or lanes that diverge from them, and he will find hop grounds and oast-houses to his heart's content. If it be winter time, he will only see sheaves and stacks of poles cumbering the bare earth. If it be summer, he will see the infant bine struggling to climb the poles,—an attempt in which it is materially aided and guided by the hands of the tyers. In a favourable season the growth is so rapid that the process may almost be said to be discernible by the eye. Indeed, in one parish, on the borders of Kent and Sussex, it is averred that on a particular Sunday, when the rector's sermon was protracted beyond the usual length, the bine in a hop garden adjoining the church was observed to have grown an inch during the morning service. The traveller should, however, defer his visit till autumn. He will then behold a spectacle more glorious than the vineyards of Burgundy or of the Rhine.

Every pole has become a thyrsus wreathed with graceful foliage. The bine has climbed the poles, and waves its clustering bells from their summits in token of victory. Round the poles, from their base upwards, light shoots, laden with flowers, droop sleepily in the noontide heat, or dance in the evening air. Nor is the sight the only sense that is gratified. Aromatic odours, soothing as opium, are wafted abroad by the breeze, till it seems overcome by their narcotic influence, and dies away, leaving an atmosphere impregnated with fragrant particles, as in the fabled land,

'Where round and round the spicy downs the yellow lotus-dust is blown.'

Let the stranger, however, if a farmer, beware of yielding to the spell. The beauty of the hop garden is but too commonly a *Lamia* who allures men by every charm that can intoxicate the senses, but when embraced proves a foul monster, that drains the life-blood of the confiding victim. True it is, that a garden sometimes yields a ton an acre; true it is, that the produce may sell for 10*l.*, or more, a cwt., and that three times within twenty years hops have reached the price of 20*l.* or 22*l.* a cwt. But great gains imply great risks. The crop is one of marvellous uncertainty. The hop might appropriately stand in the language of flowers as the symbol of fickleness. It is enough to point out that in 1852, 46,000 acres yielded five times as large a crop as 54,000 acres in 1854, and that again in 1859, 45,000 acres yielded six times as much as the same acres in 1860. So sensitive is the plant, that every variation of temperature, every rise or fall of the barometer, every change of the wind, affects its growth, and exalts the farmer's hopes or darkens his prospects. Enemies innumerable, both in the animal and in the vegetable world, threaten the quantity, or endanger the quality, of the produce. Blight, mould, mildew, honeydew, fireblast, fleas, flies, lice, moths, spiders, caterpillars, form but a portion of the appalling list furnished by Mr. Lance. The amount to be staked against such odds is far in excess of that ventured in any other branch of farming; 25*l.* or 30*l.* per acre is the ordinary cost of raising a crop in a garden that has been some years formed, and has come into full bearing. Then the hops must be picked, dried, and bagged, and, till within the current year, must satisfy the exciseman's demand, at a cost of 2*l.* for every cwt. The above outlay is altogether exclusive of the rent of the land, which in some instances is as much as 26*l.* per acre, and of the extraordinary tithe, which may amount to 1*l.* 10*s.* or 2*l.* Add

to all this, in the words of an old writer, that the hope of 'the profit and gains arising by a hop garden sometimes so pleaseth and flattereth a man's conceit, whose vein and humour is such that he will employ more ground than he can keep or maintain, and through greediness of his desire overthrow his whole purpose,'—and it will be admitted that the hop grower plays a very hazardous game. Suppose, however, that he rises a winner; he not improbably finds that his neighbours have heavy crops as well as himself,—that there are more hops in the market than the brewers require, and that the price to be obtained does not cover the expenses incurred. If he be a man of capital, he may think he will hold; but as prolific seasons frequently follow in cycles, it is likely enough the same results may ensue next year; moreover, hops deteriorate by keeping, till at the end of a few years they become as worthless as so much chaff. As a last resource, the owner may, or might till within the last month, perjure himself by swearing they are marketable, export them for the sake of recovering the duty in drawback, and throw the once costly commodity into the German Ocean.

The alternations of glut and of dearth to which, in the case of a crop so precarious, and an article so perishable, any country confined to its own resources is exposed, naturally call for the utmost freedom of exchange between different states. Prohibitory or protective duties have, for two centuries and a half, precluded England from fully availing herself, when her own produce has been deficient, of the surplus of her neighbours. Accordingly, in seasons of scarcity our brewers have been driven to the use of substitutes more or less injurious, or, as we believe the general practice of the trade has been, to brew with fewer hops, or with stale hops that have lost their virtue.

The recent establishment of free trade now leads us to look with some interest at other hop-growing countries. Respecting these much valuable information is to be found in the Evidence taken by the Select Committee on the Hop Duties in 1857.

The average crop of the European continent is about equal to that of England, and appears liable to similar fluctuations from year to year, in respect both of quantity and of quality. Statistical tables, compiled by the Agricultural Society of Bavaria in 1860, show how wide are the ordinary limits of variation in the annual yield of different countries. We may here add, that the North American continent produces annually from 30,000 to 60,000 cwt., while the annual consumption of its inhabitants is supposed to

be 50,000 cwt.\* Nor are fluctuations in prices less extreme in other parts of Europe than in England. In Belgium the average market-price of the year's produce has, within the last ten years, ranged from 1*l.* 8*s.* to 14*l.* per cwt. In Bavaria, according to Mr. Bonar, the price usually varies from 3*l.* 5*s.* to 16*l.* 10*s.* per cwt. In the autumn of 1860, however, the current price rose to the unparalleled sum of 370 florins, or about 31*l.* per Bavarian cwt.

Of the hop-growing countries of Europe, the most important to us, as sources of supply, are Belgium and Bavaria. The area under cultivation in the latter, the classic land of beer, is estimated at 26,000 acres, an extent about equal to the plantations of the county of Kent. The two great centres of production are Spalt and Hersbruck, the former lying a few hours south east of Nuremberg, the latter some seventeen miles north-west of that city. Of these Spalt occupies the first rank. Extensive plantations exist at Aischgrund, and at Hallertau, a district approaching the Danube. The whole valley of the Maine, from Bamberg to Wurzburg, is also favourable for the growth of hops.

As at Farnham and at Maidstone, so at Spalt and at Hersbruck, there are limited districts immediately adjoining the town, which are among hop plantations what the grounds of Laffite or of Johannisberg are among vineyards. Their produce is known as Spalt City, or Hersbruck City, hops. Inclusive of these, the choicest growths, about one third of the crop raised in Bavaria may be considered of first-rate quality, rivalling the best Kentish or Farnham produce. No actual test has determined their comparative merits, but the prevalent opinion seems to be, that the South German hops have the finest bitter, while inferior to the British in body, flavour, and preserving power. Qualities differ as with us, but the only distinct varieties recognised are, the early hop, picked in September, and the late hop, gathered in October. Of these the later hop is

esteemed the most powerful, and realises the highest price.

The land is principally in the hands of peasant proprietors, and under the Code Napoleon, which obtains in Bavaria, the holdings are, on the death of the head of a family, sold or sub-divided. Consequently, except in the city districts, little money is expended on the cultivation, but much time and manual labour is devoted to the garden by the owner and his family. Owing probably to the more genial summers, the plant attains proportions which would in England be deemed gigantic. Hence the larch-poles, chiefly used in Bavaria, not unfrequently exceed forty feet, or double the length of the tallest poles employed in England. The Bavarian farmer puts only one pole to a hill instead of three, as is the usual practice of Kent and Sussex; his hills are, as a rule, farther apart, he manures less, sometimes contenting himself with restoring to the soil the old hop-bines, and is satisfied with a smaller yield per acre than his British competitor. The hops being thus less crowded, enjoy 'that largeness of space through which the Sunne may come to give comfort to every plant,' which Markham\*, so long ago as 1633, recommended as calculated to improve the flower, and render it less liable to blight. If blight make its appearance, the German planter does not hesitate, in order to check its progress, to thin his plantation by removing a number of poles. We commend this bold practice to the notice of the planters of East Kent, who, according to the evidence of several witnesses before the Committee, have of late, by largely manuring, increased their average produce to the detriment of its quality. Indeed it is not improbable that open competition with the South German growers will induce English planters generally to direct their attention to the goodness, rather than to the weight, of their crops.

Hop-picking, so picturesque a spectacle in England, presents a far less attractive scene in Germany. There the poles are taken down, the bine is hastily stripped from them, and then removed to be picked at leisure at the planter's house. This, in Walter Blith's time, was a new and improved method of gathering: the older practice, still followed by some continental growers, had been to cut the bine at the foot, and then, with a fork, to take it off the standing pole. Quaint figures in Elizabethan costume are represented thus engaged in the vignettes to Scott's 'Perfite Platforme.' In

*COUNTRIES.	FULL CROP.	SHORT CROP.
Bavaria .....	153,000 cwt.	70,000 cwt.
Bohemia .....	90,000 "	20,000 "
Baden .....	20,000 "	15,000 "
Brunswick .....	30,000 "	15,000 "
Prussian Poland.....	20,000 "	15,000 "
Altmark .....	20,000 "	10,000 "
Wurtemberg.....	12,000 "	10,000 "
Alsace and Lorraine....	24,000 "	12,000 "
Belgium.....	90,000 "	30,000 "
TOTAL.....	459,000 "	197,000 "

\* Markham's Farewell to Husbandry. 1638.

Germany, and still more in Bohemia, the result of the course pursued but too often is that the hops are, before picking, dragged about, thrust into stables, cow-houses, cellars, kitchens, or bed rooms, and maltreated and injured in divers ways. When fairly used, they are spread over the floors of lofts, or hung up in the high sloping roofs, where air and warmth may have access to them. In fine weather they are thus dried in about three days, and then loosely thrust into coarse sacks. The above is the only drying they receive at the hands of the peasants. If bought by merchants, particularly if for exportation, they are conveyed to a town and dried in kilns. This process is said to be defective, inasmuch as the draught is not quick enough, and the damp is suffered to hang in the hops so long, that they are, in a manner, stewed. In the opinion, however, of some persons, the English method of drying subjects the hops to too violent a heat, or, as one merchant expresses it, roasts them, thereby destroying the aroma, and is even more injurious than the Bavarian treatment.

It is well known that the making of beer and the drinking of beer form two of the most important occupations of the Bavarian people, and the legislation on the subject of beer one of the chief cares of the Bavarian Government. We do not say, with a recent English traveller, that the whole nation are perpetually drunk upon malt liquor, but the quantity consumed is prodigious. Water, say the Bavarians, never was fit for human stomachs,—at all events, has not been since the Flood:—besides, the drinking of fermented liquors constitutes a specific difference between men and animals:—

*'Vina bibunt homines, animalia cætera fontes.'*

Although no brewery can exist but by the special authority of government, there are no less than 10,723 such establishments in the country, and Mr. Bonar is no doubt under the mark in estimating the quantity of beer annually poured down Bavarian throats at 100,000,000 English gallons. One-eighth of the whole revenue of the state is derived from a malt duty of 11s. a quarter. The king himself is the first brewer in the land, and most of the great proprietors belong to the same privileged and influential class. Government fixes the price of beer twice a year, according to the value of malt and hops, and as the time approaches when the cost of this necessary of Bavarian life is to be determined for the ensuing summer or winter, the public mind is gravely, often painfully, excited.

The process of brewing differs from that

carried on in England, principally in the low temperature at which the worts are fermented. This system is much recommended by Liebig, as preventing the beer from turning sour. The summer beer, brewed for home consumption, is kept six months or even longer, before it is used, but commonly in deep rock-cellars, and often surrounded with ice. Yet Bavarian beer does not bear exportation. There are only two peculiar kinds capable of bearing a sea voyage, of both of which His Majesty is the chief and best brewer. These are known as the *Salvador* and the *Bock*. The *Bock*, so called from its being strong enough to butt a man down, or from its making him leap like a buck, is of two sorts, single and double. With these exceptions, all the beer destined for exportation beyond seas, and even most of that sent to France and other parts of the Continent, is brewed expressly for the purpose. Bavarian malt is excellent, some of the finest in Europe being grown between Nuremberg and Munich. The public taste is, as might be expected, most fastidious in regard to hops, and, after Bavarians, considers none but those of Wurtemberg and Baden, or the best Bohemians, worthy of the palate of a connoisseur. English hops, fumigated with sulphur, to give them the bright yellow colour which the fashion of the trade at home requires, have an evil reputation in Munich. Sulphured hops are an abomination to the Bavarians; the use of them is prohibited, and the brewer on whose premises any such are found incurs a heavy penalty. A paternal government does not, however, feel itself called upon to care for the health of others than its own subjects, and sulphured hops, if intended for exportation, are exempt from the confiscation to which in other cases they are liable.

The produce of the other hop-growing districts of South Germany is much akin to that of Bavaria, and the cultivation and method of curing are similar. The very best Bohemians are raised at Saaz; they equal the Spalt hops in price, and are by some English pale ale brewers preferred, on account of their delicate flavour, to the best Bavarians. South German hops are exported to Vienna, France, Italy, England, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, and Russia, but in what quantities we are unable to state with any certainty. Bavaria itself has been estimated to require a minimum of 50,000 cwt. a year for internal consumption, and to export the surplus produce, which on an average of years may equal 45,000 or 50,000 cwt. The continental demand is an increasing one, but the cultivation of all except the

best descriptions of hops is believed to admit of extension. Indeed, in Baden, and probably elsewhere, owing to high prices recently obtained, the growth of hops is in some measure displacing that of tobacco. The hops of North Germany and of Prussian Poland are of altogether inferior quality, and not likely to find favour in this country. American hops may also be dismissed in a few words. Like American grapes, they derive a coarse, rank flavour and smell from the soil in which they grow, which no management, however careful, has hitherto succeeded in neutralising. There is little chance of their competing in our markets with European growths, except in seasons of scarcity and of unusually high prices.

Poperinghe, the district of which Reynold Scot was so patriotically jealous, lies south-east of Ypres, close to the French frontier, and is still the metropolis of Belgian hop-growing. The next and most important plantations are those of Alôst, but considerable quantities of hops are also raised between Liege and Namur. As in Bavaria, so in Belgium, the gardens are usually the properties of small holders, and are cultivated by the hands of the owner and his family. Contrary, however, to the prevailing custom in Germany, large quantities of manure are employed, and heavy crops, varying usually from ten to seventeen cwt. per acre, are raised. Most of the hops are kiln-dried, the practice having been for the merchant to receive them from the grower when picked, and convey them to the town to be dried. Oast-houses are now, however, to be found in the country, in which the planters dry on their own account. The merchants often use sulphur in their kilns, and are suspected of employing ether, or some chemical preparation, which not only swells the hops, giving them a false appearance of bulk, but imparts something of that clammy feeling which is taken as an indication of 'condition.'

Since the days of Elizabeth, the British growers have surpassed their then masters, the Flemings. The bulk of the Belgian produce is now-a-days scarcely equal to the inferior classes of English; even Poperinghe hops only hold a rank intermediate between the best German or Kentish and the more ordinary British growths. Not long since, the increasing importations from England so alarmed the Belgian planters, that they petitioned the Chamber of Representatives, complaining that the small duty of 1*l.* 20*s.* per 100 kilogrammes levied on hops imported exposed them to a competition with the English growers they were utterly un-

able to maintain, and which must prove ruinous. These petitions were reported upon by a committee of the Chamber, which disapproved of any increase of duty, but recommended that efforts should be made to obtain from foreign governments reciprocal freedom of trade in hops. The growers of the two countries were, like children in the dark, frightened at each other. For at the same time a section of English planters was sending petitions to Parliament, averring that competition with foreign hops, more especially with those of Belgium, must before long drive many of the plantations of Kent, Sussex, and Worcester out of cultivation.

In most, if not all, the beer-drinking countries of Europe, the thirst of the people for their favourite beverage is turned to good account by their government. In France, Belgium, Holland, Austria, and Hanover, a duty is levied on the manufactured article. In Bavaria, Prussia, Saxe-Weimar, and elsewhere, on its chief constituent, malt. During the spring of the present year, the propriety of a duty upon hops was canvassed by the American press; but Mr. Chase, if he ever entertained the idea, abandoned it, and has contented himself with a charge of one dollar per barrel upon beer. England alone has enjoyed at once a tax on beer itself, and a tax upon each ingredient of which beer is composed.

The first excise upon hops was, as we have seen, a device of the parliamentary party during the civil wars. It appears to have been bitterly opposed, even in those early days. In 1654 that sturdy patriot, William Prynne, published the Declaration and Protestation named at the head of this article. This effusion is eminently characteristic of the man and of the times. The writer first gives vent to his indignation by setting forth many Old Testament texts and precedents (or 'presidents'), and some classical quotations against plunder, oppression, and tyranny in general. He then proceeds to state that the sub-collector had served a notice upon him to appear upon a certain day, 'at the Greyhound, in Bath,' to make entry of the hops he had growing, and to pay the excise for the same; that, on 'repairing to the lecture at Bath, be sent for the sub-collector to the inn where the ordinary for the lecture is kept before the sermon began,' and took this officer, as it subsequently appears, roundly to task. With a profusion of arguments, precedents, and cases, legal and historical, interspersed with biblical quotations, the summary of which alone extends over thirteen folio pages, Prynne expounded to the sub-collector that he held the demand to be 'an intolerable oppression,' 'a detestable in-



novation,' and 'fit to be eternally damned.' He at last summed up:—

'Upon all these grounds and Reasons, I declared and protested to the Exciseman that I was resolved upon no terms whatever to pay any Excise at all for Hops, but to question and oppose it to my power, according to my Protestation, Vow, Solemn League and Covenant, for my own and the whole Nation's future ease from this oppressing, illegal grievance and Dutch Devill, which I conceived all patrons of publique Liberty would now cordially and unanimously joy to con-jure down to Hell again, from whence it was first raised,' &c.

Whether the exciseman was convinced, or wearied out, or perceived that payment was hopeless, does not appear; but after an interview, which must have lasted many hours, he told the recalcitrant planter, 'with much civility and respect,' that in consideration of his having been so eminent a sufferer for liberty and religion, and of his 'crop of Hops being so mean,' he would demand nothing from him. So Prynne went to church to his lecture, chuckling, however, somewhat over a suspicion he evidently entertained, that the collector would keep an eye on those hops, and make the first buyer pay the duty he had failed to extract from the hop-master.

It is remarkable how exactly several of the arguments directed against the excise upon hops by the old puritan are anticipations, sometimes almost in the same words, of those employed by recent speakers, both in and out of Parliament, and by Mr. Bacon in his above-named pamphlet. This latter is a complete armoury of all the weapons that can be brought to bear against a duty upon hops. As Uncle Toby said of the Pope's oath, it was so comprehensive that he defied a man to swear out of it, so may Mr. Bacon defy any one to curse the hop duty out of his work. Its interest has of course passed away with the tax, and clear statement and pointed argument will not save it from soon becoming as forgotten as Prynne's declaration. The Secretary to the Hop-Duty Repeal Association may, however, lay down his pen and take up his glass of bitter beer, with the satisfaction of feeling that, unlike Prynne, he has not seen the exciseman beaten off for once only, but has heard Mr. Gladstone proclaim 'the whole nation's future ease from this oppressing grievance.'

ART. X.—1. *Prinz Eugen von Savoyen.* Nach den händschriftlichen Quellen der kaiserlichen Archive. Von ALFRED ARNETH. Drei Bänder. Wien: 1858.

2. *Prinz Eugen von Savoyen.* Drei Vorlesungen von HEINRICH VON SYBEL. München: 1861.

PRINCE EUGENE of Savoy may be called almost an English hero, so often did he lead English troops to battle and victory. The fame of Marlborough can scarcely be recalled to mind without that of Eugene—the two forming together a sort of double star of military glory. The volumes of Herr Arneth have been compiled from a diligent investigation of the State Papers in the Imperial Archives of Vienna, as well as of original documents in other collections. With their assistance, we shall endeavour to condense, as far as possible, within the limits of an article, the eventful history of a man whose achievements were so great in the cause of Europe and of Christendom; but allowing the merit of conscientious and laborious workmanship to the author, it were to be desired that he had taken a less official tone in the treatment of his subject, and had endeavoured to achieve a more life-like and characteristic portrait of the great man whose biography he has undertaken to write.

Prince Eugene was the great-grandson of Charles Emmanuel, Duke of Savoy, and the grandson of the youngest son of that duke, Thomas Francis of Savoy, the founder of the line of Carignano. The grandfather of Prince Eugene married Marie de Bourbon, the sister and heiress of the last Comte de Soissons. The eldest son of this marriage founded the house of Carignano. The second son took the title of Comte de Soissons, and, on account of his possessions in France, was brought up at Versailles, taking rank as a Prince of the Blood. He married Olympia Mancini, one of the five sisters Mancini, the celebrated nieces of the Cardinal Mazarin.

These sisters all figure largely in the memoirs of the time, but, of all, none commenced life under more brilliant auspices than Olympia. When a child, she was the playfellow of Louis XIV., and was distinguished for her sprightliness, her wit, and her graceful manners. She was a *piquante brune*, according to Madame de Motteville, who adds, somewhat spitefully, 'Son âge de dix-huit ans, son embonpoint, ses beaux bras, ses belles mains, la faveur et le grand ajustement donnoient du brillant à sa médiocre beauté.' Her story is one highly indicative of the pestilential atmosphere of ennui, vice, and immorality which was engendered beneath the magnificent and glittering appearance of the French monarchy when in the noonday of its splendour. The mother of Eugene was a lady who

united the fire and spirit of an Italian with the intriguing and ambitious nature of her uncle Mazarin, and a due share of all the follies, lax morality, and necromantic superstitions of the time and Court of Louis XIV. The monarch himself had been in love with her in his youth. When his transitory passion yielded to other attractions, Olympia Mancini gave her hand to the Comte de Soissons, a descendant of the House of Bourbon, general-in-chief of the Swiss regiments in the Royal service, and Governor of Champagne. The count appears to have been a *brave bonhomme*; he had served well under Turenne, and was always ready to fight a duel on his wife's behalf, and think no scandal. To him was ascribed by the wits the honour of being the first inventor of M. Jourdain's great discovery—that he talked prose for forty years without knowing it. The marriage, however, was a good one for Olympia. As the wife of a Prince of the Blood, she had a splendid position and establishment. Though she lost the love, she preserved the friendship, of the King, who, when the fervour of his first *amourettes* was exhausted, became a daily visitor at her apartment, which was the haunt of the most brilliant society of France. On the marriage of the King she was made *surintendante* of the Queen's household, and, as *dame de la cour*, was one of the chief ladies in France. But so exalted a position was, for a woman of her intriguing and domineering nature, a perilous one. All her artifices, all her intrigue, Italian passion and resentment, were called into activity, one after another, to retain her position in the King's favour, and to undermine the increasing influence of a La Vallière or a Montespan. Failing to achieve her ends by natural means, she had recourse to supernatural ones. The countess placed herself under the guidance of La Voisin—one of the quacks, fortune-tellers, and astrologers then most in vogue; infamous also for the sale of succession powders. The whole of the reign of Louis XIV. was haunted with a ghastly suspicion of secret poisoning. At a time when sudden deaths were most frequent and rumour most rife, La Voisin was arrested. In her revelations, among a crowd of persons, she implicated the Comtesse de Soissons. The countess, with her husband, had, in consequence of her intrigues, already been banished from Court. After the count's death, in 1673, she returned, to make herself more obnoxious than before. She had, moreover, rashly incurred the enmity of Louvois, then all powerful, by refusing to marry one of her daughters to his son. Louvois, after the

discoveries of La Voisin, gave orders for the arrest of the countess, who was terrified, and fled from Paris to Brussels. But though probably guiltless, in her intercourse with La Voisin, of all but a silly belief in supernaturalism, the suspicion of being a poisoner and sorceress clung to her for life. In the Low Countries the mob beset the carriage of the *empoisonneuse* with cries and insults. Though after a time she was enabled to live tranquilly in Brussels, yet when she visited Madrid with her son Eugene, with the view to procure him a career in Spain, the foolish King Charles II. believed that she had thrown a charm upon him. When the Queen of Spain, the niece of Louis XIV., died, her ancient lover exclaimed that the young Queen had been poisoned by the Comtesse de Soissons. And the peace-party in England in after days made the most use they could of the scandal against Prince Eugene.

The Comtesse de Soissons had five sons and three daughters; these all remained in France under the protection of the Princess Carignano. The youngest son was Eugene Francis, better known as Prince Eugene. The countess's care for her children appears to have been remarkably slight, and Eugene, we are told, was allowed to run about like a *galopin*. His appearance was by no means imposing: he was small in stature, weak in constitution, rather humpbacked, of brown complexion, with a short upper lip, so that his mouth was always open, and displayed two great front teeth; his nose somewhat *retroussé*, with large nostrils. Yet his eyes were noticed to be fine and full of fire and intelligence. Early in life he was seized with the warlike enthusiasm which prevailed among the young nobles of France, and which was heightened by the new splendour which the genius of Condé, Turenne, and Vauban, and the early victories of Louis XIV., had thrown on the science of war: he loved the glitter and display of troops, devoured the life of Alexander the Great and military memoirs, and studied mathematics and fortifications. Louis XIV., however, looking on his unprepossessing exterior, destined him for the church, and the boy was called at Versailles *l'abbé de Savoie* and *le petit abbé*. Every effort made by the young prince to escape from a priestly life and to enter the military service of the King was rejected by Louvois with contempt; and it is said that, at last, in exasperation, he swore that he would leave the French territory and never return except with arms in his hand. Two of Eugene's elder brothers, disgusted with the treatment they had met with, had already

left France, and entered into the service of the Duke of Savoy. One of these, Emanuel Philibert, Comte de Dreux, died soon after his departure; but the other, Louis Jules, called the Chevalier de Savoie, when hostilities broke out between the Turks and the Roman Empire, passed over to the service of the Emperor of Austria, and obtained a regiment of dragoons.

The noise of the preparations of the Turks had resounded throughout Europe. The French princes of the blood and a brilliant band of nobles—among whom was the Prince de Condé, the Prince de Rochesur Yon, and the Prince de Turenne—went to serve as volunteers in the army of the Emperor. With them departed Eugene, then nineteen years of age, and overwhelmed with debt. He was well received by the Emperor, and obtained a commission in the dragoons. In his first skirmish he lost his brother. Prince Eugene then served under his cousin, the Margrave Louis of Baden, who commanded the cavalry in the Imperial army. In the conflicts under the walls of Vienna, which ended in the raising of the siege, the Prince was noticed for his ability and his daring; and so ambitious a young soldier could not have found himself, in any other place or period, in the presence of men or events more calculated to stimulate his military ardour. The relief of Vienna by the chivalrous Sobieski was one of those events which mark a period in the history of the world; and, besides the brilliant King of Poland, Eugene had also before his eyes other generals of European celebrity—the war-worn Duke of Lorraine, the impetuous Maximilian, Elector of Bavaria, and his cousin the Margrave Louis of Baden, an able but somewhat pedantic tactician.

Charles, Duke of Lorraine, a pupil of Montecuculli, was the general-in-chief of the Imperial army: under his leadership the troops of the Emperor maintained the reputation which they had achieved some twenty years before in the great battle of St. Gotthard, which liberated Europe from the Turks. Under the Duke of Lorraine Eugene rose to be a colonel at twenty and lieutenant general at twenty-five. On the death of that prince, Maximilian of Bavaria succeeded to the command of the Imperial army. At the capture of Belgrade, Eugene distinguished himself by that reckless bravery which was one of his peculiar characteristics: he was the first in the breach, but the distinction was near being his last; a janissary clove his helmet in two with a sweep of his sabre, Eugene replied by plunging his sword into his adversary's body.

Meanwhile, on the other side of Europe, Austria was already involved in an immense contest, and was launching forth armies and urging onwards her allies to set limits to the ambition of the French monarchy. Among the princes who were necessarily forced to take part in this great conflict, none stood in a more precarious position than Victor Amadeus II., the Duke of Savoy, who, in diplomacy, dissimulation, and military and political ability, was the latest and greatest proficient of the subtle teaching of Machiavelli or Guicciardini. Wedged in between the two colossal Powers, France and Austria—who were always in collision or on the verge of it—his small territory was either threatened or trodden under foot at every movement of diplomacy or war. He had little love and equal fear for either of his neighbours; and, as they courted his alliance, he leaned to whichever side seemed most to favour his independence or his aggrandisement. The French monarch, by possession of the strong fortresses of Pignerol and Casale, held his little dominions as in a vice; and the duke, though he anxiously feared such a destiny for his state as was then hanging over the House of Lorraine, had nevertheless been constrained to accept the French alliance. But his astute and politic mind saw in a general European collision an opportunity for withdrawing from his engagements. He feared, indeed, the encroaching power of Austria in Italy equally with that of France. Nevertheless, as neutrality was impossible, he listened to the offers of Austria, who proposed, among other things, to put his ambassador on an equal footing with those of kings, and to take and give him Pignerol. On such conditions he secretly joined the League of Augsburg. When his defection became known at Versailles, Catinat was sent with an army to occupy Piedmont and take possession of Turin. The duke met him at Staffarda on August 17, 1690, and gave battle; though he suffered a defeat, yet his retreat was so well covered by his cousin, Prince Eugene, who had been sent from Vienna to his assistance, that the march of Catinat upon Turin was arrested. From his relationship to the duke, as well as for his diplomatic and military ability, the Court of Vienna conceived it advisable that Eugene should remain at Turin. Consequently, two years after, he accompanied Victor Amadeus in his irruption into Dauphiny, and thus fulfilled the boyish threat of entering France sword in hand, which he had uttered when refused a company in the French army. Louis XIV. shortly after endeavoured to repair his mis-

take, and offered to make Eugene a field-marshal of France; but the Prince refused, being already a field-marshal in the Imperial army and decorated with the Order of the Golden Fleece. When Eugene next appears in history, it is as general-in-chief of the Imperial forces, and victor over the Turks in the great battle of Zenta, by which he became at once one of the great names of Europe.

The victory of Zenta, and the peace of Carlowitz, mark, indeed, an epoch in the history of Christendom, as affording, by diplomacy, the first incontestable evidence of the decline of the Turkish power. In the campaigns in which Eugene had already taken part, after the relief of Vienna by Sobieski, the Turks lost in six campaigns as much as they had gained in two centuries. The intrigues of the French, the machinations of the insurgent Tekeli, their own indignation under defeat, and the high spirit of the young Sultan, Mustapha II., who had just, according to Eastern custom, placed the corpse of his predecessor in the funeral cap, brought about another campaign. The young Sultan, in true Moslem spirit, published a *hatti scherif*, announcing that God had given him the *khalifat* of the world, inveighing against the luxury of his predecessors, denouncing vengeance on the infernal swarm of infidels, and proclaiming a sacred war. Immense preparations were made by sea and land; and at first the Turks were successful. During three years of warfare both Venetians and Austrians suffered a series of disastrous defeats, until Eugene was appointed to the command of the Imperial army. The Sultan himself, brave and arrogant as he was, knew nothing of generalship. There was no Kiuperlis now to direct the fortunes of the Ottoman Power; and he was dependent for advice on an incompetent grand vizier, ignorant pachas, and second-rate French engineers. After some indecisive movements, in which the Sultan showed that he was powerless in the hands of a real master of modern warfare, Eugene came upon the Ottoman army, on the evening of September 11. 1697, two hours before sunset, half of it having already crossed the Theiss. The remaining portion was formidably intrenched: but Eugene knew his troops, saw his advantage, and, full of confidence, was about to engage, when a sealed letter from the Emperor was put into his hands commanding him not to risk a battle. Divining its contents, he gave it back to the bearer, and proceeded with his dispositions. His troops stormed the entrenchments on all sides; and a detachment of the left wing of the Imperialists

pierced through the rear of the Turks, and cut off their retreat to the bridge. The massacre was tremendous: scarcely 1,000 Turks escaped by swimming; 10,000 were drowned; 20,000 were cut to pieces. The Grand Vizier and four others, the Vizier Aga of the Janissaries, the Governors of Anatolia, Bosnia, Roumelia, and Diarbekir, and a legion of pachas, perished by the sword. Seven horse-tails, 423 standards, and the Seal of the Empire, were captured. The Seal of the Empire had never before been taken by an enemy; and its loss was deemed to portend a future of evil to the house of Othman. On the morrow—the anniversary of Eugene's first battle under the walls of Vienna—he crossed the Theiss, and took possession of the camp of the Sultan, where 500 silver kettle-drums of the Janissaries, the Sultan's carriage, eight horses, the women of his harem, and 3,000,000 of crowns, formed a portion of the immense booty. The famous peace of Carlowitz was not signed until more than a year afterwards, on January 21. 1699. It was the first in which the Turks admitted the mediation of any Christian Power; and each successive treaty they have since made has marked a further descent of the Ottoman Power in the scale of nations.

By the victory of Zenta the name of Eugene had become celebrated throughout Europe; but that success was gained against a nation of ignorant barbarians, to whom the art of war remained as rude as it was in the Middle Ages. In the first campaigns of the war of the Spanish Succession Eugene was matched against the best and most experienced generals of the most military nation in Europe. Catinat, one of the most estimable of all the statesmen and soldiers who served Louis XIV.,—a pupil of the Great Condé and Turenne,—a commander of antique simplicity, dignity, and virtue, and with scientific acquirements second to none except Vauban in his age,—was at the head of the French in Italy, in superior numbers, when Eugene, with 30,000 Imperialists, descended the Adige. But the Prince was now in the enjoyment of all the vigour, brilliancy, and good fortune of youth—full of confidence in himself, and flushed, not only with the great victory of Zenta, but with a still greater victory he had obtained over the Aulic Councils, which enabled him to carry on war independently of the restraint of councillors at home. Catinat, on the contrary, was old and worn, his spirit broken with the recent loss of a brother, who was to him all his family, his self respect wounded by the imperious and meddling dictates of unworthy ministers,

and the ignorant presumption of favourites placed over his head. His military plans were overruled by restrictions transmitted from Versailles, where the incompetent Chamillart was blundering through the duties of Minister of both Finance and War, and labouring under responsibilities greater than Colbert or Louvois had ever dared to undertake. On the present occasion, especially, Catinat was lamed for decisive action by being ordered to keep the defensive.

Eugene commenced the campaign by a stroke of genius worthy of Hannibal or Napoleon. He had descended as far as Roveredo, and was there cooped up in the narrow valley, with Catinat on his front occupying the pass of Chiusa and the main road into Italy. After having convinced himself that the enemy was unassailable in his position, he surveyed the valley round in every direction, and by skilful manœuvres concealing his designs from the enemy, with the aid of the people of the country made a road for his troops across mountains hitherto deemed impassable even by the natives themselves, and conveyed his artillery, baggage, and armaments over precipitous heights with incredible exertions. On the 24th of May, 1701, he set forth from Roveredo; on the 4th of June he had transported his whole army to the rear of Catinat's position, twenty-five miles from Verona. Catinat's troops, although superior to Eugene's in numbers, were now insufficient to keep the whole line of the Adige. By a series of skilful manœuvres, Eugene induced the French marshal to scatter his forces along the line of the river; then by dexterous feints he entirely deceived his adversary as to the direction of his march, and the latter was suddenly surprised with the news that a detachment of his forces was entirely routed at Carpi, and the line of the Adige forced. Catinat then retired, and was driven back from position to position till he had crossed the Mincio and Chiese, followed by the Prince till he had planted himself behind the line of the Oglio. These were the commencements of a campaign, which, though not of any great magnitude, yet revealed to the world a new, daring and brilliant military genius, who had in mere strategy outwitted the most cautious and experienced marshal of France.

The Court of Versailles was astounded at the successive retreat of the French troops, and Marshal Villeroi was sent to repair the faults of Catinat. Catinat without a murmur submitted to be deprived of his command and to act under the orders of Villeroi. Villeroi was the evil genius of the armies of France in the last years of

Louis XIV. He had a greater talent for defeat than any general who has a place in history. For the misfortune of France he was brought up as a child with the King; and thus acquired an ascendancy over the monarch which was never impaired by any disaster incurred by his incompetency and fatuity. He was a greater fop than de Vardes or de Guiches, and was known in the *salons* of Versailles as *le charmant*. A man made, wrote Saint Simon, to be the hero of an opera, if he had a voice, but nowhere else. Under this mixture of frippery and folly the Duke of Savoy, though nominally the generalissimo of the French-Spanish army, agreed to serve, but undoubtedly in a Machiavellian spirit, for Victor Amadeus II., though he was now corporally with the French, was in spirit with the Imperialists. Villeroi, the hero of the Court, confident in his power of beating Eugene out of Italy, gave battle, in opposition to the wishes of Catinat, at Chiari. The French suffered a sanguinary defeat, with the loss of 4,000 men. Catinat, who had observed the excellent position of the Prince, sought death on this occasion as a remedy for his dishonour. The Duke of Savoy had a horse killed under him, and exposed his life with immense bravery in order to prove his attachment to the cause he was on the point of deserting. The battle of Chiari took place on the 1st September, 1701. A few months after, when the troops were still in their winter quarters, on the morning of the 1st of February, 1702, Eugene attempted perhaps the most singularly audacious achievement of modern warfare—the surprise of the strongly fortified town of Cremona, situated on the Po, then the head-quarters of Villeroi. Had Eugene succeeded in his project, he would have been in the very centre of the communications of the French army and become master of the Milanese. He introduced about 3,000 of his troops at dead of night into the very centre of the city through an ancient aqueduct; but after an incessant and desperate conflict of twelve hours, he was obliged to retreat by the light of burning houses and magazines, carrying off with him Villeroi, 90 officers, 400 soldiers, and 700 horses. Villeroi was sent to Innsbruck, there kept prisoner for some time, and then released without ransom, as it was imagined that Villeroi was of more service to the allies at the head of the French armies than as a prisoner.\*

\* The following epigram on the occasion was first current in the army, then throughout France:—

After the affair of Cremona, the Duc de Vendôme was sent to repair the disasters of Villeroi; he was the grandson of Henri IV. and Gabrielle d'Estrées, the son of Merceur and Laura Mancini, and, consequently, the cousin of Eugene. This strange character was distinguished at the same time for his shameless debauchery, the filthiness of his manners, the cynical effrontery of his life, and the besotted indolence of his habits as well as for undoubted military genius, an indomitable spirit when thoroughly roused, immense presence of mind and rapidity of judgment in the hour of danger, together with the power of inspiring the soldier with great enthusiasm, founded principally on the license and familiarity with which his inferiors were indulged. Philip V., King of Spain, whose accession to that crown was the whole cause of the war, now joined Vendôme. The Franco-Spanish and Piedmontese forces, with the new reinforcements, amounted to 80,000 men, while Eugene had but 23,000 to oppose them. Vendôme, by skilful manœuvres, forced Eugene to abandon the blockade of Mantua, and the two armies encamped opposite to each other on either side the Mincio, near to Montanara. Here Eugene, who was always too much addicted to partisan warfare, made an attempt to kidnap Vendôme by night out of the centre of the French camp. The plan was on the point of succeeding, and only failed by the disobedience to orders of those sent to carry it out. Vendôme was so enraged at this violation of military etiquette, that he directed the fire of his artillery for a whole day on Eugene's quarters, and the Prince was obliged to leave them. Not long after, at Luzzara, Eugene nearly surprised Vendôme's army in the act of encamping. He had pushed the Imperial forces forward, behind one of the dikes with which the country is intersected, and his advance was only discovered sufficiently soon to give Vendôme time to throw his forces in order of battle, and to display the whole energy of his nature and resources. The bloody but indecisive action of Luzzara took place on August 13. 1702, both sides claimed the victory, and Te Deums were sang at Vienna and Versailles. In this battle Prince Eugene lost his brave friend and general the Prince Commerci.

At the end of the campaign he returned to Vienna, to infuse new life into the Em-

peror's councils and military administration, and to draw closer the bonds of the Grand Alliance. For now the war of the Spanish Succession was about to assume European dimensions. On the news of the acceptance of the fatal legacy of Charles II. by the French King, the Imperial troops had marched into Italy and engaged in hostilities without war being declared. Leopold I. had in vain appealed to the great Powers of Europe for assistance; and the diplomacy of Louis XIV. had procured the recognition of his grandson, the Duke of Anjou, as King of Spain by England, Holland, and the chief Powers of Germany. But the successes of Eugene in Italy revived the spirit of the Grand Alliance; and the death of James II., followed by the recognition by the French King of his son as James III., united all parties in England in a desire for war. Leopold left no means unemployed to enlist the states of the Empire in his cause, and made a firm ally of Frederic, Elector of Brandenburg, by acknowledging him as King of Prussia. The Elector of Bavaria only, who had fought on the side of the Imperial forces in many a campaign in Hungary, though still apparently on the side of Austria, had a secret understanding with France. On May 15. 1702, the declaration of war took place against France at London, the Hague, and Vienna. During the year 1703, while Marlborough was gaining back fortress after fortress of the chain of strongholds in the Spanish Netherlands, which had fallen into the hands of the French through the treachery of the Elector of Bavaria, Eugene was occupied with the duties of the war ministry and the suppression of a revolution in Hungary, which had carried terror to the capital.

The affairs of Austria, indeed, at this crisis were on the very brink of ruin; and the Emperor Leopold, with his Spanish formality and his infatuation for Jesuits and astrologers, music and buffoons, was utterly incompetent to bear the weight of a falling empire. His neglect of some of the great magnates of Hungary had driven them into a rebellion; the advice of the Jesuits, religious persecution, a cruel policy, and sanguinary tribunals had lit again the flames of insurrection, and now French intrigue was lending secret assistance to the insurgents. Moreover, Count Carolyi, one of their chief nobles, having been unable to obtain redress for the insult of an official, broke into open revolt, headed the insurgents, and led them to the gates of Vienna. At the same time, the Elector of Bavaria openly declared for Louis XIV., and Villars, the commander of the French

'Par une faveur de Bellone,  
Et un bonheur sans égal,  
Nous avons retrouvé Crénone,  
Et perdu notre général.'

army of the Rhine, had been ordered to effect a junction with him. The Margrave of Baden, with 40,000 Imperialist troops, had endeavoured to prevent the union, but in vain: the daring and brilliant Villars, in the first campaign, gave him a severe defeat and won a marshal's staff at Friedlingen; in his second campaign he induced the slow and methodic German commander to scatter his troops,—then suddenly crossing the Rhine, drove the German forces before him, passed under the cannon of Freyburg in a fog, broke up the quarters of the Margrave, made himself master of fifty forts on the Rhine, took Kehl, and defeated an attack of the Austrians under Counts Schlick and Styrum. Villars then, by a most daring march, penetrated the defiles of the Black Forest, scaled the crests of the mountains which separate the basin of the Rhine from the basin of the Danube, and effected the junction with the Elector of Bavaria on May 8. 1703, at Tuttlingen. Had the ambition and the advice of Villars now been listened to, the Franco-Bavarian army might have marched to Vienna. The Emperor Leopold was seized with terror and prepared to leave the capital. With the Hungarian insurrection on the one side and the Franco-Bavarian army on the other, the empire seemed indeed to be in the last extremity. But in this emergency Austria was saved by the irresolution of the Elector of Bavaria. When Villars was expecting to hear that the Elector had taken the road to Vienna, the news came that the Prince, who, brave as he was in the field, was entirely governed by the intrigues of his wife, his mistresses, and his love of the most frivolous amusements, had put off the invasion of Austria and gone to the Tyrol, proposing to join Vendôme in Italy, and then with their united forces to come down upon Vienna. The peasants of the Tyrol, however, rose in arms against him, and, after losing half his army, the Elector again joined Villars. In these emergencies Prince Eugene remained at Vienna to direct the whole measures of defence as minister of war, and relinquished the command of the army of Italy to his lieutenant, Guido Stahremberg, the nephew of the brave defender of Vienna against the Turks, a man of great ability and, next to Eugene, the most capable of the Austrian generals. To Count Heister, another able leader, was committed the charge of suppressing the insurrection in Hungary; and Eugene directed the whole of his attention to the dispersion of the Franco-Bavarian army which threatened Vienna.

Villars, indeed, at one moment, had he

been properly supported even by the Court of Versailles, might have marched to Vienna and dictated what terms he chose; but the intrigues of the courtiers at Versailles continued, as well as the folly of the Elector of Bavaria, to stay his progress; disgusted at the loss of the great prize which he saw within his reach, he shortly after threw up his command and returned home; and his place was fortunately taken by two of the most incompetent men who ever led an army, Marsin and Tallard. But next to the folly of its enemies, the wisdom of Eugene saved the Court of Vienna on this occasion, by concerting with Marlborough that famous campaign which was crowned by the victory of Blenheim. From the first moment of their engaging in the same cause, the two leaders regarded each other with mutual esteem and admiration, and had entered into correspondence. To Eugene appears to be due the honour of having first conceived the campaign of 1704, and of the first invitation to Marlborough to leave the Netherlands, now sufficiently protected by his late conquests and by the Dutch army, and to effect a junction with the Imperial forces under himself and the Margrave of Baden, in order to sweep the French and Bavarians out of Bavaria, and deliver Vienna from the fear of invasion. But it would be an ungracious work to attempt, in every great action performed by these two illustrious characters, to exalt one at the expense of the other, and to do for them what they disdained to do for themselves. Some approximation, however, to an estimate of their separate parts in the great drama may be attempted. Never in the whole history of war did two men of such abilities work so well together: they were as two hands of one body, and the slightest shadow of jealousy never appears to have come between them. This harmonious result was brought about, doubtless, very much by the equable tempers and the suavity of manners which characterised both generals; but also, we imagine, the difference of age (thirteen years) contributed not a little towards it; Marlborough was now fifty-four and Eugene forty-one years old; and this seniority gave Marlborough some reason, in addition to his military skill, for taking the lead as he undoubtedly did on most occasions. With the Margrave of Baden, on the other hand, the jealousy, hauteur, and punctiliousness of his character, and the slow and pedantic method of his operations, rendered it difficult even for Marlborough to act; and his presence was a constant cause of embarrassment until Eugene and Marlborough cleverly got rid of him by setting him down to the siege of



towns, which suited the methodic pedantry of his military operations. The part which Eugene performed in this campaign has by no means so splendid an appearance in history as Marlborough's magnificent march from the Moselle to the Danube, which deceived all the generals of France till it was too late to oppose it, and kept all Europe in suspense with wonder and expectation. To Marlborough also exclusively belongs the brilliant victory at the Schellenberg, the triumphant manœuvres by which he effected his junction with Eugene, and the sudden inspiration with which he masked the mass of Tallard's infantry cooped up at his right in the village of Blenheim, then hurled his squadrons across the Nebel on the ill-protected centre of the enemy, cut his army in two, and took nearly the whole of the infantry of the right wing prisoners. Nevertheless, Eugene, in command of the right wing, never had a harder day's fighting, and never exercised more self-denial, than on that occasion. Although he had the Elector of Bavaria in front in a very strong position, with far superior cavalry, he consented to be opposed to him with inferior numbers, knowing that the great stress of battle was to be on the left and centre. He fought with desperation the whole day. Three times he led the Imperial cavalry across the Nebel, and three times they were repulsed. Stung to madness, Eugene put himself at the head of his infantry, charged again across the river, narrowly escaped being shot by a Bavarian trooper, and in sheer desperation turned the left flank of the enemy, and followed close upon the retreat of the Elector, when the centre was broken; his cavalry were so far advanced when the troops of Marlborough were in full pursuit, that a portion of them were mistaken by Marlborough for hostile squadrons, and the English general recalled his own men from pursuit, for fear of a flank attack, otherwise the victory would have been still more destructive to the enemy. And yet, though the total loss of the French army was 40,000 men, this was insignificant compared with the immense moral effect created throughout Europe, and the ulterior consequences. The prestige of the French monarchy was destroyed at a blow. There was a cry of exultation over the whole Continent: the invincible legions had been broken and shamefully captured, and the time of retribution was at hand.

After so immense a success—with the army of France dispersed or taken prisoners—both Eugene and Marlborough were for carrying the war into France, but they were over-ruled by the timid counsels of the Margrave. Landau was consequently invested

and taken; Ulm also captured; and not only was the Court of Vienna delivered from all fear of invasion from Bavaria, but the Electorate was occupied by Imperial troops, and never released until the conclusion of the war. The Emperor, also, being now able to reinforce his troops in Hungary, Heister obtained a great victory over the insurgents, and Vienna was in security on every side.

The next campaign did not fulfil the promise of the last. Marlborough and Eugene had separate commands. The English leader was confined to operations on the Moselle, where his efforts were lamed by the opposition of the deputies of the States and the want of support of the Margrave of Baden. Moreover, he was opposed to Villars, who kept him in check by a series of well-conceived demonstrations. And in Italy, where Eugene commanded, the campaign of 1705 was indecisive though skilful. The Duke of Savoy had now passed openly over to the side of the Allies. The French would not listen to his advances to get the Milanese, and secret offers were made to him from Vienna of Montserrat, the Lomellina, and the Val di Sesia. When his defection became known, Vendôme was sent with an army to overrun his country and seize upon its strongholds. One after another his fortresses were taken away. Turin and its protecting fortresses, however, maintained a desperate defence. Verrua, which commands the navigation of the Po, and is a sort of outwork of Turin, was the last place taken by Vendôme, after a long siege and the loss of 18,000. From thence the French general was called to confront Eugene, who was sent to the relief of his distressed cousin—and was driving before him the brother of Vendôme—Grand Prior of the Order of Malta—a man as profligate, shameless, and revolting in his habits as Vendôme himself, without his abilities.

Eugene exhausted in vain every manœuvre in order to cross the Po and the Adda, to elude his antagonist and carry assistance to Piedmont. In the course of these operations the indecisive battle of Cassano was fought, in which, again, both sides claimed the victory. The campaign was, however, even so far, a brilliant example of Eugene's tactics; for, with inferior forces, he held his ground, and, by always taking the initiative, kept his adversary in check, and suspended the siege of Turin.

The siege of Turin was, however, the great event towards which all Europe looked forward with hope or fear. The probability of its success was discussed in every capital, in every coffee-house, and in every cabinet in Europe. The plans for its assault were

deliberated upon again and again in the presence of Louis XIV. by his generals and ministers; and the aged Vauban himself (*le grand preneur de villes*) was desirous of adding this last success to his glory. La Feuillade, however, the son-in-law of Chamillart, was deputed to conduct the siege with an army of 50,000 men, and immense magazines were formed at Susa, Casale, Crescentino, and Chivasso. The city was invested in May 1706. For some time after the investment the Duke of Savoy remained in his capital to direct the plans for the defence. Before, however, the circumvallation was completed, he gave over the defence of the town to the Marquis de Carail, and of the citadel to Count Daun, passed through the French lines with his cavalry, and withdrew to the mountains to await events. When Eugene descended into Italy, for the year's campaign, he found the Imperialists had already been beaten in their winter quarters, and a task of immense difficulty before him. In order to arrive at Turin, he had to traverse two hundred miles of country; he had to march between numerous strongholds, to cross four navigable rivers, to pass through many defiles, to traverse innumerable canals, and the countless rivulets and torrents which descend one after another from the Alps to the Po, and all in the face of a superior and watchful enemy.

The same day that Eugene passed the Po, Vendôme gave up the command to the Duke of Orleans, afterwards Regent, nephew of Louis XIV., and the husband of one of his daughters by Madame de Montespan: with Orleans was joined in command Marshal Marsin, one of the defeated generals of Blenheim. The Duke of Orleans in vain attempted to check the movements already partly accomplished in the face of Vendôme, and in spite of Vendôme's predictions. On the 29th of August Eugene, after a march of thirty-four days, in which his troops were supported by the ardour of their general under the sufferings caused by intense drought and want of provisions, joined, between Moncagliero and Calmagnola, the Duke of Savoy, who descended from the mountains to meet him with an armed body of peasantry and a small body of troops.

On the morning of the 7th of September, at daybreak, Eugene and his cousin ascended the height of the Superga, on the brow of which stands the white and glittering temple, one of the most splendid in Italy, erected by Victor Amadeus in consequence of a vow made on this ever-memorable occasion. The Duke of Savoy looked down on his devoted capital, in which the whole hope of himself, of his state and dynasty were cen-

tred, and beheld the flag of distress of the inhabitants, which signified that their last sacrifice had been made, and their last strength exhausted. Meanwhile, Eugene was scanning the thirty miles of circumvallation which enclosed the city, and forming his plan of attack. Having completed his survey, he pointed out to his companion the indecisive movements and confusion of the besiegers in the presence of a relieving force, and exclaimed, '*Il me semble, Monsieur, que ces gens-la sont à demi-battus.*' In the French camp, indeed, everything was in disorder, and up to the last moment they had hardly resolved on a plan of action. The Duke of Orleans wished to march out and meet the enemy, and not attempt to hold so vast a circuit of entrenchments, but was overruled by La Feuillade in a council of war. Marsin was without vigour, indeed he acted under a presentiment of coming death. Prince Eugene determined to attack the lines of circumvallation in a peninsula between the Dora and Stura, where they had been left incomplete because the assailant in that quarter was exposed by a flank march. He was resolved to hazard all for such a complete victory as would render him safe after the battle; for since the enemy had 80,000 men to his 30,000, a half or an undecided success would ensure his destruction.

The day was clear and brilliant, a day of September under an Italian sun. The garrison and people of Turin were made aware by signals of the approaching conflict. The ramparts on the side of the battle were crowded with spectators; while on the other, during the whole of the conflict, La Feuillade never ceased his attack on the town and citadel, which was defended by Count Daun and every citizen capable of bearing arms. The dauntless impetuosity which was imputed to Eugene as a fault, and which so often placed his life in danger, and got him wounded thirteen several times, on this day stood him in good stead; without the spirit which he infused into his troops by his constant presence at the most dangerous moments, the battle of Turin had never been won. The French defended the entrenchments everywhere with the greatest obstinacy. The right wing of the allied army, under the Prince of Saxe-Gotha, was delayed by the difficulties of the ground, and the left was the first to arrive at close quarters, and, consequently, had to endure the whole of the enemy's fire, and fell into confusion. Eugene instantly beheld their danger, and, despatching from the centre troops to support them, rode himself to the scene of action. His page and a domes-

tic who followed him were shot by his side; his horse was wounded and fell under him, and he was precipitated into the trench. The soldiers on all sides cried out in terror, but the Prince scrambled up again covered with dust and blood, remounted his horse, and waved his hat; excited by this incident, the troops instantly carried the entrenchment. In the centre, the presence of the Duke of Savoy on the one side and the Duke of Orleans on the other, inspired the combatants with intense ardour; but the allied troops at length carried the ramparts, and the French rapidly gave way as Marsin, their general, fell mortally wounded, and the Duke of Orleans himself, twice struck with musket-shot, was obliged to retire from the field. The right wing, under the Prince of Saxe-Gotha, was the last to storm the line of circumvallation; but this, too, after a dreadful scene of carnage, succeeded. The French troops, however, still fought desperately, and their cavalry attacked the Allies in flanks and rear; but when the second line of the Allies, with the artillery, were brought up, the tide of battle was once more turned, and the French retreated in disorder by the bridges of the Stura, the Dora, and the Po; La Feuillade abandoned the whole of his siege artillery, cast his ammunition into the river, and the whole army struggled in flight on the way to Pignerol.

The quantity of ammunition, siege artillery, and baggage which fell to the spoil of the victors was enormous. The French lost 2,000 killed and 6,000 prisoners. The loss on the side of the Allies was 3,000 killed and wounded. But the ultimate consequences of the victory—the liberation of Italy from the French, and the withdrawal of the French garrisons from every town and fortress—was not less momentous than the immediate result. At four in the afternoon the Duke of Savoy and the Prince entered Turin in triumph amid shouts and acclamations of delirious joy. Eugene was hailed by all as their liberator and saviour, and the press was so great that the two princes with difficulty made their way to the *Te Deum* in the Cathedral. The last charges of powder were expended in salutes of triumph. The two princes dined with Count Daun, the defender of the citadel, who was subsequently made a field-marshal at the request of Eugene. In England the news of the victory was received with jubilant acclamations; and in the same year, two persons died leaving bequests to the victor of Turin.

Yet, with the customary fate of coalitions, the victory of Turin, immense as it was,

was of less advantage to the allied cause than might have been obtained. In the face of danger and disaster, unity prevailed in the confederate councils; but, after success, the temptations of separate interests created jealousy, distrust, and divided efforts. Marlborough, and Godolphin, and the deputies of Holland complained loudly that the victory of Turin was made use of solely for the purpose of taking care of the Imperial interests in Italy. The Imperial troops, instead of following up the French army and increasing their discomfiture, were employed in the reduction of the Milanese, which was treated as an Imperial fief, and in besieging the fortresses occupied by the French. While the Emperor, endeavouring to escape from his engagement to Victor Amadeus, refused to put him in possession of Montserrat, the Lomellina, and the Val di Sesia; and jealous of the offer lately made by Louis XIV. to accept the cession of Naples and Sicily for the Duke D'Anjou in lieu of the rest of the Spanish dominions, he determined to proceed at once to occupy the kingdom of Naples. The Duke of Savoy, on his side, began to be as apprehensive of the domination of Austria in Italy as he had previously been of that of the French; and, although his differences with the Court of Vienna were adjusted by the agency of Marlborough, and the disputed territories ultimately surrendered according to treaty, other difficulties arose in the conduct of the siege of Toulon, which was next resolved upon, and these rendered it impossible that the Duke and his cousin should ever again act together.

The capture of Toulon had been planned by Marlborough, and the scheme was naturally readily adopted by the Maritime Powers. The Court of Vienna embraced it reluctantly, and Eugene joined in its prosecution in a manner so little in accordance with his usual vigour and audacity, that there can be little doubt that he abstained by commands from Vienna, where the Emperor had concluded a secret treaty with France, binding himself to neutrality with respect to Italy; the consequence was that the French garrisons and troops remaining in that country, who might all have been made prisoners, were set at liberty to act against the Allies in other directions. The Imperial Court, with its usual selfishness, was afraid that a too rapid success on the part of the Maritime Powers would have enabled them to conclude a peace in which its own interests might be disregarded. Immense preparations were, however, made for the siege of Toulon, although the Imperial expedition to Naples materially

diminished the chances of success. The Austro-Piedmontese army, to the number of 35,000, descended from the Col di Tende upon Nice, passed Antibes and encamped near Toulon, while an allied fleet of forty-three sail and fifty-seven transports, under Sir Cloudesley Shovel, anchored before Hyères. Hesitation, contentions, and distracted counsels postponed the proper period of assault, and allowed time for the French reinforcements to arrive, and works of defence to be established, which rendered the capture of the place highly difficult if not impossible. The Allies retired from before Toulon, and recrossed the Var, with the loss of 13,000 men by sickness and desertion. The only advantage gained was the capture of the strong place of Susa after their retreat. The Prince left Turin, declaring that he would never again divide command with the Duke of Savoy; deeply annoyed at the conduct of that politic prince, who before the walls of Toulon had continually insinuated to Sir Cloudesley Shovel that only the will and not the power was wanting in the Imperial leader to take the city.

But Eugene was now destined to leave Italy and to share again the glory of that English commander with whom his name will for ever be united. It was at this time contemplated to send him into Spain, to retrieve the defeat of Almanza and restore the fortunes of the Allies in that country. But after mature deliberation, it was determined that the critical position of the Empire with respect to its foreign relations, as well as its internal condition and the domestic difficulties of the cabinet, did not admit of the removal of its best general and soldier to so remote a theatre. The skilful diplomacy of Marlborough had averted the peril which had lately hung over the Empire, in the threatening aspect of Charles XII., but the fear of its recurrence still remained. The Czar, Peter the Great, was by no means a neighbour from whom the Court of Vienna felt secure; and a Turkish war, and a revolt in Hungary, or both together, might break out at any instant, while there had been differences in the cabinet which no influence but that of Eugene could compose. It was consequently resolved to send Guido Stahremberg — himself a most able general — to the assistance of the Archduke Charles, and that Eugene should be despatched to the Hague to concert measures with Marlborough for the approaching campaign in the North.

Indeed, on all sides it seemed determined that the campaign of 1708 should retrieve the failures of 1707. That year had been

marked for the Allies by several disasters, unredeemed by any brilliant success. Besides the failure of the attempt at Toulon, the great defeat of Almanza had ruined the Austrian cause in Spain. Marlborough, hampered in his plans by the Dutch deputies, had been kept in check by Vendôme in Spanish Flanders. Villars had passed the Rhine at Kehl, put to rout an Imperial army under the Margrave of Baireuth, an old and incompetent general, and laid the Imperial territory under contribution as far as the plains of Blenheim; and Dugnai Trouin and Forbin had attacked a convoy of troops going to Spain, and taken and destroyed four English ships of the line. France had made an immense effort to recover herself, although in the last stage of exhaustion, and she paid dearly for the effort. Seven years of war had impoverished the country, exhausted its energy, decimated its able-bodied citizens, drained its resources to the last dregs, and a sombre anxiety weighed on the minds of king, ministers, court, and people.

Nevertheless, the campaign of 1708 opened favourably for the French. They achieved several brilliant successes, which affected for a time even Marlborough with deep anxiety. The Duke of Burgundy and Vendôme commanded jointly in Flanders an army of 90,000 men. Their first operations were well conducted and successful; and Marlborough, who commanded a somewhat inferior force, allowed them to advance into Brabant, and retired upon Louvain, where he invited Eugene to join him in the campaign of Flanders. While Eugene was on his way, the French came suddenly up from their camp between Genappe and Braine-la-Leude, — on the very ground on which the battle of Waterloo was fought in the next century, which Marlborough had also reconnoitred with a view to a general action, — and moved towards the Dender and the Scheldt, with the intention of investing Oudenarde. In order to invest Oudenarde, the French should first have taken possession of Lessines, on the Dender, a strong camp where a hostile army could assume a position which would oblige them to raise the siege of Oudenarde. But Lessines being twice the distance from Marlborough which it was from themselves, they were in no hurry to take possession of it, the more especially as Marlborough, in order to do so, must place himself between their army and the French frontier. Marlborough was resolved to risk everything in order to prevent the siege. Consequently, by a rapid march, continued during two days and the whole of one night, he got possession of Lessines, and prevented the investment.

The movement upon Lessines was a great stroke of genius, and is wholly attributable to the English general.

Eugene had joined Marlborough on the 9th of July, the day before the passage of the Dender at Lessines, with a small troop of horse, without waiting for the body of his troops, which were on their march. His presence, as was always the case, raised the spirits and enthusiasm of the army to the highest pitch. From Lessines to Oudenarde was a march of fifteen miles. At early dawn on the 11th, Cadogan, Marlborough's favourite officer, together with Rantzau, a Hanoverian general, was despatched with the advanced guard, to throw bridges over the Scheldt under the cannon of Oudenarde. Cadogan completed his bridges towards mid-day, passed the river, took up a strong position, proceeded with his cavalry to reconnoitre, and descried several squadrons of the enemy on the further side of the plain, with the men and foraging parties scattered over the country. He immediately attacked and drove back the enemy with his cavalry; but other columns arriving to their support, the French, in their turn, drove back Cadogan; when coming in sight of the allied detachment in position, and seeing the troops in the act of crossing, they supposed the whole confederate army to have crossed the Scheldt, and then retired upon Gavre, where the French army were also crossing. The ill-humour of Vendôme and the stubborn opposition of the Duke of Burgundy prevented even then the French army from taking up the best position under the circumstances, and contradictory orders so embarrassed the movements of the troops, that Pfeiffer's Swiss brigade was placed where it was completely cut off from the rest of the army, and the whole detachment were taken prisoners by Cadogan at the very commencement of the battle.

About two o'clock in the day Marlborough and Eugene arrived on the right bank of the Scheldt, posted themselves by the bridge, and gave orders to the troops as they arrived to take up position. Marlborough then entrusted the command of the right wing, in which were the British troops, to Eugene; his division, together with the Prussians and Hanoverians, amounted to sixty battalions. Marlborough himself commanded the centre, consisting of but twenty battalions of Dutch and Hanoverians; while the veteran Marshal Overkirke, together with the Prince of Orange, commanded the Dutch and the Danes in the left wing, and under the direction of Marlborough executed the important manœuvre which determined the fate of the day. Eugene, in-

deed, was the first to break the enemy's line on the right, a success which was followed up by the charge of General Natzmer with the Prussian horse; but the Prince, in his turn, was checked by the household squadrons of the French, and by the musketry which poured forth from behind every hedge of the intersected country through which he had to advance. Marlborough, in the centre, fought his way foot by foot from hedge to hedge till he reached the hamlet of Diepenbeck, where he was brought up by a desperate resistance. At that juncture he discovered that the enemy's right extended only to the acclivity of the steep hill of Oycke, and that they had neglected to occupy the high ground above: he took advantage of this error, and directed Overkirke to occupy the heights, turn the right, and cut it off from the main body. This manœuvre was skillfully and rapidly executed by the old marshal, so that at nightfall the hostile right was completely surrounded by the allied army; and the Prince of Orange, who commanded the Danes on the extreme left, after scattering and destroying the troops before him, found himself face to face with Eugene and the troops of his own right, and, in the obscurity, almost mistook them for enemies. From the intricacy of the ground, the darkness of the lines, and the complete isolation of a great portion of the French troops, lost among the hollows, hedges, and defiles, the confusion among the hostile army was extreme. Finding themselves attacked in the rear, many fled with precipitation; others, seeing themselves surrounded, attempted, in vain, to cut their way through. Marlborough himself declared that with two hours more daylight he would have made an end of the French army, and dictated the terms of peace; such, also, was the opinion of Eugene. 'This victory of Oudenarde,' wrote Marlborough, in a short but significant despatch to Mr. Secretary Boyle, 'will, I hope, make us easy at home, and satisfy all our friends that were not so before.' Yet Vendôme, to the last, asserted that nothing was yet lost, and was for renewing the combat at break of day. It must be added that even in retreat Vendôme well sustained his reputation: he collected together a body of stragglers and formed a rear guard while the mass of the army fled, in disorder, towards Ghent, and took up a position behind the canal between Bruges and Ghent. The allied generals passed the night on the field of battle, which cost the French 6,000 in killed and wounded, and 9,000 prisoners; the loss of the Allies amounted to 3,000 killed and wounded. While the army was still on the field, the

siege of Lille, the capital of French Flanders, was resolved upon. Marlborough, well aware of the discontent which existed in France, and the exhaustion of the country, proposed to mask Lille and to march directly into the enemy's territory; but this plan was opposed by the Dutch as being too hazardous, and even by Eugene, who however daring in the field, was sometimes timid as a strategist. The siege of Lille was committed to Eugene: its progress was regarded by all Europe with fixed attention, and it forms one of the most memorable enterprises in the history of siege operations.

Lille, the capital of French Flanders, was ceded to Louis XIV. by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1668. It had been fortified by Vauban, and was considered one of his masterpieces, while the inhabitants had become completely gallicised by forty-one years of French occupation. The Marshal Boufflers, celebrated for his defence of Namur, was deputed to defend it; and such vast preparations were made that the first efforts of the Allies were treated with contempt and ridicule. The difficulties of the undertaking lay not only in the strength of the place, but a formidable hostile army was in the field commanding the water communications of the Scheldt and the Lys, by which the supplies, cannon, and ammunition should have been forwarded to the besiegers. Nevertheless, the skilful co-operation of Marlborough and Eugene overcame all obstacles—the convoys were protected on the route from Brussels, and when that route was stopped Marlborough opened another communication with England by way of Ostend. Marlborough, with his covering army, and by his superior strategy, made abortive every effort of the enemy to interrupt the siege, which was carried on by Eugene with inflexible ardour. The resistance of the place was heroic; every inch of ground cost a deluge of blood. In one assault Eugene himself was struck on the head by a musket ball, and Marlborough was for a time obliged both to command the operations in the field and to superintend the siege. After four months of incessant fighting both by night and by day, the town surrendered, and shortly after Boufflers capitulated for the citadel.\* Notwithstanding

the lateness of the season (Lille was taken on the first of December), the campaign did not conclude without the reduction of Ghent and the surrender of Bruges and Plasendael. Thus the whole of Spanish Flanders was liberated from the French, and one of the most important frontier towns of France fell into the hands of the Allies.

This campaign was more deplorable in its results for France than any preceding one. The victories of Blenheim and Ramillies had left the soil of the country untouched, and strong places beyond her frontier still in her possession; but now a way was opened to the enemy into the heart of the country. Indeed, a party of French refugees made an incursion into France from Courtray, reached the vicinity of Versailles, and carried off the first equerry of the King on the bridge of Sèvres, in the belief that it was the Dauphin, and the terror of the enemy was in Paris itself. Besides this the nation had descended many degrees in the scale of distress, exhaustion, and despair. Twice had France arisen from prostration in the face of immense disaster, and made head against confederated Europe; but this time the elements themselves seemed leagued with her enemies to annihilate all power of recovery. A winter of Arctic severity set in all over Europe, and was especially severe in France. The Rhone itself, the most headlong of rivers, was frozen to its mouth; the sea was frozen on the coasts as it freezes only in the polar circle; wines and spirituous liquors were frozen within doors; fruit-trees were frozen and split; the olive trees of the South were destroyed, and the seed perished in the furrow. Business was suspended in the courts of law, in shops and counting houses; whole families were frozen to death in cabins and garrets. The life of man and the spirit of nature were alike extinguished by the intensity of the cold. When the frost disappeared in the month of March, the prospects of the year were appalling: there were no hopes of harvest, and the price of corn was enormous. The scarcity of cattle was so great that it was not repaired for

\* During the siege there were various interchanges of compliments between Marshal Boufflers and Eugene; and the Prince allowed the marshal to draw up his own articles of capitulation, as a tribute to his glorious defence. When the citadel was surrendered, the Prince, together with the Prince of Orange, made the marshal a visit, embraced him, and overwhelmed him with compliments. The mar-

shal in return invited the Prince to sup with him in the citadel, which was to be evacuated on the morrow. Eugene accepted on condition that he should be entertained with the same dishes which the marshal would have eaten if the siege had continued. The marshal consented; and the first dish of which the two antagonists partook was a dish of horse-flesh, which both declared to be excellent. This dish was, however, followed by others of a different character. On the morrow the marshal returned the visit at the quarters of Prince Eugene, who gave him a magnificent banquet.

half a century. Through the heavy war taxes and the consequent oppression of industry, commerce was suspended, the finances were in a state of ruin, and the currency depreciated. The exemption of the nobility and clergy from imposts increased the sufferings of the lower classes. The people died in silence in the country, but broke into riot in the towns, and insulting placards against *Louis le Grand* were posted in the streets, on the walls of churches, and on his very statues. In this extremity Louis XIV., deeply affected with the misery of his people, made use of every effort to bring some alleviation to their suffering. Corn was sent for from Dantzick, the Barbary States, and the Archipelago. The labourers were instructed to sow their fields in the spring with barley, oats and Indian corn. The King sacrificed his gold and his nobles their silver plate. Madame de Maintenon set the fashion of breakfasting on cakes of oatmeal among the highest families in the country, and nothing was eaten in France but brown and black bread for many months. But more than all, the King resolved to sacrifice his pride, and to sue in humility for peace to those burgesses of Holland whom he had formerly overwhelmed with his arrogance. He sent the president Rouillé to Holland, to open negotiations for peace. He offered to give up Spain, the Indies, and the Milanese to Charles; to reserve for his grandson only Naples and Sicily; to give up the Low Countries with Menin, now in the possession of the Allies; to surrender Ypres in place of Lille; and to restore the relations with the Empire on the footing of the peace of Ryswick.

As soon as it was known that negotiations had been set on foot, each member of the Grand Alliance began to swell to the utmost the budget of his claims. England, indeed, demanded nothing for herself but what had been already offered — the recognition of the title of the Queen and the Protestant Succession, the demolition of Dunkirk, the cession of Newfoundland, and the expulsion of the Pretender from France. But the Queen and her government were overwhelmed with memorials from every member of the Alliance. Leaving alone the smaller members, the Dutch, although they hesitated to accede to England's demand of the demolition of Dunkirk, made out a list of towns, now in possession of France, which should be delivered to them to create the famous barrier; while the House of Hapsburg, who thought the demand of the Dutch excessive, insisted on the abandonment of the whole of the do-

minions of the Spanish monarchy; that the relations between the Empire and France be restored, not on the footing of the peace of Ryswick, but on that of Westphalia; that Strasbourg should be surrendered; and, moreover, the Archduke Charles was not satisfied with all Spain, but required Roussillon in addition, and the territory ceded by the peace of the Pyrenees. It was useless to attempt to conciliate such conflicting claims; the proposals of Rouillé were rejected, and the pretensions of the Allies raised. The French minister requested that the negotiation might not be broken off until he had communicated with Versailles.

Louis, on the arrival of his courier with this intelligence, called his Council together on the 28th of April. The account which Torcy, nephew of the great Colbert, then minister of the King, has given of this meeting is most pathetic. Eight years and a half before a similar council, in which all now present were also included, had been called to decide whether the House of Bourbon should accept the heritage of the vast monarchy of Spain. It was resolved, not without much discussion, to accept the immense inheritance. A week after their momentous decision had been taken, the Duke of Anjou was declared King of Spain at Versailles, received homage in the cabinet of Louis XIV., after which the great Monarch caused the folding doors to be thrown open before all his court, and presented his grandson with the words, '*Messieurs, voilà le Roi d'Espagne.*' But how vast now was the change. The King, no longer the same as in the plenitude of power, was grown old and worn with anxiety. France, exhausted, was battling for existence, instead of giving, as she once had done, the law to Europe. The council was composed of the Dauphin; his son, the Duke of Burgundy; Pontchartrain, Chancellor of France; the Duke de Beauvilliers; the Marquis de Torcy; Chamillart, the War Secretary; and Desmarets, Controller-General. Beauvilliers, in words of emotion, described the desolation of France. The Duke of Burgundy wept at his description, and all joined in his tears. The whole Council was for peace. The King resigned himself to the demolition of Dunkirk; to the cession of Lille, Tournay, and other places demanded by the Dutch; to restore Strasbourg; to return to the treaty of Westphalia, and to accept Naples alone for his grandson without Sicily. Time pressed; the campaign was about to open; and, in this extremity, De Torcy offered to go in disguise to the Hague and offer these conditions to the Allies. Heinsius, the Grand Pensionary—he whom Louvois had



once threatened to put in the Bastille—was astounded when he learnt that the minister of France was waiting in his antechamber. Heinsius took care, in the present instance, to avenge an affront which he had never forgotten. At the suggestion of the Imperial party, he again proposed the erection of Franche Comté into a kingdom to indemnify Philip V., and Torcy in despair turned to Marlborough.

Marlborough was at this time in secret correspondence with both the courts of St. Germain and of Hanover, professing to both princes that he was ready to serve them unto the last drop of his blood, to secure both their accessions to the throne of England: nevertheless, we think, all things considered, that the perusal of his correspondence with Godolphin and the Duchess leaves no doubt that if he had conducted the negotiations alone with Torcy, peace would have been made on far better conditions than were subsequently obtained. 'M. de Torcy,' he wrote to Godolphin, 'has offered so much that I have no doubt it will end in a good peace.' Marlborough overcame the objections of the Pensionary to the principal articles. Conference followed upon conference, and counter proposals on proposals. Louis, pressed more and more, was willing to give up Naples—that is, abandon his grandson wholly to satisfy all the demands of England and Holland; but the whole difficulty was with Austria, and the Allies would not at that time separate their interests from those of the Empire, and nothing would satisfy the House of Hapsburg but an undertaking on the part of Louis XIV. to join with the Allies in ejecting his own grandson from Spain, if that country should not be evacuated within two months. The King, when the *ultimatum* of the Allies which reserved the power of making further demands was made known to him, refused acceptance, declared that it was better to be at war with his enemies than with his own children, and prepared again to renew the struggle.

France arose, once more, heroically from her despair, at the summons of her monarch, to enter upon another campaign for the honour of the French name. Although the conferences of Utrecht were not opened till 1712, this was the last campaign in which a really great battle was fought; and both parties prepared themselves for the deadliest struggle of the whole war. Louis XIV. had at last resolved on entrusting the restoration of his fallen fortunes to the right man, the brilliant, gasconading, but hitherto neglected Villars, the victor of Friedlingen, so happily styled by Voltaire, who knew him well,—

'L'heureux Villars! fanfaron, plein de cœur.'

Hitherto the genius of this spirited commander had not been allowed a sufficient field. He had, indeed, been opposed to Marlborough on the Moselle in 1705, where, though restrained by positive orders not to hazard an engagement, he gained reputation by checking his adversary. Since his great successes against the Elector of Bavaria, before he became the ally of France, his ability and science had been thrown away in a petty defensive warfare in the Alps against the Duke of Savoy, or occupied with the suppression of the revolt in the Cevennes. Now, however, he flew to the frontiers, where he was received enthusiastically by the soldiers, with whom he was an especial favourite. No leader was so calculated to restore the lost spirit of an army, and above all, a French army. He shared the black bread and the privations of the meanest soldiers, sat with them under their tents and around their watch-fires, and told them stories of the prowess of Frenchmen, such as Frenchmen especially love to hear. Yet Villars himself was frightened at the state in which he found the army. The battalions, indeed, were tolerably full; for the famine which depopulated France drove men to follow the bread-waggons of the army. Yet these were now for the most part empty. The soldier was in want of everything—bread, arms, and clothes, for even clothes were often bartered away for bread. Yet the popularity of Villars—a popularity founded, not like Vendôme's, upon licence, but on qualities which made him beloved by enemies as well as by friends—wrought wonders; and in a short time he declared that the patience and firmness of his soldiers surpassed belief; although, with an army so ill provided, consisting so largely of raw levies, so discouraged by disaster, he dared not take the offensive, and opposed the designs of the Allies by a war of marches and entrenchments.

The confederate army took the field well equipped, wanting in nothing, full in numbers, and eager for assault, confident of victory, and proud of their commanders. The allied plan of campaign was to force Villars to a battle, besiege the strong places on the Upper Lys, penetrate as far as Boulogne, take it with the aid of a fleet, then lay Picardy under contribution, and push on to Paris. From the backwardness of the season, it was late in June before they took the field. When they did so, they found Villars posted between Douay and the Lys, behind lines so strong, both by nature and art, that they did not venture to attack him. Making a feint in the direction of Villars, which induced him to draw off part of the garrison

of Tournay, together with those of other towns, for his own defence, they then turned on Tournay, took it, and proceeded to invest Mons. Villars did not venture to interfere with the siege of Tournay; but when he saw Mons was threatened, he broke up from his camp by the Lys, and marched to the heath of Malplaquet, which was situated in front of one of the openings of the country called *trouées*, between two thick woods on the plain of Mons. Villars had so adjusted his movements that the Allies thought his forward progress was only a feint, to enable him to throw reinforcements into Mons. However, when Villars took up his position at Malplaquet, on the night of the 8th September, he found the Allies between himself and Mons. The left of Marlborough was so close to his right, that cannonading commenced. Marlborough was for immediate attack, having, as he thought, the advantage in troops, before the enemy could fortify his position. To this the Dutch deputies objected, as also did Eugene, who thought he should not have sufficient time to bring up his own men. Mons, then, was blockaded, various movements made, while it was determined to bring Villars to an engagement. Villars, faithful to his defensive system, entrenched himself with all speed, and made his position as strong as art could make it. His two wings of infantry occupied the woods—that of Lasniere being on his left, that of Sart on his right—protected by abatis and earthworks of great strength and solidity. When the allied generals surveyed his position at daybreak on the 10th, it seemed so formidable that a council of war was again called, and Eugene urged the necessity of waiting for a further detachment from Tournay. Marlborough, it is said, was still for immediate attack. The remainder of the 10th was then spent in dispositions; while Villars was employing every hour, night and day, in strengthening his position with earthworks, entrenchments, fascines, and barricades of trees. Late on the 10th he struck out a second line of entrenchments, behind which he might retire, if beaten from the first. On the morning of the 11th, under cover of a fog, the allied forces placed their batteries in position; the sun broke through at half-past seven, and the action commenced. Eugene commanded the right, which was to advance upon the wood of Sart, and carry the entrenchments there. Marlborough reserved to himself the centre, which was to move upon the redans on the open ground; while the Prince of Orange, supported by the hereditary Prince of Hesse-Cassel, led the Dutch infantry on the left. The allied troops, though compos-

ed of so many different nations, were all united with one spirit, bound together by the remembrance of many victories, and full of confidence in their generals. The French, however, were animated in the highest degree with patriotism, and enthusiasm spread itself from rank to rank.

The aged Marshal Boufflers had served to increase the spirit of devotion in the soldiers, by joining the camp two days before, and in spite of seniority, consenting to serve under Villars. Some of the regiments, famished as they had been, threw away their bread, to be the better prepared for action; and when Villars appeared among them, shouted, '*Vive le roi et M. de Villars.*' Eugene having been the first to advise the battle, he commenced with the attack on the wood of Sart. The contest here was desperate, as it was on every part of the battle on that day. The Prince led his troops three times against the hostile entrenchments, exposed himself at the head of his infantry, and though severely wounded in the head, refused to have it dressed. After a whole morning's incessant fighting, he found it impossible to drive the French from their last entrenchment, but he maintained his position in the wood, and awaited the event of the conflict on the rest of the line.

The right wing was the strongest portion of the French entrenchments, being triple in construction and bristling with cannon. Marlborough's plan of battle had been to make only a feint at this part, but the Prince of Orange converted it into a real attack, and by his inconsiderate valour caused immense loss. As he advanced against the first entrenchment, 2,000 of his infantry and five general officers were brought down with one discharge; however he stormed the first entrenchment and the second, but was brought up at the third; and though he seized the standard of one of the regiments and planted it on the hostile parapet with his own hand, found it impossible to get further, and being charged in flank by some French brigades who leaped out of the entrenchments, he was obliged to retire, leaving the ground behind him heaped with his own dead. The fire was so murderous, that of 200 French refugees, cadets of good family, 195 were killed. The Dutch battalions lost several colours which they had taken, and their advanced batteries. Eugene now again renewed the battle desperately on the right, and to resist his assault Villars drew some of the troops from his centre and led them himself; in the attack he was struck below the knee with a ball, and ordered a chair to be brought that he might still direct the conflict, but he fainted and was carried

from the field.\* Notwithstanding this, however, the allied battalions were again repulsed to the skirt of the wood of Lasniere. Marlborough then perceiving that the centre had been thinned, ordered Lord Orkney to assault the redans. The troops who occupied the redans being nearly unsupported, the redans were carried by Lord Orkney, and the batteries upon them turned against the enemy. Then the Prince of Auvergne began to press through the French line with the allied cavalry, and a fierce and most terrific conflict commenced. Auvergne was charged again and again by the French dragoons, who had been placed in the rear of the French line, and was continually repulsed until Orkney had established his infantry on the parapets, when with the aid of their fire and that of the cross batteries, the French cavalry were in their turn thrown in disorder. Marlborough now brought up against them a second line of British and Prussian cavalry, who charged and drove the enemy before them, till they were assaulted again by a fresh body of horse, consisting of the splendid *élite* of the French household troops, who carried everything before them. At this crisis Eugene came up opportunely with his horse, and after a series of desperate conflicts, in which the French returned again and again to the charge, this gallant body retreated across the plain, and the French centre was broken. Boufflers, on whom the command had devolved, and who had in person led the mousquetaires and gardes du corps of the splendid

squadrons of the royal household repeatedly to the charge in the tremendous conflict at the centre, seeing that both wings were cut off, gave orders for retreat, which he effected in magnificent order, turning round from time to time to charge with his cavalry and cover the fugitives. The Allies were too much exhausted for pursuit. This was the greatest battle of the whole of the wars of Louis XIV., and hardly any contest in modern warfare, with the exception of Waterloo and Talavera, has been so fiercely contested. Few guns or colours were taken, and the loss on the side of the Allies was greater than that of the enemy. The French killed and wounded amounted to 14,000, those of the Allies to 20,000, of whom 11,000 were Dutch. The Dutch infantry never recovered from that terrible field, which was as fatal to them as Rocroi had been to the infantry of Spain.

Louis now again humbled himself before his antagonists, and humbled himself in vain. He offered to accept the hard preliminaries which had been offered to De Torcy, provided only the Allies would spare his honour, and accept of some modification of Article 37, which obliged him to turn his arms against his grandson. Conferences between the plenipotentiaries of the different Powers were however opened at Gertruydenberg. But it was found impossible to conciliate the jarring interests and pretensions of the confederates. In the midst of these contentions, a still more humiliating proposal was tendered to the French King, 'that he should undertake the sole responsibility of ejecting his grandson from Spain' before any peace should be agreed upon. Louis, driven to the last extremity, offered to subsidise the Allies against his grandson in Spain, and give up Alsace and Valenciennes to the Austrians; but the influence of Austria secured the rejection of his proposal, and the French plenipotentiaries returned on the 15th of July, 1710, after five months and a half of humiliation. In England only did Louis find ground for hope and consolation. The ambitious, domineering, and arrogant spirit of the Duchess of Marlborough had done more for him than his armies in the field. She had disgusted the Queen with herself, her husband, and the war. The Whig Ministry was on the point of falling. The imprudent persecution of Sacheverel had let loose against them a torrent of popular indignation which consummated their ruin; and the opinions of Harley and Mrs. Masham were already on the point of being as triumphant with the country as they were with the Queen. The nation was rapidly becoming weary of a war from which they

\* In this battle Prince Eugene put forth all his skill, and displayed even more than his accustomed bravery; for he regarded it as especially his own. When pressed to retire to have his wound dressed, he replied, 'If I am to die here, what matters it? if I am not, there will be plenty of time this evening.' He was probably desperate to succeed, that he might not have the blame thrown on him of rejecting Marlborough's advice to attack before Villars had entrenched himself. In this Marlborough was probably right: no general ever made fewer mistakes, and the result, we think, proves that he made no mistake here; for the dreadful loss of the Allies was caused by the increased strength of the French position: although it may be objected that the Prince of Orange caused the largest part of the loss by doing more than his part in the scheme of the battle, yet, as it happened, his attack operated greatly towards securing victory; for Boufflers had need of all his forces to oppose him, and was consequently able to spare none for Villars, when Villars was hard pressed on the left, and sent for reinforcements. Villars was therefore obliged to impoverish his centre, which gave Marlborough an opportunity of breaking through. Nevertheless, Villars always maintained that if he had not been carried off the field, he should have charged the Allied cavalry in flank when they broke through, and won the battle; but Voltaire, who had often heard an account of the battle from Villars, says, 'I have found very few who believed him.'

expected no further advantages, and of which they alone supported the main burden, and alone fulfilled the onerous engagements.

The next campaign, which was the last in which Marlborough and Eugene were destined to act together, was principally remarkable for the great caution displayed on both sides. Villars was restrained by injunction from Versailles from risking a battle; and Marlborough, aware that he was rapidly falling into disgrace, was unwilling to risk a great battle with an impeachment before him. Marlborough, in pursuance of his plan, obtained possession in the first campaign of the whole line of the Lys, and of the towns of Douay, Bethune, and St. Venant. Yet, skilful as were the operations both of Villars, who was manœuvring carefully with his last army to save France, and Marlborough, who was manœuvring with equal care to save his head, nothing occurred equal to the splendid and bloodless capture of the French line at Bouchain by Marlborough in 1712, in which he put forth all his skill, and passed Villars at the spot where he had boasted that he brought his antagonist to his *ne plus ultra*—an operation which will ever be considered as a perfect masterpiece of strategy.

But the event had now occurred which was to change the whole aspect of the war. The Emperor Joseph, who had succeeded his father Leopold in 1705, died in the very prime of youth, of the small-pox, and his brother Charles, the Prince for whom the Allies had lavished their blood and treasure for eleven years, was elected to the Empire; this circumstance strengthened immeasurably the authority of the peace party in England, who found no difficulty in reinforcing their arguments against the war by the consideration that England could have small interest in sacrificing her soldiers and spending seven millions a year for the purpose of reviving the colossal monarchy of Charles V.

The death of Joseph was bitterly felt by Eugene. He was personally deeply attached to the young Emperor, who, with his free, generous, buoyant spirit, was in most respects the direct opposite of his gloomy and reserved successor. When the young Sovereign was seized with his fatal malady, Eugene, being about to leave for the Netherlands, pressed earnestly to be allowed to visit his sick bed; but the Emperor refused to subject the chief support of his empire to the chance of contagion.

While the Archduke Charles was preparing to leave Barcelona, Eugene, leaving the command of the army in the Netherlands to Marlborough, was actively engaged in canvassing the courts of Germany to secure the

election of the new monarch to the Empire, and in covering the scene of their deliberations at Frankfort with the army of the Rhine. When the troops were dismissed to their winter quarters, the Prince went to meet his new Emperor at Innsbruck to discuss the present state of affairs. He found the Counts Zinzendorf and Wratislaw, ministers of the late monarch, already in attendance. As may be imagined, the relations with England was the chief topic of discussion. Everything in this country was going against the Imperial interests. Not only were the Whigs dismissed from power; not only had public feeling and a majority of the Lower House declared loudly in favour of the Tories and against the war; not only were they aware that secret negotiations of the most unfavourable character were being conducted between the Tory ministers and the Court of Versailles, but the Austrian envoy, Count Gallas, had been dismissed under circumstances of an extremely unpleasant character.

In this embarrassed state of affairs, the Emperor proposed that Eugene himself should visit England, in the hope that his personal influence might operate upon the Queen's government, and bring about a renewed prosecution of the war for the same purposes as before. Eugene himself had no illusions about his mission, and thought it a hopeless one. In his long and intimate connexion with Marlborough, he had acquired a thorough knowledge of the height to which party spirit ran in England, and the hopelessness of his task. Nevertheless, in obedience to the wish of his sovereign, he determined to make the attempt. The Tory ministry, as soon as they heard of his proposed visit, used every effort to avert it, and declared that the popular feeling was so strong against the war, that they could not answer for his safety. The Prince, however, embarked at the Hague on January 7, 1712; and after a stormy passage of nine days he arrived in the Thames. The first question which he asked on his arrival showed his acquaintance with the state of English parties, and his knowledge of the plans of the Tory ministry. He asked, 'whether the new lords were created,' who were to give the ministry a majority in the Upper House, as they already possessed one in the Lower.

As far as his mission was concerned, it was, as he foresaw, an entire failure. The Queen received him civilly and coldly. She presented him with a splendid sword on her birthday, but regretted that the state of her health did not allow her to discuss politics, and referred him to her ministers. He

presented her with a memorial, and drew up five others for her ministers, recalling the mutual engagements of England to the Empire, and offering, on the part of the Emperor, to make greater sacrifices than ever. The ministers listened to him with indifference, and postponed a reply till they had consulted the Commons.

Both Harley and St. John concealed the negotiations then in full activity between France and England, and declared that England had contracted no engagements with France. St. John, Prince Eugene said, from his superior knowledge of French, answered fluently enough, and evaded direct replies with great dexterity; but Harley took advantage of his bad French, made replies in unintelligible noises which nobody could understand, and then turned away to some other subject. However, by the people he was received with even more cordial demonstrations than Blucher received in the streets of London after the campaign of 1815. Whenever he was expected to appear crowds assembled to get a glimpse of him; he was constantly fêted by both Whigs and Tories, and the latter were as anxious to get a view of him as the former. Even Swift, who wrote such libellous stuff about him in his 'Four Years of Queen Anne's Reign,' proposed to some lords 'to have a sober meal with him, but was unable to compass it.' He, however, saw him at court, and wrote to Stella 'that he was plaguy yellow and very ugly besides.' Pope remarked 'that he took towns as he did snuff.' For, like Frederick and Napoleon, he was a great snuff-taker, and, like them, took it out of his waistcoat pocket. Steele has drawn a not unpleasing portrait of him in the 'Tatler.' The Prince passed most of his time with Marlborough, and could on no account be persuaded not to show him the same respect as in the days of his highest prosperity.

Eugene, finding that he could make no impression in England, passed over into Holland, and assured the States-General that they must now carry on the campaign entirely on their own resources. The Duke of Ormond, who was sent over to command the English forces, had orders to co-operate in no serious movement, and notice of this injunction was given to Villars. A truce with England was soon formally ratified, and the English army separated entirely from the Austro-Dutch forces on the 17th of July; while on the 19th, 5,000 English took possession of Dunkirk as a guarantee of the promises of the French King. Eugene and Villars were thus left face to face. The army of Eugene was still superior to

that of Villars; at the beginning of the campaign it obtained several advantages, and proceeded to invest Landrecy. In spite of the defection of England from the Allies, the progress of Eugene filled Versailles and the whole kingdom with alarm. Not only did this exhausted country sink again into despair, but a succession of calamities had fallen upon the royal family which seemed to mark it out as abandoned by Providence to extinction.

At the same time an additional disaster, the death of the Duke of Vendôme, who, aided by the enthusiastic and resistless outbreak of the national Spanish spirit, had restored Philip to Madrid and brought all Spain, with the exception of Barcelona, under his authority, seemed to portend a reversal of the only successes they had enjoyed. The general discouragement was so great that already courtiers began to advise the King to retire to Blipis. But the King declared to Villars in his last interview before the campaign, that in case of further defeat he was resolved to perish with the army or save the state. Fortunately, however, for France, the genius of Villars was now in the ascendant. Eugene, with his past experience of the caution of the French general, grew himself too venturesome, scattered his forces, and neglected to keep himself in sufficiently close communication with the Dutch general, the Earl of Albemarle, who, with seventeen battalions, was posted behind entrenchments at Denain to protect the convoys of the army of Eugene. Villars suddenly attacked the forces under the Earl of Albemarle, and entirely destroyed or took prisoners the whole of them. Eugene was a witness of their discomfiture from the opposite bank of the Scheldt, and tried in vain to cross the bridge under the enemy's fire to come to their assistance. The Allies lost 8,000 men and 12 cannon, Albemarle and several German princes were taken prisoners, and Villars sent sixty stand of colours to Versailles. The siege of Landrecy was raised; Villars maintained his superiority over Eugene in this and the succeeding campaign; he recaptured several important places in Holland, and Landau and Friburg on the side of Alsatia.

Eugene now advised the Emperor to make peace. The English ministry, taking advantage of the disgrace of the Duke of Marlborough, and of the general change in the aspect of the war, had already concluded peace at Utrecht on the same terms which might have been obtained almost at any moment since the commencement of the war, and had brought the Dutch to accept the same conditions. Victor Amadeus II. also

secured the integrity of all Piedmont on the other side of the Alps, together with the fortresses of Exilles and Fenestrelles, and was besides recognised as King of Sicily. Frederic I., the first King of Prussia, as a sign of his emancipation, alone of all the constituent states detached himself from the Empire and joined also in the peace. Had the Emperor been willing to sign peace at the same time, the House of Hapsburg might have had Landau and perhaps Strasbourg. But the ill success which attended their last campaign obliged the Court of Vienna, not only to renounce them, but to make further concessions. The two leaders of the war were appointed to negotiate the peace, and they agreed to open the conferences at Rastadt. It was fortunate that Villars and Eugene should have had the conduct of so important a negotiation. They had long known and esteemed each other, and their antagonism in war had not impaired their friendship. Both were good diplomats and both brave men, incapable of rancour or jealousy. They met each other in the frank, chivalrous, and courteous spirit which distinguished princes and chevaliers of old. After the first interview of ceremony was paid, they visited each other privately. They passed their mornings in diplomatic fencing, dined together with their followers in the afternoon, and passed their evenings in company at brelan or piquet. Nevertheless, there were many difficulties which had to be smoothed over on both sides before peace could be made certain; but the conduct of both negotiators was admirable. Whether we regard Eugene's management of the negotiation in the narrative of Villars or in that of the volumes before us, his ability and firm and straightforward dealing are most remarkable. '*J'ai toujours pensé,*' he told Villars, '*que la meilleure finesse est de n'en avoir pas,*' and to his honour it must be mentioned that the point for which he made the most strenuous protestations, and for which he combated to the last, though in vain, was the protection of the Catalans and their privileges from the reprisals with which they were threatened by Philip and Louis XIV. The preliminaries having been arranged at Rastadt, the general peace was signed at Baden in Switzerland. Of all the possessions of the Spanish monarchy Charles retained only the portions he already held in possession, Sardinia, Milan, Naples and Mantua; he was obliged to reinstate the electors of Bavaria and Cologne in their dominions, and to ratify the barrier treaty with Holland.

'Thus,' writes Villars, 'after a war of fourteen years, during which the Em-

peror and the King of France had nearly quitted their respective capitals, Spain had seen two rival kings in Madrid, and almost all the petty states of Italy had changed their sovereigns,—a war which had desolated the greater part of Europe, was concluded almost on the very terms which might have been procured at the commencement of hostilities.\*

It was not long, however, before Eugene found himself again at the head of his army in the field. His last great successes were gained against his old enemies, the Turks, who had broken the treaty of Carlowitz and attacked the Venetians in the Morea. Being threatened with hostilities, the Ottoman Power replied by assembling an immense army and sending it across the Save. Eugene went to meet them at the head of the Imperial troops, an army inured to war—in perfect discipline—confident in the remembrance of many victories, and proud of their leader. When such an army—led by such a general, versed in all the science and practice of modern warfare, came into collision with the blind and undisciplined valour of a multitude of barbarians, the result was easy to be foreseen. The defeat of the Turks at Peterwaradin and at Belgrade can be paralleled only with the route of the Persians at Marathon or Arbela. In the battle under the walls of Belgrade, Eugene fought with 40,000 men against 200,000, being himself besieged in his own camp while laying siege to Belgrade. The Imperialists forced the entrenchments of the Turks with irresistible impetuosity, and sent the whole mass of barbarians flying in such terror and disorder that they trampled each other to death in their precipitous confusion. This victory made more noise in Europe than any since the raising of the siege of Turin; odes were written about it in almost every language, and the Pope presented Eugene with a consecrated cap and sword for his services against the infidels. In consequence of this defeat the Turks signed the peace of Passarowitz, which established a treaty for twenty-five years and put Austria in possession of the Banat of Temeswar, and the western part of Wallachia and Servia, together with Belgrade and part of Bosnia.

We have no space now left us to trace the finger of Eugene amid the tangled threads of diplomacy which were woven among the

\* A general view of all the military operations of the contest of the Spanish Succession may be obtained with great advantage from Sir Edward Cust's excellent '*Annals of the Wars of the Eighteenth Century*,' which are a most compendious and accurate manual of military history, invaluable to the student and to the officer in the field.

different courts in the first half of the eighteenth century. Eugene lived, however, to behold nearly the whole of the share of the Spanish dominions which fell to Austria at the peace of Utrecht wrested from it. Having first exchanged Sardinia for Sicily, the House of Hapsburg lost both Naples and Sicily to Don Carlos in 1734, and never recovered them. Nothing but the Milanese remained of all the splendid heritage of Charles V., and that was destined to be a source of weakness rather than strength. The war, however, in which the Two Sicilies were lost was undertaken in opposition to the urgent advice of Eugene, whose counsels were almost always, in the latter part of his life, of a peaceful character. He, nevertheless, at the request of the Emperor, once more took the field at the head of an Imperial army on the Rhine. But with the motley, ill-disciplined force under his command he could effect nothing, and Philipshurg was taken by the French in his presence, and in spite of him.\*

During his eventful career the successive emperors, Leopold, Joseph and Charles, for the most part, treated so faithful a servant with all the confidence and esteem he deserved. For a few years, however, under the reign of Charles VI., his position at the Court of Vienna was very painful. Court cabals and jealousies, indeed, had all his life been at work against him, but with little effect except during the years 1717-22, when the intrigues of the Spanish courtier, Althan, contrived to bring about an estrangement between the monarch and his illustrious subject. The Emperor always retained a vivid recollection of the sacrifices which the Catalans had made for him, and endeavoured to repay their devotion in part by the favours which he heaped on the Spanish noblemen who accompanied him from Barcelona. Count Althan, with the Bishop of Valencia and others, made up a Spanish council, which, under pretence of governing the Imperial provinces which lately belonged to Spain, endeavoured absolutely to control the affairs of the rest of the empire. Eugene, as the greatest authority in the empire, was the especial object of their machinations. It was insinuated to the Emperor that the Prince was too powerful for a subject, and that he had designs upon the succession. The plot which was being woven to ruin him in the Imperial favour was discovered to the Prince by a domestic, when the decided

tone which he adopted, — the threat of laying down all his offices and appealing to Europe to pronounce judgment between them, — constrained the Emperor to recognise the groundlessness of the suspicions which he entertained, and their former confidence and intimacy was restored.

Eugene, as a politician, was distinguished for the clearness, steadiness, and uprightness of his views: his state papers are always remarkable documents; they are logical, concise, and vigorous, and those in French are written in an excellent style. His political foresight was remarkable, and at any particular crisis it is to be remarked that his advice was always the wisest, the justest and the best for the weal of the empire. Had his suggestions been adopted with respect to alliances, Austria would have been spared many of the humiliations which she had to undergo. He proposed that Maria Theresa should be married to Frederick the Great, and when this counsel was not adopted, he recommended the young princess to take care that her father left her a full treasury and a well-appointed army. He was likewise very liberal in his views, and in the troubled state of Hungary his influence was often used to modify the severity of the Imperial counsels.\*

His common sense and penetration were always excellent on every question. Thus when speculations were overrunning Europe and South Sea schemes and Mississippi bubbles were ruining myriads in Change Alley and the Rue Quincampoix, the good sense of Eugene kept Austria clear of all such enterprises; yet so much the more did he encourage every kind of real industry, and several kinds of manufactures were introduced into Vienna by his patronage. If in point of mere strategy he may be placed somewhat below Marlborough, yet in moral worth and in general cultivation he must rank far higher. He wrote and spoke grammatically, though not orthographically, French, Italian, and Spanish, German and

\* At this siege Berwick was killed: when Villars, who always longed for a soldier's end, and was then eighty-two, heard of his death he exclaimed, *J'ai toujours dit qu'il étoit plus heureux que moi*, and died himself a few hours afterwards.

\* Immediately after the peace of Passarowitz, he gave notice to his fair friend the Countess Bathiany, by means of a letter from his camp in Hungary, that danger threatened the liberties of Hungary, in these words: — 'It is intended to place Hungary on a Bohemian footing.' The countess instantly dressed herself in mourning, and went to the house of the Countess Althan, the mistress of Charles VI. When the monarch came to pay his daily visit to the Countess Althan, he found both ladies in deep mourning. They besought him with tears to do nothing with Hungary until he had heard Prince Eugene. He consented to write a letter to the Prince. The countess's travelling carriage was in the court. Although it was the depth of winter, she travelled day and night, and brought back the Prince, and the liberties of Hungary were saved.



Latin also, but not so accurately; and it appears that his famous signature, '*Eugenio von Sauoy*,' was adopted because he thought it was German (Sauoy indeed is not French). He was deeply attached to literature, the fine arts, and sciences, and showed it in a variety of ways. When he threatened to retire from public affairs, he said with 12,000 *livres de rente* and his books, he should have occupation for the rest of his life. He spared no pains and no expense to make his library complete. He was anxious to read every new work of merit, and particularly so to possess copies from the authors themselves, and often wrote letters to ask for them. He became intimate with Leibnitz during his residence at Vienna, and applied himself diligently to master his philosophy. The treatise containing the exposition of Leibnitz's theory of monads was composed especially for the use of Eugene, who kept the MS. in a box, and showed it only to his intimate friends. He endeavoured also to forward Leibnitz in all his schemes, and especially in that for the foundation of an Academy of Sciences at Vienna. He took especial pleasure in the intimacy of Jean-Baptiste Rousseau, the French lyric poet in vogue, and then residing in Vienna. Rousseau was much with him, dining with him constantly in public and private. He was astonished at the greatness and simplicity of the Prince's character; at the justness of his views, the catholicity of his taste, the generality of his information, and the general modesty of his language and demeanour. Eugene also ventured at times to give Rousseau advice upon his literary schemes full of good sense and judgment. Literary and learned men in every country were employed to pick up books for him, and even when he came to London he found time to purchase books, MSS. and choice engravings. Rousseau remarked with astonishment that large as his library was, and choice as was the selection of books, all bore marks of Eugene's perusal. No branch of knowledge was unrepresented, and at the present day Eugene's collections form a striking portion of the Imperial library, all splendidly bound, with the arms of the Prince on both covers. The same taste extended itself to works of art, curiosities of nature, and articles of *virtu*. The famous connoisseur, Cardinal Albani, assisted in forming the collections of antiques, medals, china, pictures, statues, engravings, furniture, which embellished his beautiful palaces in town and country. Nor was he less curious about birds, beasts, and plants, of each of which he made a collection. Every ship from the Indies brought him some bird of strange plumage. His collection of

plants was esteemed by the best botanists of the day; and in his menagerie a favourite lion was said to have announced by a roar the hour of the decease of his master.

He had two splendid palaces in Vienna, on both of which he expended large sums of money. He was fond of building and of laying out gardens, not only for his own pleasure but to give occupation to the poor. In 1714 when the plague was in Vienna and a dearth likewise came on, though other employers turned away their labourers, Eugene purposely increased the number of his own workmen. He built much on his estates, and on one occasion, when some works were nearly finished, and his foreman spoke of dismissing the workmen, he remarked sharply, 'In that case I shall have no need of you.' In the same way his care for his troops was also very great, and was well rewarded by the attachment of his men. His receptions with the army were always enthusiastic. The soldiers called him their friend and their father, and as every great general nearly has had a *sobriquet*, so Eugene was the *Capuzinerl*, '*the little Capuchin*,' from a common brown great coat with brass buttons which he was accustomed to wear, and up to the present time he is the favourite of the soldier's song in every state of Germany as *Prinz Eugen der edle Ritter* — '*Prince Eugene, the noble Knight*.' Indeed, universally it was nobility, true nobility of soul which impressed every one who had to do with Prince Eugene as his great characteristic. He was generous, true, and above all forgiving. Constant as was the chicanery, jealousy, and spite which pursued him at the Court of Vienna, he always remained true to himself, and his enemies never had the satisfaction of driving him to do or say anything unworthy his reputation. Guido Stahrenberg in particular, the Austrian general next in reputation and ability to Eugene, was an incessant and rancorous detractor of his fame, but he never excited Eugene to speak an evil word of himself. As for honesty, he expressed his opinion that 'honesty was not indispensable, but that it was the best quality of a statesman;' and Villars in his negotiations with him wrote home to his court that 'nothing in his life gave so much trouble as not giving offence to Eugene.' He continued, as long as Villars lived, to hold friendly intercourse with him. The two warriors wrote affectionate letters, and informed each other of their amusements and occupations, discussed the politics of Europe, and sent each other little presents. But the great friend of Eugene for the last twenty-five years of his life was the beautiful Countess Lory Bathiany. For a quarter of

a century Eugene passed his evenings at the Duchess of Holstein's, where he met the countess, or at the countess's own house. His four horses used to find their own way there at last, and have been known to stop of their own accord before her doors, with Eugene asleep inside, the coachman asleep on the box, the heyduck on the steps, and the footman in the rumble; the collective ages of master and servants amounting to 310 years. He passed his last evening with the countess, and played piquet till nine in the evening. It was observed that he breathed hard and had difficulty in forcing himself to appear at ease. On his return home his attendant wished him to take medicine which had been prescribed, but he refused, saying 'to-morrow was time enough.' About midnight his seryant entered his chamber, and saw him quietly sleeping; but in the morning he did not rise as usual, and he was found to have passed away quietly in the night.

His body lay in state three days, booted and spurred, and clad in the scarlet uniform of his regiment; the lieutenant-colonel, with drawn sword, stood on guard before the remains of his late commander. His coat of mail, his helmet and gauntlets, were suspended over his head. The Ducal Cap, the sign of his race, with the Order of the Golden Fleece, were placed on cushions of black velvet; there, too, lay his marshal's staff and sword, and the consecrated cap and sword sent by the Pope; sixty wax torches were kept burning near him night and day. He was interred with all the honour due to so illustrious a servant of the empire. His body was embalmed and buried in the Chapel of the Cross in St. Stephen's, and the Emperor attended incognito as a mourner at the funeral. The heart was sent to Turin, where it rests with the ashes of his ancestors in the mausoleum of the Superga.

Eugene's immense possessions were inherited by a niece, the Princess Anna Victoria of Savoy, daughter of his eldest brother, the Count of Soissons, then fifty-two years of age, and very ugly. She sold and dispersed all his beautiful collections — his medals, his statues, his pictures, and his works of art. Only his library and his favourite palace, the Belvedere, were purchased by the Crown. His two nephews died prematurely. He does not appear ever to have contemplated marriage, and is reported to have said that a soldier should not marry. It was suspected that there existed a tender relationship between himself and the Countess Batthyany, but they always denied it. Nevertheless, the Coun-

tess Batthyany had two children, whom Maria Theresa called Eugene's 'codicils.' Eugene, in the early part of his life at Venice, from his independence of the fascinations of the fair sex, was styled by an Italian, Mars without Venus. Nevertheless, scandal said (without reason, as Voltaire thought), that the loss of the battle of Denain was owing to the presence of a fair Italian whom he took with him in that campaign. Voltaire saw the lady in Holland.

Eugene, by the circumstances of his birth and by the caprice of Louis XIV. was a prince without a country; he was faithful in allegiance to the Royal House which adopted him, so that he became an Imperialist to the heart's core. He was jealous of the privileges of the Empire in the extreme, and for that reason could never speak calmly of the Peace of Westphalia, which, he said, had destroyed the unity of the Empire. He grew thoroughly German at heart, and said that in order to win a battle, 'One should have an Italian head, a German heart, and French legs.'

The rank of a commander in military history must always be difficult to determine. Nevertheless, it appears to us that, great as Eugene undoubtedly was, Marlborough was superior to him as a strategist, in his conception of a campaign, and in the means by which the end of the war should be most quickly attained; nor does it appear that in the conduct of a battle Marlborough was in any way inferior to him. Eugene's chief fault in action was the rashness with which he exposed his own life and those of his soldiers. But it is singular that, as far as strategy is concerned, Marlborough on several occasions showed himself the boldest general of the two. In alleviation of the rashness with which he exposed himself and troops, it must be allowed that his quickness of perception and cool head combined marvellously with his great courage in extricating himself and his troops from a difficult position. Marlborough said that his was the rarest union of self-possession and desperate courage in the midst of danger. Eugene was, however, superior to Marlborough in one of the most important qualifications of a commander — that of inspiring his soldiers with the highest degree of military enthusiasm and devotion to his person.

However, neither Marlborough nor Eugene have any claim to the very highest order of military genius — that which has invented new methods of warfare, and applied them on a large scale to the deepest combinations of strategy and politics. They took the science of war as they found it,

and were each consummate masters of methods already in practice. Not to speak of the greatest generals of antiquity, they do not rank in the history of military science in the same line of succession as Gustavus Adolphus, the princes of the House of Nassau, Condé and Turenne, Vauban, Frederic, and Napoleon. They made war methodically after the fashion of the old school; when campaigns were passed in encampments, in making the movements of an army altogether subsidiary to the besieging and relieving of places; when, too, generals designed their order of battle rather after methodical rules than after the nature of the ground which was the scene of action; and, above all, spent their resources on secondary operations without striking boldly at the end and object of the war. In the days of Eugene and Marlborough, the methods of war had just undergone a great revolution by the two inventions of Vauban — the science of modern fortification and the adaptation of the bayonet to the musket. The former of these inventions, from its scientific nature and its sudden development, occupied too much attention; the latter too little. War was converted into a protracted game of taking and retaking fortresses; generals plumed themselves on undoing the work of Vauban or Cohorn more than on winning a battle; and the daily news of the operations of a good siege kept all Europe in excitement, and princes and military connoisseurs flocked to the scene of action as to a carnival; while the consequences of the invention of the bayonet, which was to make the infantry the great arm of modern warfare, were not yet sufficiently developed nor understood. It was reserved for the Prince of Anhalt-Dessau and for Frederic the Great to show what infantry could effect by the aid of discipline and improved strategy and tactics. Eugene himself learnt the art of war — as then practised, however, in its perfection — under the Duke of Lorraine, whom Louis XIV. styled the greatest, best, and wisest of his adversaries, who was himself brought up under Montecuculli, and in the school of the princes of Nassau, and had fought against the great Condé and Luxembourg at Seneff and Neerwinden. It is sufficient for Eugene's glory that he was one of the seven generals whose campaigns Napoleon recommended to the study of the military student, and that he raised the Austrian army to a reputation which it had never attained under Tilly, Wallenstein, or Montecuculli, and which it has never equalled since; and a study of his career and of the great wars of Louis XIV. point a moral which is at the present exem-

plified in a remarkable manner on the other side of the Atlantic — that great armies without great commanders are treacherous and deceptive weapons, which may betray a state to destruction, and are rarely or ever a means of salvation.

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- ART. XI.—1. *The Slave Power; its Character, Career, and probable Designs; being an Attempt to explain the real Issues involved in the American Contest.* By J. E. CAIRNES, M.A., Professor of Jurisprudence and Political Economy in Queen's College, Galway. London: 1862.
2. *The American Union; its Effect on National Character and Policy, with an Inquiry into Secession as a Constitutional Right, and the Causes of the Disruption.* By JAMES SPENCE. London: 1861.
3. *An Oration delivered on the 4th of July, 1862, before the Municipal Authorities of the City of Boston.* By GEORGE TICKNOR CURTIS. Boston: 1862.

MORE than a year and a half has elapsed since the taking of Fort Sumter. Before that day the North and South stood looking one at the other, like two men each threatening to strike, but each afraid to deal the first blow. From that day the South has committed itself to the struggle, and the passions of the North were roused to resistance and to vengeance.

At the beginning of the contest the position of things was this:—The Southern States, properly so called, were united in one bond, and had adopted a federal constitution of their own; it was doubtful whether Texas and Missouri would be secured to the new Confederacy; it was still more doubtful whether 'the Border States' of Kentucky, Tennessee, Virginia, Maryland, and Delaware would adhere to the Government at Washington or join the Confederates.

The indignation of Northern men was roused by the treachery which had prepared the means for secession. The feebleness and falsehood of Buchanan's Government were perhaps enough to make men take up arms to resist the party which had profited by them; but the wisdom of such a course was another matter. We consider that the Union ceased when the first shot was fired. Mr. Spence has quoted words of Hamilton which describe only too truly the condition of things implied by such a war.

'When the sword is once drawn, the passions of men observe no bounds of moderation. The suggestions of wounded pride, the instigations of resentment, would be apt to carry the States against which the arms of the Union were exerted, to any extreme to avenge the affront, or to avoid the disgrace of submission. The first war of this kind would probably terminate in a dissolution of the Union.' (P. 219.)

In a debate in the New York State Convention, the same statesman is reported to have said:—

'To coerce a State would be one of the maddest projects ever devised. No State would ever suffer itself to be used as the instrument of coercing another.'

Hamilton was in this case no true prophet as to the course which his countrymen would take. Tocqueville in like manner foretold that an attempt to maintain the Union by force would never be made.\*

The Southern States, though divided from the North by a great difference of institutions, manners, and opinions on certain subjects, had in fact come to an understanding with their fellow-citizens. They were willing enough, on certain terms, to allow their trade and their money affairs to be in the hands of the merchants and brokers of New York. After the quarrel on the subject of nullification, they acquiesced in tariffs which served to protect the iron-masters of Pennsylvania and the manufacturers of New England at the cost of the rest of the Union; but they did all this on the implied understanding, that they were to have perfect protection against the efforts of the Abolitionists, and perfect security for their property in slaves.

It soon appeared, however, that the only method for preserving this security was the possession of political supremacy, by keeping their predominant influence in the Senate; this object could be accomplished only by preventing the aggregation to the Union of fresh States pledged against slavery. Hence the struggle for Kansas: slavery was never likely to flourish in Kansas, but if the Missouri compromise was to hold good, and every North-western State admitted hereafter was to be a free State, the supremacy of the South was gone. Mr. Lincoln's election was the signal for secession, because it proved conclusively that the majority of the people of the Union were adverse to the sway of the South. We cannot admit the justice of the views expressed by Mr. J. W. Cowell in an able letter to Captain Maury, published early in

the year.\* In this pamphlet the Southern States are represented as the victims of fraud and avarice on the part of the North, by whom they are supposed to have been cajoled and cheated into an abandonment of that free trade, which it was so much their interest to uphold. We must not blind ourselves to the fact that during the greater part of the existence of the United States the South itself has governed the Union. If they were cheated in the bargain, it was their own fault: it may have been a bad one for them, but they accepted it with their eyes open, as is sufficiently shown by the discussions with South Carolina on nullification, and by the continued struggles on the subject of the tariff between 1823 and 1833—struggles which at that time almost ended in secession. On the other hand, Miss Martineau justly speaks of the Seminole war as 'only one in the long series of incidents which exhibit the free and prosperous North as the tool and the servant of the slaveholding and declining South.'† According to our view of the case, neither party have a right to assert that they were defrauded by the other.

Northern statesmen, like Webster, shrank naturally from provoking the discord which threatened to produce secession. They desired at all cost to uphold the Union, and they saw that they could do so only by conciliating the South. From conviction, or that self-persuasion which produces conviction, they adopted a certain theory of the Constitution. They thought that they could thus at any rate postpone the evil day of separation which had been so often predicted—who could tell whether, if the whole Union grew together a little longer, that day would ever come at all? The object was grand and patriotic, and they did not scruple as to the means. Slavery existed in the South, and if the South were to be retained in the Union, slavery must, within its own region at least, be fostered and protected. Hence came the fugitive slave law and the supremacy which the South was so long allowed to exercise.

On the other hand, the South knew the weakness of their own position. They felt that in order to be safe they must govern, and provided they did substantially govern, they were willing to abandon their economical interests. It must never be forgotten that, notwithstanding the professed equality of political rights, the citizens of the South-

\* Southern Secession; a Letter addressed to Capt. M. T. Maury, Confederate Navy, on his Letter to Admiral Fitzroy. London: Hardwick. 1862.

† American Compromises.

\* Vol. ii. p. 369.

ern and of the Northern States were not politically equal. The former were in fact an aristocracy in relation to the latter, and an aristocracy based on property of a peculiar kind. A voter in the South was worth more than a voter in the North, because the number of representatives of the Southern States was determined, not by their proportion of free men, but by a census in which three-fifths of the slaves were reckoned as an integral part of the population of each.\*

Professor Cairnes states the case thus:—

‘The House of Representatives professed to be based on the principle of representation in proportion to population, but, by virtue of this clause, in reckoning population, slaves were to count in the proportion of five slaves to three free persons. Now, when we remember that the slaves of the South number four millions in a population of which the total is under ten millions, it is not difficult to perceive what must be the effect of such an arrangement upon the balance of forces under the Constitution. In the Presidential election of 1856, the slave representation was nearly equal to one-third of the whole Southern representation; from which it appears that the influence of the South in the general representation of the Union was, in virtue of the three-fifths vote, nearly one-half greater than it would have been had the popular principle of the Constitution been fairly carried out. But the influence of the South, as we formerly saw, merely means the influence of a few hundred thousand slaveholders; the whole political power of the South being in practice monopolised by this body. The case, therefore, stands thus: Under the local institutions of the Slave States, the slaveholding interest—a mere fraction in the whole population—predominates in the South; while, under this provision of the Federal Constitution, the South acquires an influence by one-half greater than legitimately belongs to it. It is true this would not enable the Southern States, while their aggregate population was inferior to that of the Northern, to command a majority in the Lower House by means of their own members. But we must remember that the South is a homogeneous body, having but one interest to promote and one policy to pursue; while the interests and aims of the North are various, and its councils are consequently divided.’ (Cairnes, pp. 165, 166.)

It is impossible in the face of these facts to assert that the Southern States were the mere victims of fraud and oppression in the matter of the tariff. Whatever disadvan-

tages they have laboured under, and however they may have mistaken their own true interests, the blame of such disadvantages and such errors must rest on their own heads. They sacrificed free trade and commercial independence because they thought it worth while to do so. Whether they are therefore morally bound to adhere to their bargain in perpetuity, is quite another question.

Mr. Spence argues that slavery was not the origin of the quarrel between the North and South, because, under the Constitution, the South had every security for the maintenance of their property which they could desire, and because the neighbourhood of a Northern republic, which would be the necessary consequence of secession, must be far more injurious to them as slave-owners than the continuance of the Union. He says:—

‘The truth is apparent, that, so far as slavery is concerned, the South has every possible reason for remaining in the Union, and that they have acted in direct opposition to that interest, under the influence of other and more powerful considerations.’ (P. 135.)

In speaking thus Mr. Spence does little more than state rather strongly the case of the North against the South, and the words just quoted are hardly consistent with what follows as to the efforts of the Abolitionists, and the provocation given by the growing hatred of slavery in the Northern States. In truth, anger and resentment at these efforts had more to do with the exasperation of the South, than a sound conviction as to what they were to gain.

In our April number of 1861, we stated that slavery was the origin of the quarrel, and we think so still; but to use the words of Professor Cairnes himself—

‘The view that the true cause of the American contest is to be found in the character and aims of the slave power, though it connects the war ultimately with slavery as its radical cause, by no means involves the supposition that the motive of the North in taking up arms has been the abolition of slavery.’ (P. 19.)

Accordingly we do not admit that because slavery was the source whence the quarrel sprang, it therefore is the subject-matter for which the parties are contending. The two questions are entirely distinct. Slavery is without doubt a monstrous evil, but whether it will be most effectually restrained or will be finally suppressed by the conquest of the South, is to us more than doubtful. We would ask what has maintained, unmitigated, the horrors of slavery in spite of the public opinion of the world? The protec-

\* It is often a subject of wonder how such a provision could be assented to by the Northern States, but its adoption was almost a matter of necessity. The Confederation in 1783 had made this rule the basis of taxation; if taxation and representation were to go together, it was natural to adopt the same principle in settling the number of representatives. See Curtis’s ‘History of the Constitution,’ vol. ii. pp. 48, 160.

tion of the North. Does any man believe that if South Carolina had been a member of a small and comparatively insignificant Union like that of the Southern States, we should have submitted to have our coloured sailors taken out of their ships and imprisoned at Charleston? We could not resent this gross injustice without quarrelling with the Union, for the conservative politicians of the North, logically enough, thought that the protection of slavery was essential to the permanence of their national existence. President Lincoln himself, in his inaugural address, declared that he had no purpose and no lawful right to interfere with the institution of slavery in the States where it existed; and, according to the Constitution, he was right in his view. His proclamation of September 22nd had not then appeared.

In his letter to Horace Greeley of the 22nd of August last he said:—

'If there be those who would not save the Union unless they could at the same time save slavery, I do not agree with them. If there be those who would not save the Union unless they could at the same time destroy slavery, I do not agree with them. My paramount object in this struggle is to save the Union, and is not either to save or destroy slavery. If I could save the Union without freeing any slave, I would do it, and if I could save it by freeing all the slaves, I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing some and leaving others alone, I would also do that. What I do about slavery and the coloured race, I do because I believe it helps to save this Union, and what I forbear, I forbear because I do not believe it would help to save the Union.'

The North would be willing to uphold to the letter in all existing States the right of the master over the slave, if by so doing they could bribe the South to return to the Union. If the old conservative party in New England, as well as the democrats, looked with disapprobation on all the tampering with emancipation which went on before at Washington\*, what will they say to the recent proclamation? The majority of the representatives of the Border States repudiate Mr. Lincoln's plan for purchasing the freedom of their slaves, and profess to disbelieve that it could ever be carried out in practice.

This last point as affecting the Border States only may be thought doubtful, but it appears very improbable that the people of those States would willingly acquiesce in any scheme such as that which their representatives have rejected. On the other

hand, we see little reason to hope that the final and immediate triumph of the North would insure the tranquil abolition of slavery in the South. Even Professor Cairnes, as we have seen, admits that they are not fighting for this object.

This point deserves to be looked at more closely, and we will therefore assume the conquest of the South as accomplished, and suppose that a sincere disposition to emancipate the slaves exists among the Northern States. The difficulty of the work to be done would be even then almost inconceivable. Let us go a step further, and suppose that Mr. Lincoln had succeeded in redeeming with Federal paper, the slaves in Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, Maryland, and Delaware (who amount to about a million): there will remain three millions of human beings whose whole training has been conducted on the principle of making them useful to their master, and incapable of acting for themselves—men, women, and children; in all stages of helplessness, who have never been taught to read, because reading might make them intelligent, and who have never been allowed to think, because thinking might make them insubordinate. The practical question is this: If the conquest of the South were complete, and the property of the rebels confiscated, what would probably be done by the victors, to whom would belong these spoils? Would these Northern conquerors be imbued with such a sense of the horrors of slavery and such a deep feeling of their own responsibility, as to forego all immediate advantage from the compulsory labour of these negroes, and set them free at once or gradually, as the case might be? Is there any.

\* Professor Cairnes warmly applauds President Lincoln's message to Congress recommending a co-operation on the part of the Federal Government with such States as are willing to accept a policy of emancipation. He says:—'Practicality and unaffected earnestness of purpose are written in every line of the message. In the full knowledge evinced of the actual circumstances of the Border States, combined with the adroitness with which advantage is taken of their peculiar position as affected by passing events, there is displayed a rare political sagacity, which is not more creditable to its author than is the genuine sincerity which shines through his simple and weighty words.' (P. 288.)

The 'practicality' (to use Professor Cairnes' own word) of the plan may be doubted, when we see it rejected, as it has been; and its unaffected earnestness may be questionable, or at any rate it appears pretty clear that the motive for proposing it was not a dislike to slavery. The absurdity of the project seems still greater when we learn that these unhappy negroes are to be landed no one knows where in the territory of another Power in Central America, which of course declines to receive them under the American flag.

\* In illustration of this, so far as the Whigs of New England are concerned, see the passage quoted below from Mr. G. T. Curtis's speech on the 4th of July last.

thing in the principles of the American Constitution, as we have seen it authoritatively interpreted by the Supreme Court, and administered by successive Presidents, which would lead us to expect this enthusiasm on behalf of freedom? Or is the humanity of the North and West so clearly shown in their treatment of the free negroes who wish to live among them, as to make us rely on their sympathy with the slaves as men? We must admit, that the difficulty of the task would form some excuse for shrinking from such an act of self-denial. That the negro population, if set free, will not be permitted to migrate whither they please, is shown by the laws against the ingress of free blacks already passed by some of the Western States. That they will not, if emancipated, be allowed the rights of American citizens, either in the Southern or Northern States, seems pretty clear after the tranquil acquiescence of the North in the decision of Chief Justice Taney in the Dred-Scott case. To talk of the simultaneous deportation of 3,000,000 human beings to Africa or Hayti, is simply absurd.

What then would be done? These 3,000,000 men, women, and children are there present on the soil, and when the country is conquered by the North, they will have to be disposed of. Will not Northern capitalists argue with their countrymen, and press upon their Government, flushed with victory and grateful for the support of its adherents, such considerations as the following?—'You do not know what to do with these slaves. You must feed them; are they to be fed without labour? There are the broad acres which they formerly cultivated now lying waste; here is the capital to employ them. They will not work except by compulsion, and is not such compulsion the best thing for them, the best thing for us, and the best thing for the country?' But we shall be met by the proclamation of Mr. Lincoln of September 22nd, announcing that in all States which shall not have returned to the Union before the 1st of January, 1863, the slaves are to be free. Is not this a proof that the cause of the North is the cause of freedom?

We cannot say that this step on the part of the Federal Government alters in any way the convictions which we had already formed. The proclamation has, however, great significance, and requires careful consideration.

It sounds to our ears like a cry of despair, and a confession that after all their boasting, it is impossible to subdue the South by the accumulated force of the Northern States. If it means anything, it is a distinct viola-

tion of the Constitution, for the maintenance of which the North are fighting; and in the mouth of a Federal President, it amounts almost to a renunciation of constitutional duties.

The spirit of the measure itself is one of vengeance—not of a wish to free the slave. The President does not tell us what is to become of the slaves in any Southern or Border State which resumes its place in Congress before the 1st of January next. We presume that in that State slavery will continue to exist undisturbed. On the negroes themselves the proclamation will, we conceive, produce very little effect; for beyond the range of the Federal cannon it will not easily be promulgated.

Even if the South be conquered, the slaves on the great plantations in the Cotton States may first learn the existence of the proclamation when they become aware of the fact of its worthlessness. That it is utterly worthless as the basis of future rights to any portion of the coloured population, we have not the slightest doubt. Every Court in the Union which professes to administer the law, now or hereafter, must treat it as a bit of waste paper.

It has in our opinion no greater value in favour of freedom as a moral pledge, than it has as a legal security. It removes no one of the practical difficulties which beset the question of slavery, or which stand in the way of emancipation. It amounts to nothing as a promise, because there is no 'privity' between the person who gives the promise and those who will have to perform it. It is likely enough that any claim made for its fulfilment would be met at the outset by the plea that no one is bound to do that which is impossible; but at any rate it is most improbable that the State Legislatures (with whom emancipation or mitigation of slavery must rest) would hold themselves fettered by the pledge of a Federal officer, relating to matters avowedly beyond his constitutional powers.

Its political effects may, however, be very important. It will divide the supporters of the Federal Government; it will array the Democrats and the Moderate Republicans against the Abolitionists, and, whilst it sows dissension in the North, it will assuredly cause men of the South and probably of the Border States to rally with double energy round their own standard.

It may in this way tend to shorten the war by making it impossible to carry on the Government which has issued it. The President and his advisers possibly hope to embarrass any European Government which may be disposed to recognise the Southern



Confederacy, by making such a recognition distasteful to public opinion in England or France. Some effect of this kind the proclamation may certainly produce; but on the other hand it makes it easier for any Foreign Power which is inclined to recognise the South, to attach to such an act stipulations and conditions with reference to slavery and the future treatment of the black race. For this reason, and because it may tend to hasten a peace, we rejoice that it has been issued. We certainly disbelieve in its direct operation in favour of emancipation either now or hereafter. We think, as we did before, that when the time comes the difficulty of the 3,000,000 or 4,000,000 negroes would remain just where it was before the proclamation. If the South be subdued the habitual contempt and aversion for the African race will work with unabated force. Men will say that the best and most humane, if not the only practicable way out of all their difficulties, will be the retention of slavery in spite of the promise which the President had no legal power to give. The disappointment of England would give an additional relish to the adoption of such a course. It would be the converse of the well-known line —

*‘Hoc Ithacus velit et magno mercentur Atridæ.’*

The New York press would exult in the thought that no British sympathy had been able to save the Southerner, and that the victorious party would now show the world the value which it set on the opinion and the esteem of England with all its hypocritical professions in favour of the negro.

But it will be said that the struggle against the Southern men carried on for so many months (if not years) will leave public opinion in a state utterly incompatible with the toleration of slavery. That it has caused the North to bear the deepest personal hatred against the present slaveholders, we do not doubt; but neither the antecedents of the Union, nor the experience of human nature, make it probable that this hatred would extend to the institution by which those slaveholders have profited, if it can be shown that such institution will be equally profitable to the men who may be ready to employ Northern capital in starting it afresh. The change to the negroes would be only a change of masters.

In spite, therefore, of the proclamation, we are convinced that the chances of mitigating and abolishing slavery in the Southern States will, if those States succeed in establishing themselves as a separate federation, be greater than such chances are if their conquest is effected by the arms of the North. We think it far more likely that the latter will, when

the pressure comes, evade the immediate difficulty by retaining slavery, than that a Southern Confederation, necessarily weak and dependent on the public opinion and good-will of foreign states, will continue to insult that opinion and forfeit that good-will, by upholding and defending, as it did whilst it was backed by the power of the Union, the atrocities of slavery and the license of Lynch law.

We do not dispute Mr. Cairnes's forcible statement of the evils of slavery, both moral and economical, although we think that he has somewhat exaggerated the latter, and has somewhat overstated the inherent necessity, which slavery imposes, of seeking fresh soils. We should lament, as much as he would do, the establishment of a new and vigorous slave Power. But, to our eyes, the independence of the South would not be the establishment of a new slave Power. A certain amount of slavery already exists under the Union; and as we believe, it has worked, with far less mitigation from external influences, and with far more activity for social mischief, than it could ever do if it were to set up for itself, with a jealous neighbour on its northern border, and with all the pressure of European public opinion operating on it from without. This is, we venture to think, the weak point of Mr. Cairnes's book. He himself does not desire the restoration of the Union. He is too clear-sighted not to perceive all the difficulties of the case even on other grounds: —

‘But, thirdly, assuming the reconstruction of the Union to be practicable, is it expedient? And here we are met at once by the consideration — how is the conquered South to be governed? I can see but one way in which this can be effected — by the overthrow of representative institutions in the Southern States, and the substitution of a centralised despotism wielded by the Federal Government. I cannot imagine that there could be any escape from this course; for, granting that in certain districts of the South there might be a considerable element of population favourable to the Union, it is impossible to doubt that in the main the people would be thoroughly disaffected. How are popular institutions to be worked through the agency of a disaffected people? A recourse to despotic expedients would therefore, so far as we can judge, be forced on the North.’ (P. 277)

He then proceeds to comment on what is obvious enough — the injurious manner in which these despotic measures must necessarily react on the constitution and government of the North itself; and he goes on most truly to observe, that such a course would imply continued military occupation; for —

‘The bureaucracy would need to be supported by an army, and the army would of necessity be at the disposal of the central Government. The task of holding the South in subjection would

thus, as it seems to me, inevitably imperil the cause of popular institutions in North America. Now the loss of popular government would be a heavy price to pay for the subjugation of the South, even though that subjugation involved the overthrow of the slave power.' (P. 279)

Supposing slavery to be destroyed, are we further to believe that the idle and dissolute population of 'mean whites' would take at once to steady work for wages? Would they enter into the markets of labour side by side with the free negro, whom they despise and abhor? Would they not, so long as an acre of untilled land remained, roam about as plunderers and squatters, and leave the task of the slave to be performed by those who had been slaves? Mr. Cairnes contemplates, indeed, the possibility of a large immigration of free settlers and capitalists into the Southern States, while he admits that the state of society consequent on such an immigration, and the feuds arising from it, would inevitably create the necessity for an active despotism.

'For these reasons,' he says, 'I cannot think that the North is well advised in its attempts to reconstruct the Union in its original proportions.' (P. 285.)

But this reconstruction of the Union is the only professed object of the internecine war now carried on with such obstinacy.

Mr. Cairnes does not, therefore, desire that the South should gain its object of independence; and he does not desire that the North should gain its object of reconstruction. He aims at a middle term of his own selection:—

'At the same time I am far from thinking that the time for peace has yet arrived. What, it seems to me, the occasion demands, and what I think the moral feelings of Europe should support the North in striving for, is a degree of success which shall compel the South to accept terms of separation, such as the progress of civilisation in America, and the advancement of human interests throughout the world, imperatively require. To determine the exact amount of concession on the part of the South which would satisfy these conditions, is no part of my purpose.' (P. 285.)

That the war will stop at the precise moment necessary for securing Mr. Cairnes's benevolent objects, is a very unlikely thing. We cannot wish success to the North, merely on this speculative principle; we cannot desire to see the Union re-established as a mighty power for maintaining slavery as one of its institutions within, and protecting it against all the nations of the world without. We do not feel sure, that the abolition or even the mitigation of slavery would be the result of the conquest of the South; and we therefore say, without hesitation, that we

wish the war to cease, and the independence of the South to be established. We think, on the whole, that the balance of advantages is greatly on this side, so far as our feeble foresight will enable us to penetrate into the obscurity of the future: and we know that the continuance of such a war is a great and certain evil.

This brings us to the question of sympathy with the Southern cause, which is naturally imputed to the English as a grievous sin by the citizens of the United States. That such a sympathy exists we must admit; for as Lord Campbell is reported to have said in the House of Lords, on the 4th of August last —

'It is not too much to say that no class or party in the country any longer desires to see the re-conquest of the South and the reconstruction of the Union.'

The reasons already given may go some way towards accounting for this fact, but in reality there appear to us many causes why Englishmen should not wish success to the Northern arms. The origin of our feeling is no doubt of a mixed character, but its existence is not much to be wondered at. At the outset of the struggle, the tendency was strong in England (and, as we have been told, in Canada) to side with the North. The act of secession itself had, in European eyes, the aspect of wanton rebellion against established order, and men naturally looked on the cause of the Federal Government as the cause of freedom. We knew too that we were likely to suffer from the loss of the cotton. On the other hand, many felt undoubted satisfaction at the breaking up of that great democratic Government, whose institutions had been held up to them by their own reformers as a model of perfection, and whose tendency to split into fragments had been so often confidently maintained. Prejudices were flattered, and prophecies fulfilled. Without doubt, in these feelings there was much that was uncharitable and illogical; but their existence in England was by no means surprising.

We believe that it is a great mistake to attribute the separation of the United States to the fact that the Federal government and those of the several States are democracies. Let us imagine that the Union had consisted of a number of principalities or monarchies, each complete for its own purposes of government, but all joined together under a common head for the management of their post-office, their customs, their foreign relations, and such other matters as are placed under the control of Congress. Let us further suppose that a sharp geographical line had been drawn across this group of States,

'Coinciding,' as Jefferson said, 'with a marked principle, moral and political.' Does any man believe that the causes of secession in such a case would have failed to operate, merely because the governments of each and of the whole of these States were not democracies? The tendency to split is inherent in a confederation, where there is no external pressure to hold it together. Switzerland has continued to exist only by virtue of such pressure, and because her apparent neutrality is a necessity for the peace of Europe; but even Switzerland has not escaped a Sonderbund and a civil war. The old German Empire was not, in the proper sense of the word, a confederacy; it was an anomalous and accidental congeries of feudal elements grouped round a head, whom no member of the whole thought of obeying when he was able to resist his power. The present German Confederation affords no brilliant example of cohesion. But there is no use in referring to examples; all we wish to assert at present is, that the nature of the American Union was quite sufficient to account for its tendency to split, without throwing discredit on democracy as such, or attributing the failure of the Federal Constitution to its republican character. It is of course true that the mode of separation, the temper of the people in dealing with each other, the character of the men who have guided affairs on either side, and the circumstances attending on this war, have been, and continue to be, all coloured and modified by the popular nature of the Governments themselves.

It is curious enough that the disruption of the American Union had often been predicted, and yet that at the last moment most intelligent Americans and Englishmen would not believe in the nearness of the danger or the reality of the movement. Secession had been threatened and more than threatened in 1832 on the subject of the tariff; but the difficulty was got over, and Clay's ability had, it was supposed at that time, saved the Union from destruction. We had confidence in the calm good sense of the American people as a whole; we acknowledged their cleverness in making their way through a political strait, and we relied on the combination of accident with these qualities for securing some means of escape when the pinch came.

In 1775, John Adams wrote as follows:—

'I dread the consequences of this dissimilitude of character, and without the utmost caution on both sides, and the most considerate forbearance with one another, and prudent condescension on both sides, they certainly will be fatal.'

It might have been hoped, no doubt, that wedded life for upwards of seventy years

would have assimilated the temper of the parties or have softened their differences, but Abolitionism hindered this being done effectually. Barbé Marbois, in his history of Louisiana\*, makes the following remarkable statement as to a conversation of Bonaparte with one of the ministers, when he had made up his mind to sell Louisiana to the United States. He said:—

'Perhaps it will also be objected to me that the Americans may be found too powerful for Europe in two or three centuries; but my foresight does not embrace such remote fears. Besides, we may hereafter expect rivalries among the members of the Union. The confederations, that are called perpetual, only last till one of the contracting parties finds its interest to break them; and it is to prevent the danger to which the colossal power of England exposes us, that I would provide a remedy.'

The Federal Government was but a part, and a small part, of that which constituted the Government of the whole country. To our eyes, indeed, as foreigners, it appeared to be the whole; we dealt only with the President and Congress, whilst the authorities of the several States were to us little more than municipal magistrates with large powers and extended jurisdiction. Englishmen, even well-educated Englishmen, have had for the most part but a faint idea of the real character and the peculiar advantages or disadvantages of American Governments. Tocqueville's masterly work did much to remove this ignorance, but still the notion of judges sitting to determine whether an Act of the Legislature is or is not constitutional, and the absence of any recognised power to enact certain laws vested either in the Federal or the State Legislatures, have seemed to many among us something utterly inexplicable. Even now those who understand the theory often fail to bring home to their own minds the mode in which it is worked.

Another source of fellow-feeling with the South on the part of Englishmen is to be found in the view that the seceding States are in the position of men with inferior resources, and undaunted courage, struggling against a powerful enemy. We admire their unity of purpose, and we ask: 'For what is this contest carried on?' The answer is: 'In order that they may be governed as they like.' Again we ask: 'Against whom are they fighting?' 'Against their own brethren—against those who owe their existence as an united people to the assertion of the principle that all men have a right to be governed as they please—against those who have

\* 'History of Louisiana,' translated by an American Citizen. Philadelphia, 1836. (P. 276.)

claimed and have received the applause of the world for their successful vindication of this very right.' It is impossible to read the beginning of the Declaration of Independence and not acknowledge that it recognises in the broadest manner the right of every people to judge how far a government is conducive to their own happiness, and to set up a new one if they think it necessary to do so, subject only to a moral responsibility. Such principles may be thought by many to be wrong and anarchical, but they are the principles on which the independence of America was originally asserted and finally secured.

In our number for April 1861 we expressed our belief that the secessionists' avowed motives were insufficient to explain and justify the proceeding they had adopted. In January 1862 we said: 'The grounds assigned by South Carolina and the other seceding States are utterly insufficient to justify or even account for the step they are taking.' But whilst we still admit this, and whilst we may think that they acted wrongly in a moral point of view, we feel that the Federal Government is the last government on earth which is entitled to dispute the right of a people or nation to judge of its own future and to seek its own welfare as it chooses. It is idle to say that a people are bound to have a good and sufficient cause, or to suppose that such a principle as that asserted in the Declaration of Independence would be of the smallest value unless the people themselves were to be the judges of the adequacy of their reasons for resistance to authority.

But we are told that secession was not in the letter of the bond; that it is a violation of that Constitution to which all the States had assented; that South Carolina or Georgia is not a people or a nation, and could no more withdraw from the Union than Yorkshire or Cornwall could legally set up for itself.

Few political questions have been dealt with more ably than the arguments for and against the national character of the Federal Government, when they were discussed by Mr. Webster and Mr. Calhoun. But, without going through the elaborate controversy between these two champions, it is quite worth while to review the history of the Constitution itself, and to consider the meaning which was attached to its provisions by those who accepted it, in many cases, with mistrust and suspicion. A knowledge of this history is absolutely necessary, if we wish to understand the relative position of the central and the State Governments, even at the present moment.

The original Confederation professed to

be perpetual: its title is 'Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union.' The second article contained an express provision to the effect that each State retained its 'sovereignty, freedom, and independence, and every power, jurisdiction, and right which is not by this Confederation expressly delegated to the United States in Congress assembled.' The thirteenth article repeated the declaration, 'the Union shall be perpetual,' and stated that no alteration should be made in any article unless it should 'be agreed to in a Congress of the United States, and be afterwards confirmed by the Legislature of every State.'

Mr. Spence has remarked, with great truth, that the mode in which the project of the Constitution of 1787 was discussed in the Convention, and all the facts of the case, 'must be kept in mind in weighing the arguments of those who deny the right of secession. The whole of these appear to be taken from Webster's speech on the nullification of South Carolina, one of the finest examples of rhetorical power in our language' (p. 205.). He goes on:—

'These arguments, whenever used, are accompanied by glowing descriptions of the progress and prosperity of the Union, and by appeals to nationality. The rapid extension of the United States has produced, of late years, a new school of political belief. Under its influence a wide change has occurred from the views of those who framed the Constitution. There is no longer a citizen of the United States,—he has become an American. Intense jealousy of centralised power has changed into admiration of administrative unity, and has even ripened into a craving for "strong government." The words nation and nationality appear almost in every sentence of every argument on this subject, although it is on record that the term "National Government" was struck out in the Convention, on the ground of its being inapplicable to the facts, and opposed to the intentions of the parties. It is remarkable, too, that this motion was carried unanimously.'

'Here, at once, is a remarkable discrepancy between the views of those who framed the Constitution, and the doctrines prevailing at the present day.'

The Constitution of 1787 wisely omits all mention of the perpetuity of the Union, and professes as one of the objects which it has in view the formation, not of a *new*, but of a *more perfect* Union—as if the principle of the Confederation was to be the principle on which the new Constitution was founded; and that principle was undoubtedly one of voluntary compact.

But a distinct departure from this principle was, with as little doubt, made in one of the propositions submitted to the Convention, singularly enough, by Governor

Randolph of Virginia, asserting 'that a National Government ought to be 'established, consisting of a supreme legislative, executive, and judiciary.' This resolution was affirmed in the committee by a vote of six States. Madison strongly urged the abuses which existed under some of the State Governments, and desired that, for the purpose of restraining them, the National Government should be derived directly from the people. Accordingly the committee declared that there ought to be a power in the National Legislature to negative 'all laws passed by the several States contravening, in the opinion of the former, the articles of the Union, or any treaties made under the authority of the Union.' In short, they desired a National Government which should thus stand in relation to the States somewhat in the same position as that of England in relation to its colonies.

'But,' says Mr. Curtis, 'the radical objection to any plan of a negative on State legislation, as a legislative power of the general Government, was that it would not in fact dispense with the use of force against a State in the last resort.'\*

There were, in fact, before the Convention, two plans for a Constitution, known respectively as 'the Virginia plan' and 'the New Jersey plan.' The former of these aimed avowedly at the formation of a National Government, in which the Legislature should consist of two branches, one chosen directly by the people of the States, the other by the State Legislatures, but in both the people of the States were to be represented in proportion to their numbers. Mr. Curtis says of it:—

'Its legislative powers were to embrace certain objects, to which the legislative powers of the separate States might be incompetent, or where their exercise might be injurious to the national interests; and it was moreover to have a certain restraining authority over the legislation of the States. This plan necessarily supposed that the residue of the sovereignty and

legislative power of the States would remain in them after these objects had been provided for; and it therefore contemplated a system of government in which the individual citizen might be acted upon by two separate and distinct legislative authorities. But by providing that the legislative power of the National Government should be derived from the people inhabiting the several States, and by creating an executive and a judiciary with an authority commensurate with that of the Legislature, it sought to make, and did theoretically make, the National Government, in its proper sphere, supreme over the Governments of the States.' 'Such,' he adds, 'was the nature of the plan of government proposed by the majority of the States in Convention for the consideration of all.' (Curtis, vol. ii. p. 89.)

There was evidently no authority in the Convention thus to change the whole principle of the Constitution which they had met to amend; the delegates had no powers given them to merge the State sovereignties in one National Government, and thus annihilate the very bodies by whom they were sent.

On the other hand a plan of a purely Federal character was moved by William Patterson of New Jersey. This scheme left the principle of federation with the State sovereignties, and the old mode of paying the expenses by requisitions on the several States, untouched; it left original jurisdiction to the local tribunals, and, except in cases of impeachment, reserved the Federal courts for appeals. The Virginia plan contemplated two houses; that of the New Jersey party admitted only one: the former required proportionate representation of the States in both chambers; the latter, that every State should have an equal voice in the single chamber. The objection to the powers of the Convention was evaded, rather than met, by the advocates of the Virginia plan, who, in fact, admitted that the delegates had no express authority to alter the basis of the Constitution, but argued that it was expedient they should do, and that the defect in their powers might be cured by subsequent consent on the part of the States which chose to adopt the proposed changes.

At this point Hamilton's influence was felt. He preferred the national principle of the Virginia plan, but he also saw its inconsistency with the fluctuating elements and democratic details of the scheme, and he suggested, therefore, that the Senate and Executive should hold their office during good behaviour. Mr. Curtis truly observes: 'That' (i. e. the national) 'theory could only be put in practice by transferring the whole legislative powers of the people of the States to the National Government'

\* \* This particular difficulty was solved at last by the clever contrivance of the Supreme Court, but it would take us too long if we were to discuss the way in which this tribunal worked in the Union, until it was perverted by Southern influence and destroyed its own credit and usefulness by its judgment in the *Dred-Scott* case. In our opinion, a blow against the Union was struck by this judgment as fatal as that given by secession itself. The integrity of the Supreme Court was the keystone of the fabric: but in this judgment it was clear that the Court exceeded its judicial duty for the purpose of securing a party or political object. The original defect, however, of the want of any power to enforce on a State the judgments of the Supreme Court was never got over, as may be seen by the Ohio case quoted hereafter.

(vol. ii. p. 104.). We fear that the accomplished author of the history we have been quoting, has had ample opportunities, during the last eighteen months, of seeing how such a transfer of power is practically carried out. It is not surprising that Hamilton should have been accused of desiring to set up a monarchical government. His two colleagues in the delegacy from New York held that they had received no authority to go beyond the principle of a confederation.

Finally, it was decided in the committee, by a vote of seven States against three, to report the Virginia plan to the Convention for its adoption. On the momentous question whether all the States should have equal voice in the Senate, the struggle was long and earnest. When the votes were taken there appeared five in favour of the equality, five against it, and the vote of Georgia was divided. At length, however, a compromise was made, and the equality was conceded.

It is thus evident that the issue of a national or federal government was clearly before the Convention, and it certainly appears to us, that a government must be either federal or national; it cannot, so far as its essence is concerned, be both at once. If it is in any respect truly national, the idea of separate and distinct political communities, which is involved in the notion of 'a federation,' at once disappears. Separate sovereign bodies, no doubt, may delegate to a central body, or to one man, the exercise of powers which are analogous to those of a National Government; but if they abdicate their sovereign character, there are no 'States' to constitute the confederation; if they keep their sovereign character, they then, by the very meaning of the word, retain a power of independent action to be exercised in any direction they please. A federation may thus be so constructed as to produce results, while it lasts, analogous to those produced by a National Government; or the operation of a National Government, by the creation of powerful municipalities, may resemble that of a federation; but the essence of the Government must, we think, be either one or the other. Logically speaking, no political body can be at the same time sovereign and not sovereign, even in dealing with different subject-matter. Such a right of free action on the part of a State is compatible, of course, with moral responsibility, but not with legal restraint. The submission of a State Government to the Supreme Court thus becomes only one mode in which such Government exercises its free will; that is to say, it voluntarily

submits to be controlled by the power which it has constituted for certain definite purposes: but the will which has set up this power may withdraw its submission to it. The comparison of such a compact to a contract between individuals or corporate bodies subject to one and the same law and to a common superior, is, according to our view, a false analogy, and any inference from such supposed likeness is entirely fallacious. This is the ground on which we differ from Mr. G. T. Curtis, one of the ablest constitutional lawyers and one of the staunchest friends to the Union now living in the United States. He says, in the oration which we have placed at the head of this article: 'These powers' (i. e. the powers of the central Government) 'being once absolutely granted by public instruments duly executed in behalf of the people of each State, were thenceforth incapable of being resumed; for I hold that there is nothing in the nature of political powers which renders them, when absolutely ceded, any more capable of being resumed at pleasure by the grantors, than a right of property is when once conveyed by an absolute deed.'

From this doctrine we dissent entirely, although we know that the whole of the constitutional system, as maintained by the ablest statesmen of the North, rests upon it. We believe it to have been invented by a happy instinct as a mode of escaping from the consequences of the extreme theory of immediate sovereignty on the part of the people. The direct will of a people acting according to caprice from day to day, was felt to be incompatible with any constitutional security whatever. But if the doctrine were once established, that this troublesome sovereign might tie its own hands for ever, the main difficulty would be removed, and its every-day action confined to details. As we believe, however, nothing is gained in practice by such a theory. It is, on the contrary, really anarchical, inasmuch as it makes revolution necessary whenever the people change their minds on an important point. That in the course of time they will so change their minds is absolutely certain; no foresight can exhaust the contingencies of human affairs, and when the time comes no paper formula backed by this doctrine of perpetuity will act as a barrier to the popular will. Indeed, notwithstanding the praise in some respects rightfully bestowed on the American form of government, we doubt whether written constitutions are favourable to progress any more than college statutes. The intention of the framers is in both cases the rule of construc-

tion; and what was deduced from this principle (wrongly, as we believe) in the Dred-Scott case, we know well. The wisest of men is unfit to deal with a distant future, of which he can know nothing, so as to tie the hands of his posterity. There is far more wisdom and far more real capacity for progress in the unwritten Common Law of England, which has left successive generations of judges and parliaments to lean to the side of personal and constitutional freedom, without the violation of positive written law. In the same manner legal fictions have worked on the side of liberty without destroying the respect for law, whilst, as Tennyson says:—

‘Freedom broadens slowly down,  
From precedent to precedent.’

The equality of votes in the Senate, and, above all, the amendment reserving to the States of the ungranted residue of all powers, seem to us strong evidence in favour of the sovereign character of the latter. No doubt, so long as they remain in the Union, the acts of each State Legislature are subject to be reviewed and adjudged unconstitutional by the Supreme Court, which, according to theory, derives its authority from the people of the United States, not from the Federal Government nor from the State Legislatures. This submission, so long as they remain in the Union, but no longer, is part of the compact; for, in spite of Mr. Webster, the compact it was, whatever may be its binding force and its duration.

Now let us see what was the action of the Supreme Court on the governor of a State as the head of its executive. The following report is extracted from the ‘New York Commercial Advertiser’ of March 15th 1861:—

‘THE KENTUCKY MANDAMUS AGAINST OHIO.—In the Supreme Court of the United States on Thursday, Chief-Justice Taney delivered an opinion in the matter of the Commonwealth of Kentucky against the Governor of Ohio, Denniston, deciding it was a case of original jurisdiction, and, in effect, one State against another, and therefore the Court has jurisdiction under the Constitution. It is a case to compel the Governor of Ohio, by mandamus, to surrender a fugitive from justice from Kentucky.

‘The Court says that the demanding State has a right to have every such fugitive delivered up; that the State of Ohio has no right to enter into the question as to whether the act of which the fugitive stands accused is criminal or not in Ohio, provided that it was a crime in Kentucky, and it is the duty of the Governor of Ohio to deliver up, upon any proper proofs that the act charged is a crime by the laws of Kentucky; that the act of Congress of 1793 determines that evidence is to be submitted to the State of Ohio; that the duty of the

Governor is ministerial merely, like that of a sheriff or marshal, and appeals to his good faith in the discharge of a constitutional duty. But for the reason that Congress cannot impose any federal duty on the officers of a State, and that where such officers are called upon by an act of Congress to perform such duties, the performance depends solely on good sense and good faith on their part, it cannot be compelled by Federal authority. And on these grounds the *mandamus* is refused.’

The Court have no machinery applicable to the Governor of a State; they therefore ‘appeal to his good faith.’ The right exists, but there is no remedy. The utmost they do is to express a hope that the State will abide by the agreement it has entered into to submit its actions to the judgments of the Supreme Court. After this example it is difficult to give to the secession of a State and to the rebellion of Yorkshire one and the same legal or constitutional character.

But we are told that the sovereignty resides neither in Congress, nor in the State Governments, but in ‘the people of the United States.’ Mr. Spence says:—

‘In the ratifying convention of the State of Virginia, Patrick Henry objected strongly to the words, “we the people;” on the ground that the very construction might be given to them which is attempted at the present day. But Madison at once showed such construction to be erroneous. He replied in these words:—“The parties to it were to be the people, but not the people as composing one great society, but the people as composing thirteen sovereignties.” Not contented with giving the true meaning of the phrase, he adduced an argument to prove it by adding—“If it were a purely consolidated government, the assent of a majority of the people would be sufficient to establish it. But it was to be binding on the people of a State only by their own separate consent.” This argument seems conclusive; and as an interpreter of the meaning of the terms none will attempt to compare the authority of Mr. Motley, or of Webster, with that of Madison.’ (Spence, p. 225.)

Moreover it must be remembered that the instrument itself professes to be ‘done in Convention by the unanimous consent of the States present,’ not ‘of the people of the United States.’ If there be a sovereignty vested in this mythical being—the people of the United States—where is the legislative organ, distinct from the Federal or from the State Governments, by which the sovereign speaks? How in an emergency such as secession can recourse be had to the sovereign? How under the Constitution is the will of ‘the People of the United States’ to be ascertained?

The fifth article of the Constitution is as follows:—

‘The Congress, whenever two-thirds of both Houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose



amendments to this Constitution, or, on the application of the Legislatures of two-thirds of the several States, shall call a convention for proposing amendments, which, in either case, shall be valid to all intents and purposes, as part of this Constitution, when ratified by the Legislatures of three-fourths of the several States, or by conventions in three-fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by the Congress.'

It will be observed that according to this theory of a sovereignty vested in the 'People of the United States,' the sovereign can act only with the consent of his own subordinates—that is to say, of Congress and the State Legislatures. The sovereign himself has no power, even of speaking, until these 'Lords of the Articles' shall have called upon him to do so. In fact, however, the object of those who framed the Constitution was to bury the actual sovereignty where it could not easily be found or got at.

Accordingly we again ask, How, when a difficulty arises, can the supposed sovereign—the people of the United States—be heard? The complicated process pointed out by the Constitution gives a practical veto to a minority, and it implies a process impossible in disturbed times, more especially when more than one-fourth of the States have withdrawn themselves. There is indeed one act which it may be said is done by the people of the United States, and that is the election of the President; but in this election also the Conventions meet in each State, and when they name their delegates, they—the people of the State—tell them for whom they are to vote. The Constitution no doubt intended that the best men should be sent from each State, who should exercise their judgment and discretion in the selection of the President. As it is, the electors really convey the voice of the State in favour of this or that individual. There is no doubt, however, that the election virtually expresses the wish of the people, and to this the significance of Lincoln's election is to be attributed; so that the South immediately concluded that their influence was at an end and their power in the Union was gone. It may be said, too, that the people of the loyal States have spoken by their crusade against secession, and their burst of zeal for the Union. They have done so, no doubt; but not in their character of constitutional sovereign. All constitutional relations cease when men stand arrayed against each other with arms in their hands.

We are convinced, the men who framed the Constitution did not dare to say expressly that they had framed a national and united Government, because they knew that if they

did say so it would infallibly be rejected with a howl of indignation. Many of them hoped that the system which they had started would ripen into such a Government, but they scarcely dared to believe in their success. Had a general conviction existed for a single moment that the Federal Government would claim the right to treat a State as a rebel and coerce it as such, scarcely a single State would have sanctioned the Union. One may almost say that the people of each State accepted the Constitution under a deception: the majority of the people apprehended as the greatest possible evil the very interpretation which we are now told is its true meaning.

Is it possible, then, to say, with any fairness, that the sovereignty or individual existence of the separate States has ceased under the Constitution? Let us observe the ordinary course of domestic affairs throughout the country. It is to the State Government that a man looks to protect his property and secure his personal safety. It is the State Government which makes the laws that affect all daily transactions, and it is the tribunals of the State Government which decide all the ordinary questions arising between man and man. Is it surprising that upright and honourable men should feel their first allegiance to be due to the State, and should think that they have nothing to do with the Federal Government except as citizens of a State? There are, no doubt, technical difficulties in such a view, but it is at any rate a natural one.

In proof that it is so, we give the following extract from a letter written from McClellan's camp as late as the 17th of July last, and published in the 'New York Express':—

'Very often, when prisoners come in, a crowd of soldiers will get about them, and the first questions asked will be,—

"What are you fighting against us for?"

"State rights" is always invariably the answer.'

To discuss the question, however, whether the Government of the United States be federal or national, is merely playing with words; substantially, and looking to facts, the separate States were organised governments, each habitually acting for itself in ordinary matters, and capable of exercising a will of its own as a community. In forming the Union, they did not intend to part with their free will. They had once chosen to belong to the Union; now, rightly or wrongly, perhaps foolishly and unreasonably, some of them change their minds, and no longer desire to form a portion of the United States.

Here we come back to the point, from

which we started. As the South has deliberately expressed this wish, and as the principle on which the United States exist at all is the principle that a people are the best judges of their own happiness and of the form of government which promotes that happiness, so we cannot desire that the seceding States should be subdued by force. We do not like their institutions, and we disapprove of much that they have done against ourselves and against other Powers, but still our sympathies and the sympathies of most Englishmen (as we believe) are against their subjugation. Thus, whilst on the one hand we do not concur with those who wish the Union to be broken up, simply because it has afforded the most prosperous and brilliant example of democracy on a large scale; yet on the other, we cannot desire that it should exhibit the most flagrant instance which the world has ever seen of a minority of millions compelled by brute force to submit to the arms of a majority.

We have spoken of our feelings and our sympathies; but a further question remains to be discussed,—Is it the interest of the civilised world, and especially of our own country, that the American Union should be renovated and restored to its full proportions by the conquest of the South? It is affirmed that we ought to desire such a result on the ground of slavery; we have endeavoured to show that it is very doubtful, to say the least, whether the existence or even the extension of slavery would be hindered by such a conquest; Mr. Cairnes himself admits that no such result would flow from the restoration of the Union, even if that event were now possible. It can scarcely be said that the relations of the American Union to Europe, and to England in particular, have been so satisfactory as to make us anxious for its continuance; and we cannot help it if this instinctive sense of our own interest in the matter tends to feed the sympathies of our countrymen with the cause of the South.

The Union had shot up with a rapidity of growth unknown in history; it had become strong enough to beard France or England, and, aided by its cotton trade, it ventured to insult the latter whenever it suited its purpose to do so. The Americans systematically employed their quarrels with foreign nations as a means of quieting their domestic disagreements, or diverting attention from their subjects of quarrel one with another. A grievance against England, or a disputed claim, was kept in abeyance for the purpose of being at all hazards used in this manner, whenever party politics at home might make it expedient to fall back on it. Such a sys-

tem was, undoubtedly, exceedingly convenient to every ministry.

The relation of the States to the Federal Government afforded peculiar facilities for evading the demands or meeting the complaints of foreign nations. If South Carolina imprisoned British seamen, the Federal Government was appealed to. They professed that they could not interfere with the institutions of the State. The foreign plaintiff, however, had to deal only with the Government at Washington, which thus practically assumed the character of a mediator rather than that of the responsible defendant in the suit. On the other hand, to quarrel with the State of South Carolina was to quarrel with the United States. So also it was with the aid given to rebels in Canada. The citizens of Buffalo and Northern New York might violate neutrality, but it was difficult to operate upon them through the Secretary of State at Washington. If the United States professed to act, such action was liable to be deadened and weakened by the State authorities. When Van Rensselaer was threatening an invasion of Canada, a warrant for his apprehension was issued at Washington. But the immediate execution of that warrant was at least postponed by Mr. Marcy, the Governor of the State of New York, acting with General Scott, who certainly had no lawful authority to interfere.\* Yet the Americans, in their present quarrel with us, have constantly appealed to their good faith and their strict neutrality in all these transactions on the frontier. Whether they deserve this credit is more than doubtful. Their conduct in the matter of the Island of San Juan affords a good example of their reluctance to settle any difficulty. Outrages had taken place on that island long before its seizure; but when the last act of violence was committed, it became necessary to meet the complaint of England. How has this been done? Not by a straightforward discussion and settlement of the respective claims of the parties, but by keeping the whole matter in suspense. So it was again with the Maine boundary. The United States Government at one time insisted that Commissioners from the State of Maine should accompany the joint exploring commission which had been proposed.† They said they could not agree to any convention-

\* It is fair to state that the object of postponing the execution of the warrant was to try persuasion on Van Rensselaer. Mr. Marcy told this story himself.

† This proposal was very properly refused. See Lord Palmerston's speech on the Ashburton Treaty. (*Hansard*, vol. lxvii. p. 1179.)

al line without the consent of Maine, when in fact that State had formally refused to consent to any conventional line at all. They might be right as to the limit of their constitutional powers, but the interpretation of the treaty rested solely with the Federal Government. When it was convenient to this government, they sheltered their territorial rapacity under the cover of State rights; when it suited their ends better, they acted with the unity of purpose and the vigour of a national government.

We do not blame any ministry at Washington for using all the weapons legitimately within their reach, but we venture to doubt whether a state of things, which always furnishes such weapons, is one, the loss of which ought to be regretted very deeply by foreign Powers. There is something exceedingly amusing in the following attempt of Mr. Seward to convince a despotic government that its interests are indissolubly connected with the maintenance of the American Union. The argument would certainly have astonished Jefferson. In a despatch to Mr. Burlingame, the minister in Austria, dated April 13, 1861, the Secretary of State says:—

'The Union is, moreover, the chief security for the stability of nations. When this experiment of self-government shall have failed for want of wisdom and virtue enough, either at home or abroad, to preserve it or permit it to exist, the people of other countries may well despair, and lose the patience they have practised so long under different systems, in the expectation that the influence it was slowly exercising would ultimately bring them to the enjoyment of the rights of self-government. When that patience disappears, anarchy must come upon the earth.' (*Foreign Papers of Session, 1862. No. 2, p. 147.*)

We doubt whether the Austrian Cabinet would appreciate Mr. Seward's reasoning in this matter, or would readily attribute the continued submission of its subjects to the distant hope of future freedom held out by the Republic of the United States.

An earnest advocate of the Northern cause, Count Agénor de Gasparin, has lately discussed the question, how far and with what reason the previous conduct of the United States towards England has disposed us to sympathise with secession.\* He says:—

\* 'America before Europe—Principles and Interest,' by Count Agénor de Gasparin. Translated from advance sheets, by Mary L. Booth. London, 1862. Part at least of this book produces the impression of an elaborate manifesto from Washington, dressed up with skill and ability by an author who has clothed it with the apparent candour of a foreigner. The arguments are forcibly put, and it is marked by that mixture of sentimentality and profusion

'The Americans, we admit, have often been very arrogant towards the English. They have shown themselves provoking and unjust. But what Americans? Those of the North or the South? All this may be traced to Southern policy. This policy had, as its fundamental article, the hatred of England, abolition England, liberal England, conservative England.

'It is a new example of the power of words. The word "United States" is enough with many: it was the United States by whom they were offended; it is the United States that must pay for the offence.' (Pp. 126–8.)

We deny, in the first place, that the Southerners were alone to blame for the insolence and arrogance so often shown towards England. Many of the matters in dispute had nothing to do with Southern interests; such, for instance, was the case with the question of the Maine boundary and the Island of San Juan. Moreover, is it not true that the Northern men personally took a zealous part in these obnoxious acts and speeches? Did not Mr. Seward himself, on more than one occasion, throw out definite proposals for conquering Canada, as a set-off against Cuba or other Southern acquisitions? Did he not in fact, more than once, provoke agitation against England as a ready mode of influencing the public mind in favour of his own party? Did the Northern statesmen ever fail to second, or did they ever protest against, the violent conduct which we are now told ought to be visited on the South alone? All such conduct was welcome to them, provided it smoothed over domestic difficulties. In the second place, we are quite ready to admit that the influence of the South was dominant at Washington when these things were done, and we allow that many a Southern man, who now claims our sympathies for secession, was himself a prominent instigator of these very acts.

We are glad to say, however, that it is to us a matter of perfect indifference who stimulated these aggressive movements. The feeling in England to which Count A. de Gasparin refers is not founded on a desire of vengeance, or personal retribution on any one for insults which we have received. It rests on a much more calm and rational basis—that is to say, on the conviction that the unity of the Government at Washington alone made the blow tell; it is hoped that when that unity is gone, all insults of the kind, if not so impolitic as to be avoided altogether, will at least be harmless, and of no consequence to England.\*

of a rigid adherence to logic and principle which so often distinguishes French discussions of political questions.

\* We do not take Mr. Roebuck as a trustworthy

It may be urged that the pecuniary and commercial relations of England and America are so numerous and so complicated, that we ought, as a matter of self-interest, to wish well to the Government at Washington. It is true, no doubt, that much English capital is at stake in the United States; and it is true also that the real interest of both nations would lead them to foster the closest commercial intimacy. But what course have the Federal Government pursued in this matter? Have they shown that they appreciated the value of trade as a pledge and a safeguard of good feeling between two kindred nations? On the contrary, they have thrown themselves headlong into the arms of the most rabid protectionists. One would think, from their conduct, that they feared lest the nations of Europe should be too much attached to the Federal Government, and too strongly impressed with the expediency of preserving it entire. Or it may be that by an arrogant defiance of all European interests and European opinions they wished to show how little they cared for either. Be this as it may, on the eve of the present contest they astonished the world by the Morrill tariff; and when the war had lasted a year, they surpassed the absurdity of the Morrill tariff by a law of still greater stringency.

On the other hand, if the North have taken care to convince us that our trade with them will henceforth be as small as possible, it is surely no trifling matter that the independence of the South would open new markets for our manufactures, without the previous restrictions of Federal tariffs. These may be sordid considerations, but they assist in turning the sympathies of men one way or the other; and it is quite certain that in the end they will count for much in forming the public opinion of every country.

It is singular enough that in reviewing the administration of the Government at Washington since the commencement of the war, we find them sanctioning in succession every one of those acts which have been accounted the most odious characteristics of arbitrary and despotic power. The freedom of the press has long since ceased to exist; the secrecy of the post-office and the electric telegraph have been habitually violated by

exponent of the feelings of Englishmen in general; yet, judging from the report in the 'Times' of his speech at Sheffield in August last, we believe that he then described pretty accurately the current of opinion of many of our countrymen on American affairs. We dissent entirely, however, from the conclusion at which he arrived, — that we ought to interfere immediately.

the Secretary of State. The writ of *habeas corpus* has been abolished; the independent action of the judges has been coerced by military authority; men and women have been imprisoned for months without bringing them to trial, and without any attempt to show that they had been guilty of a breach of the law. These things have been done, too, not merely in the countries occupied by contending armies, but in the New England States, where the ordinary course of affairs and the administration of the law were apparently smooth and uninterrupted; and where the public feeling in favour of the Union was such that the only difficulty would have been to secure a fair trial for a State criminal. The property of individuals not convicted by any court has been confiscated and placed at the disposal of the soldiery. Passports have been introduced. A military conscription has been resorted to, and free citizens have been stopped at the frontier lest they should escape its obligations by leaving the United States.

The 3rd Section of the 4th Article of the Constitution provides as follows: —

'New States may be admitted by the Congress into this Union; but no new State shall be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other State; nor any State be formed by the junction of two or more States, or parts of States, without the consent of the Legislatures of the States concerned, as well as of the Congress.'

Yet, in the teeth of this article, the President and Congress have proposed to erect Western Virginia into a separate State. The excuse for these acts is that they are temporary measures, necessary in self-defence, and in a time of war and civil convulsion. But they have gone further in particular cases than the ends aimed at could require; and they have often been of such a kind as to do incalculable injury to the cause which they were intended to support. Can we doubt that General Butler's proclamation at New Orleans preached secession most effectually in the West, and converted many on both sides of the Atlantic to the Southern cause? The hatred which it has excited will cost the life of many a Northern soldier on the battle-field.

Do not let us, however, forget that in all likelihood the measures of the Confederate Government have not been less arbitrary or less rigorous. We know that even when laws were supposed to be in force neither a Southern man nor a Southern mob ever hesitated to violate them, if it suited their ends; it is not probable that they will have been more scrupulous in time of revolution. But we know little of what goes on in the South; and however unfair it may be, the

glaring contrast of such acts as those which we have described with the professions of constitutional right and of the maintenance of law assuredly weakens men's sympathies with the North. They raise another doubt, and that is, whether the price which is to be paid for the subjugation of the South is not far higher than the value of the object war-rants. If to the slaughter of men and the waste of money is to be added the practical suppression of all civil liberties, the widest empire which even American ambition ever dreamt of would be dearly purchased; and for what but empire are the North now fighting?

An appeal is often made to us for our sympathy on the ground of our blood-relationship with the inhabitants of the United States; and we are reproached with forgetting those ties which the American captain at the mouth of the Pei-Ho recognised in the emphatic words, 'Blood is thicker than water!' So far as a feeling of respect for their energy and good sense, and a deep and sincere regret for the misery of civil war are concerned, we acknowledge at once the validity of this claim upon us; but we do not see that we are more kindred with the North than we are with the South. The colonies of both sections of the Union were colonies of England, and the men of Virginia and South Carolina are as much our cousins as those of Massachusetts and more so than those of New York. As between the United States and the rest of the world this consideration may be allowed its proper weight.

If we reflect a little, it is not in the least degree surprising that the hatred of us in the Northern States should at this moment be deeper than it has ever been since 1787. A proud and generous people, whose rapid progress had placed them in the first rank of nations, suddenly find the fabric on which their high position rested crumbling away beneath their feet. To know that such a result had been often predicted, even by their own statesmen, does not diminish their disappointment, though it may make them more doubtful of their recovery. The system of the Union was one which combined immense material force, with every possible facility for evading demands made by others, or turning their disagreements with European powers to the best account in domestic politics. All this disappears in a moment; and is it wonderful that in such a crisis they should be out of temper with everybody, and especially with England? They tell us that they had a right to reckon on our hearty good wishes against slavery; but they forget that the very Union which

they expect us to uphold has been during its prosperity the great protector of slavery, and really, though not ostensibly, the shield of the slave-trade. Their true feeling towards us has, we fear, been shown too well by such incidents as the speeches of Mr. Cassius M. Clay, an accredited minister of the United States Government; and by the Boston dinner to Captain Wilkes on the seizure of the Southern envoys. We have no intention of discussing this matter of the 'Trent' again, as we noticed it at length in a recent number of this journal; but the Americans know well that we cannot easily forget the approbation of Captain Wilkes's conduct by the Secretary of the Navy and the House of Representatives, or the manner in which the prisoners were retained until it was obvious that a war was imminent.\* They must know, too, that the despatch of Mr. Seward, in which he said explicitly that the men would not have been given up if he had thought it the interest of the Federal Government to detain them, was in itself an insult almost as great as that offered to our flag.† Whilst we rejoice to think of the dignified position maintained by England in the whole correspondence, we do not believe that the consciousness of their own wrongdoing towards us will make their sentiments more friendly. 'Odisse quem læseris' is true of nations as of individuals. We have so constantly submitted to insult, and conceded what we might have maintained, that the United States may think that they have acquired a sort of vested right in such submission. The Americans, perhaps, consider us guilty of a breach of faith when we deviate from the peaceable course which our previous conduct had led them to expect at our hands. Count Agénor de Gasparin, however, has summed up the indictment against England with perfect truth when he says, 'Upon the whole, were it necessary to state in a few words the inference to be drawn from this chapter, I should say that

\* Nothing was more amusing than to see how the opinion of the House which specially represents the people was treated as merely worthless by those who spoke on behalf of America at the time of these occurrences. 'It was only the House of Representatives—if it had been the Senate,' &c. &c.

† Count A. de Gasparin (p. 130.) seems to assert that the conduct of England on the 'Trent' affair was a mere party movement of Lord Palmerston's to avoid difficulties impending in the coming session! The absurdity of this is obvious, although most assuredly the Government would have had great difficulties in Parliament if they had taken any other course. As we have said, this part of Count A. de Gasparin's book seems to us to have been dictated from Washington, and to present the version of the whole affair which the United States Government wish to be current in Europe.

the English had been guilty above all of indifference.' (P. 121.) No graver crime against the exaggerated pride of America could possibly be committed. We, however, think we have shown reasons enough to make our indifference to the success of the North at least excusable.

It is clear that within the last few months the Federal cruisers have been pressing to the utmost those belligerent rights which they denied to us when we claimed them. If the blockade of Charleston, where it professes to exist, has not always been efficient, that of the Bahamas, where it cannot legally exist at all, seems to make up for all laxness on the Southern coast. Vessels appear to be taken almost within range of British forts, not because they are trying to enter the Southern ports, but because their papers or their cargoes inspire some zealous Federal officer with the suspicion that such may possibly be their intention; and we perceive with great regret that the notorious Captain Wilkes has just been appointed to command on the West Indian station. Judging from their conduct in this war, they have entirely changed their opinions since Jefferson wrote to Livingstone (Sept. 9. 1801) in the following words: 'We believe the practice of seizing what is called contraband of war is an abusive practice not founded in natural rights.' (*Randolph's Jefferson*, iii. p. 488.) But we hope they will remember that an indisposition to abandon a neutral policy on the mere ground of interest or anger, is a different thing from a determination to submit to any amount of insult or contumely as a nation. Our experience with America ought to have taught us that the best way to avoid war with her is to show that we have a due regard to our own honour. We believe that, however much the newspapers or individuals in New York may boast of their readiness for a quarrel, that desire will never be so small as when they think we are prepared to take up the challenge. We trust sincerely, however, that no provocation short of actual insult will induce our Government to depart from the line of steady and dignified policy which they have adopted, and which the nation, as a whole, approves. We should be especially sorry to see the neutrality of England sacrificed to a hasty or petulant feeling of resentment.

We are not yet in a position to judge the merits of those who have administered affairs and commanded armies in this most lamentable struggle. It is curious that the war should have lasted a year and a half, rolling its tide one way and the other, without on the Northern side, casting up on its

surface any one man of marked ability or vigour. Numbers without a general are merely food for the enemy to prey on; and war can never be carried on successfully by large armies badly commanded. McClellan is obviously a man of great courage, cool judgment, and immense perseverance,—qualities which may make an excellent subordinate officer, but which are not sufficient to constitute him a general. His last operations in Maryland have, however, been prompt and successful. It is impossible to know how far he had previously been thwarted or guided from Washington, so that much blundering which has been imputed to him may be chargeable properly on the successive Secretaries for War, or on the President himself.

The Federal Government appear to have been determined to set at nought all the principles of strategy which have been established in Europe, just as they have treated all maxims of sound political economy as inapplicable to American finance. They have acted on exterior lines, with blind confidence in the luck of war, and they have reaped the fruits of such blundering. The ordinary apology made by the Northern papers for each successive defeat of their own army, is in fact an admission that they have been working on wrong principles. They say in each case that the Confederates have obtained their advantage by outnumbering their opponents; but it is the main business of a general in the conduct of a campaign to have at the spot where it is wanted the superiority in numbers. From the party which undoubtedly has the largest supply of men and of funds, such an excuse amounts to a confession of bad generalship in the field, or a mistaken plan of the war. Their tactics or their strategy must be grievously at fault. Probably in Virginia, both causes have operated at the same time.

When the Federals advanced before Bull's Run, they did so without information as to the number or true position of their enemies. When, again, after an interval of months, they marched into the same country with the intention of attacking Richmond from the north, three days' bad weather was sufficient to send them back to Washington a disorganised mob. When they undertook the attack by way of the peninsula between the James and York rivers, they stumbled over entrenchments deliberately prepared at York Town without their knowledge, within twenty miles of their own outposts. Afterwards they changed their front, and the base of their operations, from the James river to the York river and the Pamunkey, apparently on the speculation that they

would be supported by the armies of Banks and M'Dowell from Northern Virginia; but in the meantime these armies had been driven back by Jackson, and the right wing of the Federal force was left extended in the air. Then it was that Jackson and the Confederates turned upon them, and after six days' fighting drove the Northern army back to its original base of the James river, at a point further from Richmond than that from which they had started. All this cost them their siege artillery, the virtual loss of at least 50,000 or 60,000 men, and the demoralisation of their whole force. Some praise, no doubt, for coolness and ability in the management of the retreat on the Chickahominy, must be conceded to M'Clellan, but its whole result is most discreditably to these who guided the movements.

But since M'Clellan's occupation of Harrison's Landing the events of the war in Virginia have been still more astounding. Pope's position on the Rapidan became untenable: M'Clellan then transferred his shattered army from the attack of Richmond to the defence of Washington. The lines of the Rapidan and Rappahannock have been occupied by the Federals, and forced or turned by the Confederates. The personal baggage of the Northern general was carried off in the rear of his own position. The struggle was no longer for the capture of Richmond, but for the attack and defence of Washington and of Maryland. The banks of Bull's Run witnessed another Federal defeat, and again echoed the roar of the Southern artillery, as on that memorable morning when the Pennsylvania regiments marched off the field 'to the sound of the enemy's cannon.' What has been gained by the enormous levies so carefully disciplined, and by the loss of the many thousands sacrificed in the campaign? The subsequent advance of the Confederates into Maryland has been repulsed with heavy loss; and it was apparently a military and political blunder when they assumed the offensive beyond the Potomac; but they have threatened Cincinnati, and the outposts of their forces have again been seen by the President from the windows of the White House.

In the West it is not so easy, with our sources of information, to trace the military events, but Beauregard's retreat from Corinth appears to have been an operation almost incredible of its kind. In the face of a powerful enemy in front of his own lines, he deliberately broke up his camp and abandoned his position without an attack of any kind; the army of Halleck was thereby rendered as useless, for all practical pur-

poses, as if he had defeated it, and that without any loss to his own side. We do not overlook the partial successes of the North wherever their gunboats could be brought to bear on the conflict, but we are compelled to recognise, in the general conduct of the war, the superior skill of the Southern commanders. Among the latter, Jackson, Beauregard, and Lee stand out as most conspicuous, and it is very probable that much may be owing to the military genius of Jefferson Davis himself.

Tocqueville foretold the attitude which a Federal army attempting to subdue the country must necessarily assume:—'Si l'Union entreprenait de maintenir par les armes les confédérés dans le devoir, sa position se trouverait analogue à celle qu'occupait l'Angleterre lors de la guerre de l'indépendance.' (*Tocqueville*, ii. p. 367.) The conquest of a vast territory with a hostile population in arms is not easier for them than it was for us in 1776.

We believe that we are borne out by facts, when we say that the officers of the Northern army are, as might be expected, deficient in the training, and in the sense of subordination, which is required for success in war on a large scale. We have no doubt that M'Clellan has been often crippled by the feeling that he could not venture to make a reconnaissance, because he did not know whether the officer entrusted with its execution would confine himself to carrying out his orders, or whether he might not, if he thought the opportunity favourable, seek to distinguish himself by a rash advance, which would involve a general action destructive of the plan of the whole campaign. The retreat from Vicksburg, and the successful attempt of the Arkansas to run the gauntlet of the Northern fleet, are most curious illustrations of the resources and daring of the Southern men. The Mississippi is not yet open, as the Federal Government had hoped and boasted, and it still flows by Vicksburg.

We observe, with great regret, the increasing atrocity of the war: Pope's general order of July 23rd, the Confederate order in retaliation of August 1st, and the murder of General Robert M'Cook, are all proofs that if the struggle continues it will become one in which no quarter will be given on either side. The order of Mr. Stanton, of August 8th, to prevent the evasion of military duty, did not seem to promise well for the recruiting measures then in progress. The zeal for the Union must be flagging when so strong a measure is necessary to secure the service of the people in its behalf; nor will the men who are thus driven



into the ranks make steady soldiers. A man who was in the old times pressed on board a ship of war, remained there and fought because he could not do otherwise; but desertion by land, and in one's own country, is an easier matter.

We cannot pass over in silence the financial arrangements of the Federal Government, although we have not space to discuss them as fully as they deserve. We know no other instance of a people advisedly carrying on a war of conquest for more than a year, without professing at least to make some provision by taxation to meet the enormous expenditure they were incurring from day to day. The tax-bill has been passed at last, but it is only after an authority has been given to issue paper money and Government bills to an amount which is astounding even in England. From the customs little can be expected, because the tariff is all but prohibitory.

We see that the United States currency is at a considerable discount; and hoarding has without doubt already begun. As the paper increases, so the discount must increase. If foreign creditors are to be paid, gold must be bought, and its nominal value must rise. Particular circumstances may stave off the final crisis, or accelerate it. A deficient harvest in Europe would enable wheat to be shipped instead of bullion, and we are ignorant of many minute facts which may retard this downward movement, but the result admits of little doubt.

Now the derangement of the finances of a people, and the unsound condition of their currency, are very serious evils in themselves, but they are doubly formidable when connected with causes which affect the source of all wealth—the productive industry of the country. The former evils divert and derange the channel; the latter diminish and dry up the waters which feed the river. Both sources of mischief seem to us in active operation in the United States.

The sums appropriated by Congress form only a portion of the expenses to be incurred, even for the years to which the appropriations relate. There will be the bounty and the premiums to the men who serve; and the former of these items promises at its present rate to be no trifling sum. If it is said it will be avoided as soon as recourse is had to a conscription, we answer that the sums which will be paid by individuals for substitutes, though saved to the Government, will produce evils of another kind, far more formidable than the outlay of money. Of all imposts which ever fall on a man in a free country, we should think the sum paid in lieu of serving in the army

must be the most galling. The toil and inconvenience borne by a soldier himself may be lightened by a sense of duty, or desire for honour, but there is no honour in staying at home, whilst the wound in the pocket will smart acutely.

The number of men in arms at any one time on the side of the North alone has not been less than 500,000. These men are all withdrawn from productive industry, in a country where labour is scarce. Instead of adding to the resources of the community, they are fed, clothed, and armed at the public expense. Those who fall in the contest are permanently lost to the labour-market; those who are wounded and disabled will, in many cases, become entitled to pensions, and thus form a lasting burden on the public funds. On the other hand, in the South the tillage of the soil and the industry of the country are carried on by a population who do not contribute to the number of combatants. Every Northern soldier is so much deducted from the produce of the country, but work in the South is carried on by negroes, with little substantial interruption.

All speculations as to the issue of the lamentable contest now going on are worth but little. We cannot conceive the restoration of the Union to be possible, because we cannot see how two populations, no longer merely differing in commercial interests and political opinions, but animated with the fiercest hatred of each other, can carry on a common government on the principles of equal right and popular representation in the same Congress. So long as the fiction of a large Union party in the South remained credible, the restoration of the Constitution on its former footing did not appear so absurd a project; but the fact is now clear that in the Southern States, properly so called, no such Union party exists. Even the embers of Federal patriotism have been trampled out by such men as General Butler.

What the chances of reunion are may be judged from the following passage in a letter of Lieut. Maury to the French Admiral De Chabanne:—

'As for the preservation, restoration, or reconstruction of the Union, it is simply an impossibility. Laying aside all questions of military power and prowess between the contending parties, the mere hatred of one for the other, and which is obvious to every intelligent being who has attentively observed the events of the contest as they have developed themselves, is enough to destroy all hopes for any such union. Harmony between the States, good-will among the people, are essential to any such reconstruction or preservation, and you see enough, even from your

distant stand-point, to satisfy you that we are two peoples, and that so long as our favourite doctrine holds good—viz., that every rightful government rests on the consent of the governed—no power on earth can unite us again or make us one.\*

It is very doubtful whether, even in the Border States, any remnant of Union patriotism could be called into action, if we may judge from the way in which they have been overrun by secession guerrillas. To turn States into territories by an Act of Congress would certainly not be to carry out the Constitution; it would simply mean occupation by a standing army—such an occupation as that New Orleans at the present time. Even if a miserable fraction of the population should take the oath of allegiance†, and exercise the semblance of political rights under the pressure of military despotism, the condition of the country would, in fact, be neither more nor less than the condition of Poland under Russia.

Such, it seems to us, is the most favourable issue which could be secured by the speedy and complete triumph of the Federal arms; and it would surely be a high price to pay for the chance—the remote chance, as we think—of freedom to the slaves.

It is clear, however, from the events of the last six months, that there is little prospect of witnessing such a consummation as this within any definite lapse of time. If the restoration of the Union is possible, it can take place only under Jefferson Davis, not under Lincoln; and to this chance some portion of the Democrats have evidently turned their eyes. In the event of the continued success of the South, we should not be at all surprised to hear that the mob and the merchants of New York had declared themselves in favour of slavery and the winning side. The proclamation of September 22nd will increase this disposition, and aggravate all political differences. The meetings of State governors, although for the moment in support of the President, is surely ominous of danger. Congress would seem to be the only legitimate organ by

which States can act on the Federal Executive.

Let us see what sober-minded men who cling with affection to the Union think of the various schemes now afloat with reference to the future of the United States. We quote again from Mr. G. T. Curtis's (4th of July) speech of the present year:—

'One man, for instance, wishes the Government to assume the power of emancipating all the slaves of the South, by some decree, civil or military. But he cannot possibly explain what the Government of the Union is to be when it has done this. Another man wants a sweeping confiscation of all the property of all the people of the revolted States, guilty and innocent alike. But he does not tell you what kind of Sovereign the United States is to be, after such a seizure shall have been consummated. A third, in addition to these things, and as if in imitation of the Austrian method of dealing with rebellious Hungary, wishes to declare a sweeping forfeiture of all political rights; an utter extinguishment of the corporate State existence, and a reduction of the people of the revolted States to a condition of military or some other vassalage. But he not only does not show how the Constitution enables the Federal Government to obliterate a State, but he does not even suggest what the Union is to be when this is done, or even whence the requisite physical force is to be derived. Multitudes of politicians tell us that slavery is the root of all the national disasters, and that we must "strike at the root." But none of them tell us how we are to pass through these disasters to a safer condition, or what the condition is to be when we shall have struck at the root. He would be a very bold and a very rash man who should undertake to predict what new Constitution can follow a civil war in a great country like this.' (Pp. 21, 22, 23.)

Further on Mr. Curtis says:—

'That no valuable military allies can be found among the negroes of the South; that no description of government, custody, or charge of them can become more than a change of masters; and that nothing but weakness to the national cause results from projects that look to the acquisition of national power over their condition,—are truths on which the public mind appears to be rapidly approaching a settled conviction.' (P. 29.)

Mr. Curtis tells his hearers (p. 45.) to trust in charity rather than in these speculations; and we quite agree with him, but we think the first exercise of charity would be the stoppage of the war, and we see no other practical inference from his arguments. Looking to the eloquent conclusion of his speech, peace is evidently the desire of its author. If it be true that 300,000 copies of this oration have been sold in Boston, is not that fact significant as to the growth of opinion in favour of peace?

\* 'Times,' August 14, 1862.

† The mention of the oath of allegiance induces us to insert the following curious extract from a Northern paper, published more than a year ago:—'It is reported of General Scott that when he received information of the capture of the Hatteras Forts, he burst into tears, and insisted on having the oath of allegiance administered to him.'

We do not suppose that the story is true, but it is difficult to make out what was the view of the writer of the paragraph. He seems to think that 'the oath of allegiance' exercised some restorative or sedative effect on the agitated nerves of the patient to whom it was administered.

It may be said with plausibility, that the continuance of the conflict will reduce both parties to a state of exhaustion; that the want of arms, men, and money in the South, and the pecuniary and military necessities of the North, will place the two combatants opposite to each other, still in an attitude of mutual defiance, but unable on either side to strike an effective blow. But in this case the question of boundary would present inextricable difficulties in the way of a peaceable reconciliation.

The North, up to the present time, persist in demanding the unconditional surrender of the Southern States, and profess exactly the same confidence in their own power to enforce such submission, as they did when the first levies rushed to Washington in the spring of 1861. On the other hand, the Southern men assert, with equal confidence, their ability to hold their own, and their fixed determination not to lay down their arms so long as the free will of any single State to make its choice between the Union and the Southern Confederacy is denied or resisted. The question of limits and conditions on which any peace is possible, does indeed seem to be one of almost insoluble difficulty. With our feeling on the subject of slavery, we should be glad to see its area restricted and its power of future extension crippled, trusting, as we do, to the influence of opinion, and the interests of the South itself, for its modification or ultimate abolition. The question is not whether it should exist: we cannot annihilate the facts as they stand, but we think the indefinite prolongation of a bloody civil war too much to pay for a mere uncertain contingency.

We should rejoice to see Western Virginia, Eastern Tennessee, and perhaps the northern slope of Kentucky by the Ohio river, with the whole State of Missouri, rescued from the reproach of slavery, but we are utterly at a loss to see any definite means by which this arrangement is to be effected. The North have formed, or are about to form, a new army of 600,000 men, and there is no symptom of faltering in its purpose on the part of the South. It may be long before the pressure of money difficulties compels the Government at Washington to seek for peace. The members of the Cabinet will not be willing to expose themselves to the reproach of abandoning the cause of the Union. Whenever tranquillity is restored, they will be liable to be called to account for all the arbitrary and illegal acts committed during the struggle. Congress has no constitutional power to grant an act of indemnity.

The readiest way of salving over the wounds inflicted on the vanity of a nation, is to impute the disgrace incurred to the incapacity or treachery of the men in office. Mr. Seward and his colleagues have therefore a strong interest in holding out to the last. The interest, too, of those who profit by the war as contractors, is likely to be powerful. Such men will stimulate to the utmost the flagging patriotism of their fellow-countrymen, and will clamour to the last for the Constitution and the war which pays so well to themselves.

On the other hand, it cannot be denied that a change in public opinion may come at any moment. There are already strong symptoms of the revival of the Democratic party; and it must never be forgotten that in all democracies such changes of opinion are sudden and overwhelming, just in proportion to the previous fierceness and obstinacy on the other side. The reason of this law is obvious enough. The minority do not dare to speak out until they expect to become at once the majority, and carry all before them. If they move before the time, they are crushed at once. It is possible, therefore, that the war may last until the next presidential election; and it is possible that at any moment a sudden turn in public opinion may show itself in the election of State and city officers, or of members of Congress, and compel the adoption of measures leading to peace. The elections about to take place within a month may produce this result.

The mere recognition of the Southern Confederacy by foreign nations would do nothing. The offer of mediation by England or France would be treated as an insult, and be used as a stimulus for increasing the army of the North. An offer (if such a course were possible) on the part of France, England, and Russia, might, in a moment of exhaustion, meet with more favourable consideration; but such a proposal, to be effective, must carry with it a reference to Russia or some friendly Power of all the questions of boundary, and conditions for free navigation of the Mississippi.

If we suppose for a moment that negotiation or some such terms were practicable, let us revert to the question on which we have already touched—What would be the effect of a peaceable separation on the interests of Europe and North America?

Tocqueville expressed a strong opinion that in the event of the dissolution of the Union, the States would not return to their isolated condition, but would group themselves into two or more Confederacies or

Unions\*; and of the justice of this view there can be little doubt.

But beyond this point, human foresight can scarcely penetrate the mist that covers the future of this great country. It is probable that the establishment of the Confederate States would substitute a direct trade from Charleston and New Orleans, with low duties on imports, for the circuitous commerce and the extravagant tariff of New York. There seems no reason why, after an interval, the supply of cotton from the Southern coast should not be as large as it has been, or why it should not be paid for in a great measure by goods imported from Europe. That such a change as this in the trade of the world would be beneficial to England and France, and would add a fresh guarantee for peace, there can be little doubt. If the iron-masters and cotton-spinners in the North still persisted in demanding the privilege of plundering their own people (as they certainly would do) it is to be hoped that the eyes of the Western States would soon open to their true interests. At any rate it would be difficult to enforce the customs' duties now exacted in regions into which the St. Lawrence and the great lakes penetrate from the eastward, and the Mississippi from the south. It would seem to be absolutely necessary to any settlement of the present differences, that the freedom of this latter river should be secured.

The city of New York would acquiesce very reluctantly in a separation which deprived it of the privilege of being the port and the money market of the South. We do not know what the effect of this feeling might be. The southern portion of the State and the city itself have interests not identical with those of the northern and western districts, and the mandates of the Legislature at Albany have not always been accepted with perfect complacency in the commercial capital.

A struggle would as now be carried on in the North between Portland and Boston, for that portion of the trade of the West which did not pass down the Mississippi or by way of New York. The lakes and the St. Lawrence offer, during eight months of the year, a more favourable route, and if the railway to Halifax were completed, the New England States would find in the British colonies formidable rivals for this traffic. Wheat would be stored at Quebec and Montreal, and sent by railway to Halifax or St. John after the navigation of the St. Lawrence had closed; and at these ports cargoes for Canada or the western States would be landed.

It is not impossible that the construction of this road through New Brunswick and Nova Scotia might influence materially the political course ultimately taken by the Western States.

When the tax-gatherer, that 'doctor for a diseased imagination,' as Jefferson called him\*, shall have knocked at their doors for a certain number of months, or years, the populous and powerful States of the West will begin to weigh calmly the amount of the tribute for protected manufactures which they will have to pay to Pennsylvania and Massachusetts. Their enthusiasm for the Union may have diminished by that time; they sell their wheat to Europe, and the mining and agricultural interests grouped round the lakes and the head waters of the Mississippi may choose to seek a less restricted commerce, and greater freedom of action, in the establishment of a Western Confederacy.

What is to become of California? The monstrous fiction of a coasting trade round Cape Horn, asserts its unity with the Government at Washington, so far as foreign nations are concerned; but we have lately seen free citizens who wish to go thither,—that is, who desire to pass from one part of the United States to the other,—stopped because they may be evading the conscription. This does not look like unity; and if the fabric goes to pieces, California must, one would think, set up for itself. Utah and the Mormons will probably enjoy their own institutions a little longer without molestation. Much may depend on the life of Brigham Young, who is evidently a man of great ability. But after all, New England and the central States of the Union contain in themselves abundant elements of good government, and of commercial prosperity, not perhaps sufficient to enable them as a great and formidable Power to defy the world, but sufficient to secure their own independence and the happiness of their people: a state of things infinitely preferable to a divided empire, tainted with slavery, and distracted by the jarring interests of the South. Whether

\* The whole passage is exceedingly apposite to the present moment:—'The increase of taxation, made imperative by the great military preparations authorized by Congress, contributed a good deal to cure "this disease of the imagination;" indeed, the "Doctor," observed Jefferson ironically, "is now on his way to cure it in the disguise of a tax-gatherer. But give time for the medicine to work, and for the repetition of stronger doses which must be administered. The authorized expenses for the year are beyond those of any year of the late war for independence, and they are of a nature to beget great and constant expenses. *The purse of the people is the real seat of sensibility.*'" (De Witt's Jefferson, p. 228.)

\* Vol. ii. p. 358.

they could easily man their navy and their merchant shipping, if England deals prudently and kindly with her own maritime population, may be questionable, as it has been with the United States; but there seems no reason why they should lose their hold on the carrying trade of the world. It has sometimes been argued that a separation from the Southern States would increase the naval force of the maritime and commercial portion of the Union. We confess that we do not see the force of this reasoning, or understand how the union with those States which furnished the materials for the largest export trade in the world, can have crippled the maritime energies of New York or Boston. It is the protectionist spirit of the North, not the agricultural interests or the slave prejudices of the South, which has done its best to diminish what it could not annihilate, and which still acts as a clog on the commerce of America.

But there remains another objection to our views which must be met, however vaguely it is stated. There are those who tell us that, in forming our opinions and our wishes with reference to the struggle in North America, we, as Englishmen, are bound 'to discard all selfish considerations,'—that we ought not to allow our sympathies to be swayed one way or the other by our own interests. We do not deny the obligations of national morality. We fully admit that every people is responsible for its acts, and for the way in which it exercises its influence over others. A violation of national faith, or a wanton provocation of the greatest of all evils—war—is never committed with impunity. As it is, however, with private, so it is with public, morality; the providence of God has ordained, that the real prosperity of nations, as of individuals, and the good government of the civilised world, should be worked out by the action of each seeking, within certain limits, that which is for his own interest. When a nation oversteps those limits there is a Nemesis waiting patiently to avenge the crime—a Nemesis not the less sure because the retribution is not always undergone by the generation which committed the offence nor understood by those on whom it falls. What is the meaning of the instinct of patriotism and the love of one's own country, except that men, in dealing with other nations, should keep

steadily in view the welfare of their own! On no other principle can a state maintain its place in the civilised world, and on no other principle do we assign honours and rewards to our statesmen and our soldiers. On no other principle, certainly, can the prolonged war of the North against the South be for a moment defended.

If this be so, why are we in this case to 'discard all selfish considerations'? Why specially on the question of secession and our sympathy with the South or North, are we to neglect the element of advantage to England? It can hardly be said that the Government of the United States in their dealings with us have set us the example of unselfishness, although *their* feeling has been sometimes adverse to us, *when* there was no apparent interest to guide it in that direction; as for instance at the time of the Crimean War.

As a people, it is not our business to say what interpretation of the American Constitution is the right one. Whether we approve or disapprove of the municipal laws and institutions of the South, their independence of the Government at Washington is not the less a fact. If it be manifestly for the advantage of England to acknowledge that fact by recognising the National character of the Southern Confederacy, we cannot see why their morality, for which we are not responsible, should stand in the way of such recognition. Neither the peace of the world nor the triumph of good over evil will be promoted by shutting our eyes to facts and events on such grounds as these.

But, on the other hand, we do not say that it is for the interests of England wisely considered, at the present moment, to recognise the Southern Confederacy. We are inclined to believe that Lord Palmerston's policy has been hitherto right—that at this moment the acknowledgment of the South as a nation would of itself effect very little, and might cause to England evils greater than those which it would remove.

If this be so, we have nothing to do but to lament the civil war which is raging in the United States, and we must bear as well as we can the suffering of Lancashire, whilst we wait patiently and calmly for the course of events.

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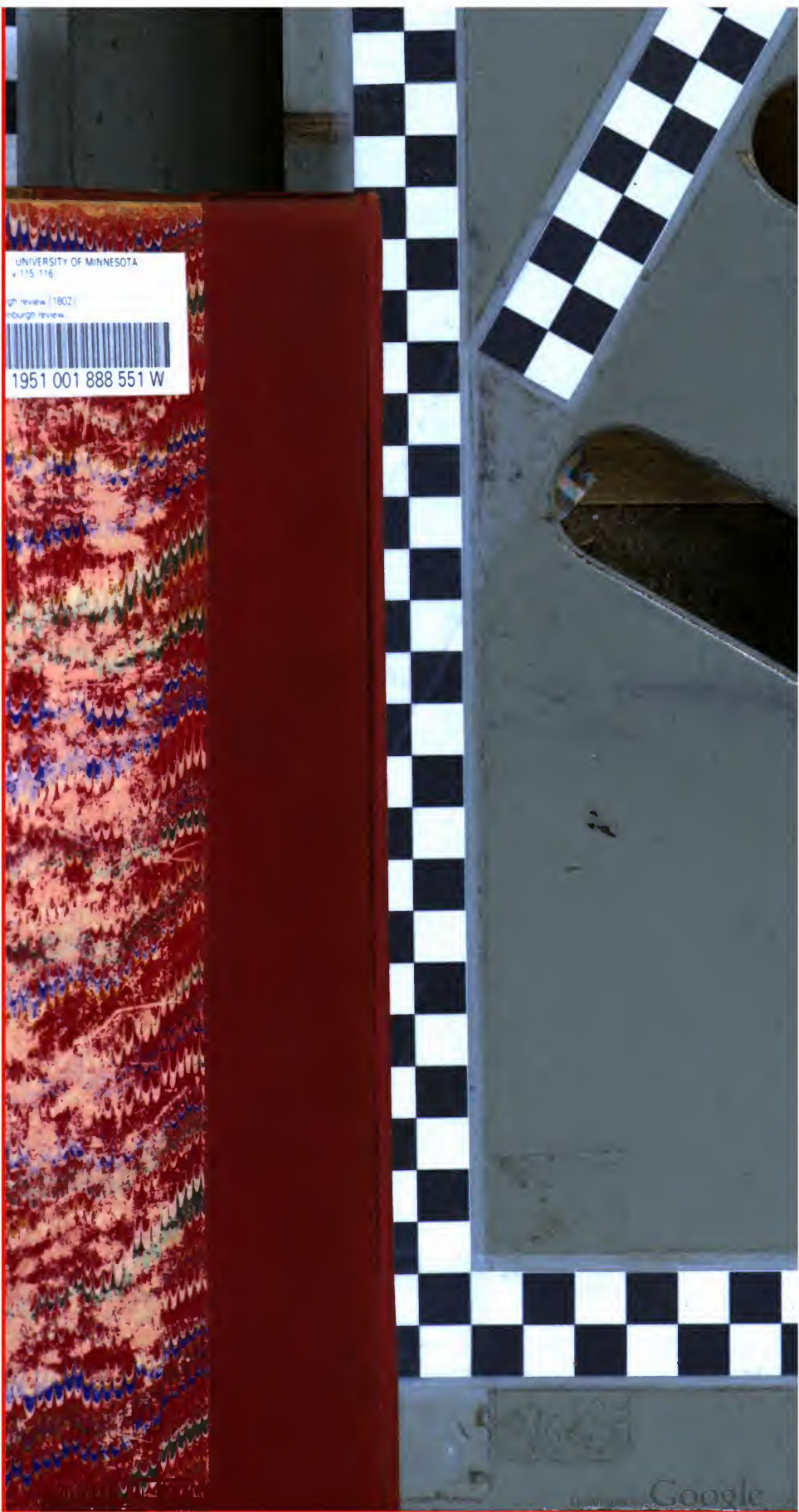












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